

**GEOGRAPHY OF URBAN CRIME AGAINST WOMEN
IN LARGE CITIES OF SOUTH ASIA : A CASE
STUDY OF CALCUTTA**

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that this dissertation entitled "Geography of Urban Crime Against Women in Large Cities of South Asia: A Case Study of Calcutta" submitted by Ms Doyel Mukhopadhyay, Centre for International Politics, Organization and Disarmament, School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far, in part or full, for any other degree or diploma of any University. This may be placed before the examiners for evaluation for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I started this endeavour to gain an insight into the various aspects of crimes against women. However, in the process, I also learnt about the humane side of the humans. Therefore, I would like to end this journey by adding yet another dimension of human nature — the dimension which shows gratitude to the humane side — that does not forget. After all, it is because of these facets of human nature that it becomes possible to see the dimension first mentioned [i.e., the criminal nature] in a negative light.

The present study took its concrete shape under the guidance, support and valuable suggestions of my Supervisor, Professor R.C. Sharma. I am obliged not only because he provided me with invaluable guidance, but also because he did so inspite of his busy schedule.

The constructive criticisms, the insights and the kindness of Dr M. Mohanty [CIPOD, SIS] went a long way in shaping this work, and I have no words to express my gratitude to him.

My apologies and thanks to Uncle Palti [Mr S.N. Menon, IAS, Secretary to Chief Minister, West Bengal] for constantly bothering him over the past two years to introduce me to the appropriate people who would furnish me with the relevant data on crime.

My sincere thanks to Mr Gautam Chakraborty [DC (DD) I, Lalbazar], Mr Niharendu Roy [OC, CRS, Lalbazar] and Mr Sujit Bhattacharya [SI, CRS, Lalbazar] for the precious time and information they provided.

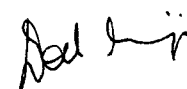
Perched on the attic of the Statesman House, Calcutta, were two men, Ajay Kr Datta and Ninay Ganguli who inspite of all the dust of the Records Room always maintained their cool and very efficiently helped me in collecting information on atrocities against women — for which I am obliged to them.

It would be my foolhardiness if I don't thank Nirmal at this stage who very grudgingly helped me with the bibliography.

My thanks to Mr Shudh Swaroop, because of whose dedicated hard work on the text, mixed with precision and punctuality, this study has attained its present shape.

While we are on the subject of human nature, it is well known that to err is human and so many errors might have been inadvertently left in this work. I own the responsibility for all such shortcomings and mistakes.

Dated: 19.5.95



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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 General

Few topics today concern the attention of researchers in social sciences, as the problems of women. One of the most important problems relating to women which has often been ignored and shunned is the problem of violence against women.

The problem of violence against women is not new. Women in the Indian society have been victims of humiliation, torture and exploitation for as long as we have within records of social organizations and family life.¹

Violence against women can be usually categorized as criminal violence, domestic violence and social violence. Each has its own special character. All such acts come under crime which is "a social fact and human act. Crime is both normal and functional. No society could be exempt from it..." According to Emile Durkheim, "most such criminal acts are higher in the urban than rural areas".²

1. Ram Ahuja, Social Problems in India, 1982, p. 213.

2. Perin C. Kerawalla, Study in Indian Crime, 1958, p. 3.

Rapid rate of urbanization, high prevalence of urban poverty, unemployment and other socio-economic and geographical inequalities lead to urban deprivation. However, on the other hand, there is increase in the emancipation of women, female literacy, mobility etc. without any corresponding change in social attitudes and values, which have led to increasing incidence of crime against women in cities particularly in the million cities. Violence in various forms, exploitation and social injustice against women continue to be rampant in the societies in general and cities in particular.

Every seven minutes some crime is committed against women in the country. Every 58 minutes a woman is raped, every 28 minutes one is molested, every 33 minutes some cruelty is perpetrated against her and every hour and 42 minutes, a dowry death takes place.³

Rapid rate of urbanization and various other socio-economic imbalances have aggravated the urban crimes in general and crimes against women in particular.

There is large scale rural urban migration which has rocketed land values, housing crisis, high cost of living and has led to the mushrooming growth of slums and the

3. Times of India, 9th Oct. 1994, p.5.

population in the metropolitan cities. The growth of urban landlessness, high prevalence of poverty, unemployment particularly among the large-scale educated youth migrants, lack of basic urban services and widening urban social deprivations, low living standards, high population density etc. are some of the major characteristics of the low residential areas in the cities. "The rising crime rate in developing countries is not related so much with social change, but it is related to complexity of problems associated with industrialization and urbanization. Delinquency and crime are not only unduly concentrated in the urban areas of any country, but mainly in the largest of these cities for crimes tend to vary directly with city size".⁴

Urban crime against women takes various forms such as rape, abduction and kidnapping, murder [under criminal violence], dowry deaths, wife battering, sexual abuse, maltreatment of women [domestic violence], forcing the wife/daughter-in-law to go for female foeticide, eve-teasing, refusing to give a share to women in property, forcing a young widow to commit sati, harassing the daughter-in law to bring more dowry [social violence].

4. A. Sivamurthy, Town Size and Crime, Indian Journal of Criminology, Vol. 14, No.1, Jan, 1986, p. 17.

Recent empirical literature suggests a general upward trend in the rate of violent crimes against women during the past two decades.

1.2 Review of Literature

Scholars from different disciplines have contributed significantly on the topic crime. However, literature specially based on crime against women have been very few. A classification of such literature between geographical and non-geographical work is not possible.

However most of the literature can be classified under four heads:

- [i] Crime as a Social Problem
- [ii] Studies Dealing with Crime Rate in India
- [iii] Relationship Between Crime and Geography
- [iv] Social Legislation and Policy to Prevent Crime against women.

[i] Crime As A Social Problem:

Buendia [1989] emphasized that economic development generates massive urbanization and social as well as

occupational changes that can erode the cohesiveness of traditional societies. One result is that in many societies economic growth correlates to increasing crime rates. Yet, urban crime is seldom a consideration in national development plans and government policies and actions are often inadequate, underfunded and poorly administered. The book presents several case studies of eight cities, Bangkok, Bogota, Lagos, Nairobi, San Jose, Singapore, Tokyo, Warsaw. For each a detailed analysis of crime trends, policy measures and control of how criminal justice systems function and the situation of juvenile delinquency is presented.⁵

The article in Mysore Economic Review [1981] deals with the concept how education and modernization has improved the status of women in India. Although there has been tremendous development towards women's education, employment etc. emancipation of women in the true context has not developed. In spite of a sharp rise in the number of educated women in employment outside home, the women are bound to face internal conflicts. The status and position of women differs from region to region, class to class and

5. H.G. Buendia, Urban Crime: Global Trends and Policies, United Nations University, 1989.

caste to caste. In India, most women work due to economic conditions and not due to the desire for competition and to live upto one's creative potential. In spite of education, urbanization and modernization, the traditional value system is still predominant in most matters concerning the women. Working women although they might get support from their family to work, are often victims of harassment in the male dominant modernized society.⁶

B.T. Robertson [1979] has dealt with the urban-social problems which has also emphasized on the concept relative deprivation. The city represents a complex of social, economic, and political forces mediated by local culture and history.

On the other hand, David Smith has explored the empirical identification of the spatial incidence of social problems. Problems arise only when social reproductions are frustrated, retarded or prevented. The focus should be on the entire economic and social formation, for, it is only in this context that problems can be identified and understood.⁷

6. Impact of Education, Urbanization and Employment on the Status of Women in India, Mysore Economic Review, Vol.76 [3], Mar. 91.

7. D.T. Herbert and D.M. Smith, Social Problems and the City: Geographical Perspectives, Oxford University Press,, 1979.

S. Venugopala Rao [1983] has emphasized on a proper crime prevention framework of the study of prevention, punishment and reform. He has also said that due to present rate of industrialization, modernization, population spill over, economic pressures, grip of religion and caste has all led to higher rates of crime. Crime is not a static concept, but dynamic in the sense that its definition is closely linked to the changing norms and values of society.⁸

Alan Gilbert and Joseph Gugler [1982] gave a comprehensive account of Third World urbanization spanning three continents. The Third World urban areas are a response to the indigenously developed division of social labour and in part as a response to the impact made upon less advanced countries by their integration. Rural-urban migration is one of the main causes for population explosion and large concentration in the city. He has strongly emphasized on the cause for migration due to economic reasons. This mobile population has the probability of gaining employment. The young adults always predominate where migration in search of employment is concerned. Part of the negative image of the

8. S. Venugopal Rao, Crime in Our Society: A Political Perspective, New Delhi, 1983.

city is the assumption that mental stress is more characteristic of the city than of rural areas.⁹

According to M.K. Singh [1984], the rate of increase of crime is more than the increase in population. He has given statistical evidence to prove his hypothesis which is based on the study on Maharashtra.

In spite of development, levels of crime also increase. Growth in crime and economic change are related as both show an upward trend.¹⁰

Mary and Tahir [1991] said that urban crime is one of the many urban social problems which is increasingly becoming the focus of attention of the police, judges, lawyers, academicians, politicians and sociologists etc. It is a dynamic concept in the sense that its definition is closely linked to the changing norms and values of society. Earlier criminologists sought an explanation of the biogenetic nature of men. Later, the roots of most of the crimes were traced to the environmental compulsions. Today they are related to social and economic aspect of overt affluence or abject poverty.

9. Alan Gilbert and Joseph Gugler, Cities, Poverty and Development: Urbanization in the Third World, Oxford University Press, 1982.

10. M.K. Singh, Decade of Crime: A Sociological Analysis, Indian Journal of Criminology, 12[2], July 1984.

[ii] Crime in India

Singh [1991] has traced the plight of the Indian women from the vedic to the present days. The Indian girl child is neglected since birth. They are made to understand the ideology of male supremacy.¹¹

Kelkar [1992] deals with the reconceptualization of the issue of violence against women which has emerged particularly in relation to intra and extra family gender relations, and the role of the state in reinforcing patriarchal oppression. The paper gives an overview of the approach of women's movement in India to the problem of violence against women. Emphasis on the women's organizations especially in Delhi which have been able to combat violence against women. Women's collective actions have effect on male violence and cultural control within the intimate terrain of the family.

According to him, violence against women has to be studied in the socio-economic and political context of power relations. Women are considered as objects through which the social system procreates.¹²

11. I.P. Singh, Indian Women: The Power Trapped, Galaxy Publications, 1981.

12. Govind Kelkar, Violence Against Women: Perspectives and Strategies in India, New Delhi, 1992.

Ahuja [1987] has given the results of his empirical observation of rape kidnapping, dowry death, wife battering and murder. However, he has emphasized that to prevent abuse of women in society, it is necessary to socially redefine violence, strengthen women's organizations, encourage a humanistic approach. Acts of violence against women is motivated by power and authority.¹³

Rao [1983] has discussed another important factor in bride-burning cases where the police often register such cases as suicides or accidental deaths due to lack of evidence. Rape is the least reported criminal offense in India, not because its incidence is really low, but because of the reluctance of parents to publicize the event.¹⁴

Amnesty International [1982] reported that rape of women appears to be used by the police and security forces to deter opposition and also as means of indirectly punishing the men from a particular village or area. The police abuse women to carry out a proxy war against what their menfolk stand for.¹⁵

13. Ram Ahuja, Crime Against Women, Jaipur, 1987.

14. S. Venugopal Rao, Crime in Our Society: A Political Perspective, New Delhi, 1983.

15. Amnesty International, Torture, Rape and Deaths in Custody, 1982.

Gupta [1993] in his data based analysis of the growing rate of crime against women emphasized on the fact that most crimes go unreported especially those like rape, as the victim does not feel comfortable in reporting such cases to the male policemen.¹⁶

Chengappa [1988] has projected that urban population explosion coupled with lack of civil amenities cause crime and urban decay. According to him Calcutta is a dying city where migrants help in creating more damage.¹⁷

Sivamurthy [1986] advocated that rising crime rate in developing countries is not related so much with social change but it is related to complexity of urbanization and industrialization. The size of the population and the size of a city are factors for violent crimes. A high degree of positive correlation is found between size of town and occurrence of crime. The study on media reflects that the urban way of life is characterized by extensive conflicts of norms and values, rapid social change, increased mobility of population, emphasis on material goals and individualism. Heterogeneity is a striking characteristic of large cities

16. K.N. Gupta, Distorted Projection of Women Over Mass Media, Kurukshetra, Dec.1993.

17. R. Chengappa, Urban Decay: A Mega Collapse, India Today, Jan 1988.

and naturally brings exposure to a great diversity of norms and values. This moral decay in the crowded towns results in the break down of laws.¹⁸

Sivamurthy [1982] in his paper, "The Spatio-Temporal Variation in the Incidence of Theft in Madras City" pointed out that in Madras city, property crime is found in areas where people of high occupation and status live and therefore, suggests that the occurrence of property crime is a function of physical characteristics and economic prosperity of an area.¹⁹

Nayar [1975] deals with the National Trends in Crime 1953-70. It is an empirical investigation into the subject of violence and crime. To a certain extent, the incidence of violence and crime in a given state may be described as an attribute of the culture of a state or in the case of political violence such as rioting an element in the political culture of the state. In regional distribution, it is evident that the Eastern part of India is most prone to political violence. Crimes against an individual are

18. A. Sivamurthy, "Town Size and Crime", Indian Journal of Criminology, 14 [2], July 1986.

19. A. Sivamurthy, "The Spatio-Temporal Variation in the Incidence of Theft in Madras City", Indian Journal of Criminology, Vol. 10, No. 2, July 1982.

mostly prevalent in Madhya Pradesh and the Northern belt especially Delhi, UP and Maharashtra.²⁰

Kerawalla [1959] in his paper deals with crime and delinquency problems. She has confined her taste to the problem of adult crime in Bombay. Empirical observations which has special age, literacy, religion, occupational and habitual emphasis. She has brought to light that crime in urban areas differ from crime in contiguous rural areas.²¹

[iii] Relationship Between Crime and Geography

Shaw and McKay [1970] gave an ecological analysis of crime in Chicago. They stated that zones with high rate of crime and delinquency were found in the city. Not only that but the areas with the highest crime rates were physically deteriorated. Taking an example of juvenile delinquency, he showed how the juvenile delinquency rates varied from place to place within the city. According to them the social conditions of a place are of greater importance as far as

20. B.R. Nayar, Violence and Crime in India: A Quantitative Study, Delhi 1975.

21. P.C. Kerawalla, Study in Indian Crime, Bombay 1959.

crime rate is concerned. That is the areas having high industrial concentration, greater physical deterioration and economic dependency.²²

According to Clark [1993] inspite of homogeneous suppression of women throughout the country, at the core of the hierarchy of social classes in the conservative social construction of female diversity, the hierarchic values and behaviour norms for women belonging to the different socio-economic strata. The forces of economic and technical change, opportunities for education and new organization of the oppressed groups exert some modifying effects. The existing power hierarchy always applies sanctions and rewards to conserve the ideology of differential female conditions.²³

Cohen [1941] in his paper entitled "The Geography of Crimes" has explained how climate and seasons affect the crime rate. He found that the crimes against persons are always more numerous in the summer and the crimes against property are more numerous in winter. The weather operates

22. M.E. Wolfgang [ed], Sociology of Crime and Delinquency, New York, 1970.

23. A.W. Clark, Gender and Political Economy: Explorations of South Asian Systems, 1993.

directly upon the emotional and physiological activities of the individual.²⁴

Ashok, Noble and Sitaram [1979], there is a seasonal rhythm of dacoity in north-central India. According to them maximum number of cases are in September till harvest time. The reason is that crops provide an excellent cover for dacoits. Dacoity is minimum in autumn since quick escape is difficult due to muddy roads and soggy fields. They have made a district level study to examine the factors that have promoted violence in north-central India. They concluded that it is ones environment, urban as well as rural that very often induces criminal conduct like a physically dilapidated neighbourhood setting, historic circumstances and high population densities.²⁵

Rose [1993] voices the opinion of several women that women are under-represented in geography. In fact, their opinion lies outside the project of geography. Their opinion is not accepted, there is a deep reluctance to listen to feminism and to its focus on women as well as the

24. J. Cohen, "The Geography of Crime", Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, Vol.217, Sept. 1941.

25. A. Dutt, A.G. Noble and S. Singh, "Is There a North-Central Sub-Culture of Violence in India", The National Geographical Journal of India, 25 [1979].

under-representation in the discipline. As in society, the gender concept in geography seems to take an unimportant position in the field of study. Women are considered less capable of producing knowledge than men because these are not merely arguments but practices.²⁶

Herbert [1982] defined geography of crime in the content of purely a spatial form of analysis and explores ways in which crime in Geography heavily focuses on the nature of the local environment which contains the outcome of various forms of social processes. The environmentalist paradigm of the late 19th century and early 20th century might have provided a link with the geography of crime. Certain areal and ecological facets in research are evident. Local environment is emphasised as opportunity structures for crime, contain cues and stimuli to which potential offenders respond. Males and unemployed are the key census indicators linked with the crime dimension. Besides this, the socio-economic status proved a significant variable in local authority.²⁷

Evans and Herbert [1989] emphasized on the inverse relationship between assault and socio-economic status, but

26. G. Rose, Feminism and Geography: The Limits of Geographical Knowledge, Cambridge, Polity Press 1993.

27. D.T. Herbert, The Geography of Urban Crime, 1982.

the hypothesis that a threshold of discomfort could be reached beyond which all activities including crime, ceased could not be confirmed. There are place variations with differences between types of residential areas, time variations and people variations with specific types of people at greater risk.²⁸

Reckless [1955] has given the sociological statement of crime problem. The tendency of crime do increase faster than population. Crime rates have outstripped the population. The increase in crime in local areas and that most members of the public look upon the increase as a symptom of socio-economic problems rather than as a break down in law enforcement. Fundamentally, the increase in crime in the underdeveloped countries is due to the clash between the socio-legal systems of two vastly different cultures coupled with the problem of unemployment and poverty.²⁹

Kulkarni [1984] from his study on Ahmedabad came to the conclusion that crime rate of an area is based upon the proportion of illiterates population, proportion of people belonging to backward communities and the proportion of

28. D.J. Evans and D.T. Herbert [ed], The Geography of Crime, London, 1989.

29. W.C. Reckless, The Crime Problem, New York, 1955.

labourers engaged in industrial activity. The less severe crimes occur in more prospective areas [i.e. upper class residential areas]. Lastly, he discovered that the areas of constant and intense social interaction and friction are more prone to conflicts and crime.³⁰

[iv] Social Legislation and Policy to Prevent Crime

Gupta [1993] advocated for the education of the youth, to build up more confidence of the victim by inducting more police officers, making women more aware through mass media.³¹

Ahuja [1987] has highlighted the concept of inter-professional cooperation as the victims are often neglected as there is lack of cooperation between the police and rehabilitation homes and other organizations.³²

Clifford [1986] emphasized that planning from an Indian perspective is the best way to control crime in India. In India, it is difficult to implement the various programmes

30. K.M. Kulkarni, Geography of Crowding and Human Responses: A Study of Ahmedabad City, New Delhi, 1984.

31. K.N. Gupta, Distorted Projection of Women over Mass Media, Kurukshetra, Dec. 1993.

32. Ram Ahuja, Crime Against Women, Jaipur, 1987.

due to the limited resources. According to him, the main limitations have been lack of adequate research and concept of reliance on law enforcement to prevent crime followed by lack of integration between the government and other law enforcement agencies. According to him India should have a National Crime Prevention Planning Commission and various other subsidiary bodies at the local level to act as an integrative agency.³³

Agnes [1992] said the decade of the 1980s has been a boon period for social legislation for women. Prior to the 1980s, most of the laws were not in favour of women. The victim had to be in a position to explain her innocence. The male offender hence often went scot-free. However, after 1983, reforms were made in rape laws, 1986 Dowry Prohibition Act was revised etc. However, inspite of this, there has been little impact.³⁴

Pandey [1987] said that a greater inclination towards dowry was due to the rise in the material aspirations and

33. W. Clifford, "Planning to Prevent Crime in India", Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol. 47 [3], Oct. 1986.

34. F. Agnes, "Protecting Women Against Violence: Review of A Decade of Legislation, 1980-89", Economic and Political Weekly, 27 [17], April 25, 1992.

expectations. Unless there is a radical change in our value system, the problem will continue to exist.³⁵

Razdan [1986] in her paper said that the task of crime prevention and control is indeed too complex to be left to the police, prosecutors, courts and correction institutions run by the government alone. The assumption, naturally is that it is the citizenry, at large that will help curb crime and not only the police, the courts or the prisons. People's participation in every type of public activity is a value in itself and an administrative norm of good government in a democratic country. This is not to suggest that citizens and communities alone prevent crime. But citizen involvement in prevention holds important potential that should not be overlooked in formulating strategies to combat crime and delinquency.

Existing social agencies should be improved and expanded and many new ones must be started. A supportive and conscientious public attitude should replace the existing apathy, especially so far as the police personnel are concerned. This is not to suggest that citizens and

35. R. Pandey, "Search of Causes of Rape in India", Indian Journal of Social Work, 48 [1], April 1987.

communities alone prevent crime, but citizen involvement in prevention holds important potential.³⁶

Basu [1994] proposed that legislation on rape cases have to be changed as in the earlier laws, it is necessary for the women to prove her innocence. Besides, new clauses are necessary to fill in the gaps in the rape laws concerning children between the age 16 to 18 years and marital rape cases.³⁷

Krishnaswamy [1993] laid emphasis on a crime policy which should be more flexible and effective and should integrate the broader peoples movement against crime. The opinion and ideals as in Lok Adalat can be adopted for speedy disposal procedures and flexible sentencing practices in criminal trials.³⁸

Singh [1990] takes a strong view that the police even in the crime against women cell do not register cases. They encourage the reconciliation theory. However, due to reconciliation, statistics are distorted. It is dinned

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36. U. Razdan, "Community Participation in Crime Prevention", Indian Journal of Criminology, 14 [1], Jan 1986.
 37. Radha Basu, Changes Proposed to Give Teeth to Laws on Rape, The Statesman, Jan. 15, 1994.
 38. N. Krishnaswamy, For a National Crime Policy, Hindu, 3 Oct. 1993.

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into the women that it is better to face battering of their husbands and stay in the house rather than be roofless.³⁹

John Lowmen's [1989] belief is not in the primacy of the social control perspective over all others but rather than it must form part of any study of crime including those central on spatial structures.⁴⁰

1.3 Significance of the Study

Few researchers have tried to treat variation in crime against women in terms of its socio-spatial context. The present study is one where such an attempt has been done. The Socio-spatial-temporal analysis of crimes against women in Calcutta provides an understanding of Indian urban social ethos.

The study helps us to understand the condition of women as well as the plight of women in the various regions in India. Through the study, we can assess the overall crime situation which in several places have been induced

39. I.P. Singh, Indian Women: The Captured Beings, 1970.

40. D.J. Evans and D.T. Herbert [ed], The Geography of Crime, 1989.

by the devastating impact of refugee migration, unequal distribution of resources and the traditional view that the women should be an object which has to be dominated.

In the study, we see that social, ethical and spiritual values tend to be thrown overboard. Vice rears its ugly head in the highest places. In the case study on Calcutta, it is evident that the different parts of a city projects a different image of social-economic factors that lead to various types of crime against women.

Today there is a lack of coordination among the various policy makers and institutions which work on crime prevention. This study also involves social legislation and methods of crime prevention which may be possible in India.

1.4 Objectives

1. To study the process of urbanization and resulting social problems in "million" cities of South Asia and India in particular.
2. To assess the impact of urbanization on women and their status or emancipation in "million" cities.
3. To analyze the types and nature of urban crimes against women in a spatial perspective.

4. To identify dominant factors explaining geography of crimes against women and emerging spatial pattern in Calcutta city.
5. To review the existing social laws relating to women and efficiency in their enforcement.
6. To suggest remedial measures for reducing the dimension of the problem.

1.5 Hypothesis

The reason for crime against women could be spatial, social, economic, psychological or a combination of all these. The study involves:

1. Areas with higher density of population and with greater urban deprivation show higher rate of the total crimes against women in the city than low density areas.
2. The rate of total urban crime against women is more in the low residential areas than in the high residential areas within a city.
3. Higher the male population in a city, greater will be the number of crimes.

4. Certain types of crime against women is more prominent in specific areas in a city. However, the total crimes against women are more in the urban periphery or suburbs than in the city core.
5. There exists a correlation between time period and the rate of crime. Highest rate of crime against women occurs during a particular season [May-June] and also some hours during the day.

1.6 Data Base

The present study is based on both Primary as well as Secondary Sources.

Primary Sources include the data on crime against women in Calcutta in 1981 from the First Information Report of 27 Police Stations of the 33 Police Stations in Calcutta in 1981. The files were furnished by Police Headquarters [Lalbazar], Calcutta.

The data for 1991 and 1993 were taken from the Crime Index File which is used in the Annual Uniform Crime Reports by Crime Research Section, Police Headquarters, Calcutta.

The data regarding India was taken from 'Crime in India' which provides data on various aspects of crime in India, the States and the metropolises. The

'Crime in India' data is published by the National Crime Records Bureau, Ministry of Home Affairs. The annual publications of 1981, 1991 and 1992 were consulted.

Data regarding the Socio-economic variables of Calcutta such as literacy of male and female population, number of scheduled caste population, etc. are from the District Census Handbook of Calcutta, 1981 published by the Government of India.

The maps used in the study have been compiled from various sources. The map of Calcutta city showing the boundaries of police stations has been collected from the Police Headquarters, Calcutta.

The population density map of Calcutta, showing the Ward-wise boundaries for 1981 is based on the map provided in the District Census Handbook of Calcutta, published by the Government of India.

Secondary Sources:

The study also involves a content analysis of the newspaper The Statesman, published from Calcutta, for the years 1981, 1991 and 1993 have been consulted for the necessary crime data of the city. Besides, other secondary sources of information include books and journals [of national and international) etc.

1.7 Limitation of Data

All researchers recognize that official statistics do not represent the total crime picture. This "under-representation" -- the fact that only a fraction of all offenses and offenders enter official records -- arises from several sources.

The first comment on under-representation is that only a minority of offenders are brought to justice and are thus known to the police. This highlights one distinction, namely that between offenses and offenders. The police know a great deal more about offenses committed than they know about offenders; under-representation of the latter is therefore greater. Variability within type of offense should also be noted, violent offenders have a high probability of detection.

Other sources of under-representation affect the number of offenses recorded in official statistics. Some offenses, for example, may be known to the police or other law-enforcing agencies but do not enter official records. An offense may be regarded as too trivial or lacking in substantive evidence or complaint; it may be dealt with summarily without recourse to any official recording procedure. This source of under-representation is likely to

vary considerably over time and space with local policing procedures and rule interpretation.⁴¹

The data on crime in Calcutta for the year 1981 has been recorded from the FIR. However, records of seven police stations were not available.

For the year 1991 and 1993, the data was from the Crime Index which mostly records the serious offenses. Often, the trivial offenses are not given due importance. Several cases of eve-teasing and molestation are recorded under the molestation cases together, hence in all the three years 1981, 1991 and 1993, there have been no cases of eve-teasing. On several occasions, it is necessary to associate the parameters for purposes of research.

Besides this, the Census data for 1981 was only available, as the data on the Census of 1991 Ward-wise have not been processed as yet.

A good many of the murders are treated as suicides or accidental or suspicious deaths. In cases of Kidnapping and abduction, the official statistics is often out of focus. The incidents even if reported are not registered as criminal offenses unless the culprits are named or the

41. David Herbert, The Geography of Urban Crime, New York, 1992.

circumstances of disappearance clearly established that an offense has already occurred. More often they are treated as cases of missing persons and closed after nominal enquiries. It is only when a child is recovered or when physical abduction is established through impeachable evidence that offenses are registered and investigated with some semblance of vigour.⁴²

Cases of rape are least reported criminal offense in India, not because its incidence is low but because of the reluctance of the parents to publicize the event.

In addition to this, the various caste loyalties, traditional inhibitions, under reporting due to reconciliation measures taken by the police officers lead to distortion of the crime statistics. Sometimes, this distortion is done deliberately [officially known as burking of crime] to restore confidence in the public and to project a positive image of the State and Government.

1.8 Methodology

The study is based on both quantitative as well as qualitative methods. The qualitative method involves the

42. Mary Jos, A Socio-Spatial Analysis of Crimes in India: A Case Study of Delhi, CSRD, JNU, 1988, p. 37.

analysis of map and the quantitative method includes the use of various statistical methods.

In the first step, an attempt has been made to analyze the incidence of the eight parameters of crime against women in India on a national basis since 1951 to 1992. Along with the incidence of crime, the population figures along with the police strength has also been studied, and the analysis shows that with increase in population there is a steady increase in the rate of crime.

From the Crime in India publications, the national level crime against women, only two parameters have been studied since 1981 for rape cases and 1986 for kidnapping and abduction cases for women and girls. Earlier no separate break up was shown for these figures.

From the data in Crime in India 1992, it is possible to study the cases of dowry deaths, torture [harassment], molestation and eve-teasing cases. A significant study according to the age group has also been done at the national level for rape cases since 1988.

Special emphasis has also been paid on crime against women in the States and the Union Territories. This is a meso level study which helps us to place Calcutta [the Case Study] in the right perspective.

In the meso level study as well, the data involves three parameters of crime against women [1991], namely,

rape, kidnapping and abduction of women and girls and dowry deaths.

In Crime in India 1992 publication, six parameters of crime against women, namely, rape, kidnapping and abduction, dowry deaths, cruelty by husband and relatives, molestation and eve-teasing cases have been taken into account for States and Union Territories. Crime against women in the 12 metropolitan cities have been taken into account.

In the micro level study, i.e., Calcutta, the eight parameters of crime against women, namely, murder, molestation kidnapping, rape, dowry violence, eve-teasing, harassment of women and snatching has been analysed from the data of 1981, 1991 and 1993.

The crime in the five administrative divisions has been evaluated along with population density, percentage of male population, percentage of total male scheduled caste population, percentage total male non-workers and percentage of total female literates.

A more detailed study of the police stations and the demographic variables have also been done to understand how the socio-economic variables have an impact on crime against women. A comparative study of types and the number of crimes over the decade 1981-1991 reveals how the pattern of crime in the city has changed.

Each parameter of crime has been dealt with individually to see the socio-spatial variation of crime in the city. The Eastern Suburban Division of Calcutta which has the largest number of crime against women has been dealt separately on the basis of its socio-economic variables, and demographic factors.

The geography of crime is another feature which has been adequately explained with the help of data for the years 1991 and 1993 as well as for the eight parameters of crime. It is seen that crime has a direct correlation with the type of climate. The time period of the day is another important feature for the commission of the various types of crime.

A newspaper reporting has also been done in order to find out if there is a positive correlation between official data and the data from newspaper reporting or is it that mostly the crimes from the posh areas like New Alipore and Ballygunge are published.

1.9 Scheme of Chapters

Chapter 1 deals with the conceptual and analytical framework as well as the literature review of the study.

Chapter 2 is on Urbanization, Women and Social Problems in Cities in South Asia. This is a macro level study where

a general overview of South Asia in urban scenario has been taken to understand the deeper socio-economic problems as exist in India.

Chapter 3 is a meso-level study on the Socio-Spatial Perspective on Crime in India, identifying the region of high concentration of crime. The types and nature of urban crimes against women have been identified.

Chapter 4 deals with the Socio-Spatial Perspective on Crime at the micro, i.e., in Calcutta city. The micro-level analysis helps to test the various hypothesis of crime against women.

Chapter 5 is a Review of Social Legislation relating to Women and their Enforcement. The chapter also briefly deals with the policy of tackling crime against women.

Chapter 6 is a brief summary of the study with special emphasis on future prospects of tackling crime.

CHAPTER 2

URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF WOMEN IN CITIES IN SOUTH ASIA

2.1 Introduction:

The countries in South Asia are at the cross roads of development. They are undergoing a rapid socio-economic transformations. The forces of modernization, technological changes, industrialization and urbanization and rapid demographic changes all have contributed to rapid changes in the South Asian societies.

"The evolution of western societies has been closely associated with the process of urbanization. The city has become a microcosm of the social formation, acting as agent for both stability and change".¹ Whilst the western societies have been in the vanguard of modern urbanization, increasingly the rise of large cities and the development of urban systems is also coming to characterize the "non-western" societies, including socialist countries and the so-called Third World.

1. D.T. Herbert and D.M. Smith (1979), "Social Problems and the City: Geographical Perspectives", p. 1.

Large-scale urbanization has become a universal phenomenon. Urban growth has led to control of urban growth, land zoning, migration controls and the control of the expansion of shanty towns. The large population in the urban areas lead to squalid slums. For well over a century official records have documented the close links between urban growth and increase in crime, particularly crimes of violence. Hence urbanization represents a complex social, economic and political forces as well as a distinct local culture and history.

South Asia represents region of rapid urbanization coupled with social problems due to lack of space, unequal resource allocations etc. Women in South Asia forms a large part of the work force especially in the unorganized sector. However, inspite of this, certain social norms have forced women to occupy the inferior, dependent position and is exploited in society. The persistence of traditional images of women in South Asia tends to mask the significant changes that are taking place in the self-understanding, values and roles of women whatever their position is in the social structure.

Very often, particularly in the countries of South Asia, the problems women experience in employment and in the domestic scene cannot be considered in isolation from the social and cultural context, nor must their solutions be considered the sole responsibility of women.

There is a close and positive linkage between urbanization, social problems and women. Each concept is dependent on the other.

2.2 Urbanization in South Asia

Social scientists have not yet reached a satisfactory conclusion on the definition of urban place. The concept of urbanization differs not only from one nation to another, but also within regions of the same nation, thus rendering the task of assessment and comparison of the urbanization process and urban patterns in the national and regional contexts more difficult. A city, town or place usually presupposes an environment different from that of the surrounding rural area or countryside. Hence, the characteristics of the urban environment,

i.e., its demographic, cultural and political features also vary with the environment.

However, urbanization does not have definite boundaries. Inquiries of this nature have led to a good deal of discussion on topics as rural-urban "dichotomy" and "continuum". To put it simply, to understand urban and social problems, it is necessary to understand the extent of the city. The "dichotomy" hypothesis assumes a distinctive differentiation of urban places from rural places, and the term "continuum" refers to an environment "neither completely rural nor completely urban but rather as occupying a position somewhere between the two extremes. Dr. Mookherjee said that the fundamental distribution of population is ecological and not economic. Space related activity determines the urban character. Often the behaviour of an individual or group is determined by the space related activity. Thus, in conformity to the urban characteristics in some other developing nations, many Indian cities portray an "incompletely urban" outlook or "appear hybrids rather than full fledged urbanized units".

TABLE 2.1**Urbanization in South Asia**

Country	Total Population 1990 [Millions]	Percentage of Urban Total Population	Average Annual Growth Rate 1980-1991 [Percentage]
Bangladesh	107	17	8.1
Nepal	19	10	7.3
Bhutan	-	8	5.7
India	850	27	3.7
Pakistan	112	33	4.8
Sri Lanka	17	22	1.5

Source: World Development Report 1993, p. 298.

From Table 2.1, it is evident that India amongst the South Asian countries has the largest population with a high percentage of urban population, but with a low average annual growth rate.

The interacting and interrelated nature of urban and industrial development has been the subject of much thought and discussion. In the developing countries like India, industrialization has been termed the most important factor influencing the growth of urbanization, urban centres and general economic development. The important role of industrial undertakings is promoting the growth of certain points or regions in India, and for that matter in any developing economy, can hardly be overemphasized.

Industrialization in most South Asian countries took place due to colonial exploitation. This led to "western type commercial industrial centres, have drawn labour, trade, goods for processing or exploit, and raw materials from countryside, and at the same time have extended the domestic market for urban-produced goods through a growing transport network, stimulating the increasing commercialization of the economy as a whole...."² As the relationship between urbanization and industrialization has developed, according to Ashish Bose, South Asia in the last few years has indications of over urbanization.

TABLE 2.2

Growth Trends in Selected Million Cities in South Asia

Countries	1990	1995	2000
	[in Millions]		
Dhaka	6.53	8.61	11.16
Karachi	8.18	9.97	12.00
Lahore	4.35	5.19	6.18
Bombay	11.79	13.78	16.00
Calcutta	12.54	14.41	16.53
Delhi	9.15	11.10	13.24
Madras	6.03	7.02	8.15

Source: The Prospects of World Urbanization 1984-85, p. 142.

2. D. Mookherjee and R.L. Morrill, "Urbanization in a Developing Economy: Indian Perspectives and Patterns", p. 16.

The urban centres [as in Table 2.2] of South Asia, there is mostly rural to urban migration for employment and for better living standards. These urban centres such as Dhaka, Karachi, Calcutta, etc. are a part of the colonial legacy.

In most developing countries, urban growth has been rapid due to net rural-urban migration which leads to higher urban percentages. This rural-urban exodus is due to better opportunities and in search of favourable employment. Amongst the largest developing countries like India urbanization is 67.7%, Indonesia is 64.3% in 1961-71. Samuel Preston has attributed this high percentage partly due to natural increase. Natural increase seems to be by far the largest source of urban growth in countries where rapid growth is most problematic.

Many factors unique to a particular city have an important influence on its growth rate: such as topography, geography, health of the industry in which the city specializes, productivity trends in the rural hinterland, government investment patterns and redistribution policies, rural-urban and employment disparities etc. much attention

has been drawn to the phenomenon of demographic giantism in recent patterns of city growth. Primate cities in developing countries are said to be drawing a disproportionate influx of population from other areas. Government policies, expenditure and employment influence in the development of agglomerations.

2% of the total number of cities and in about 11% of the total urban population of developing countries, the predominant relation between city size and city growth rate is negative.

One of the key factors which is being discussed is that urbanization in developing countries is abnormal in that their urban populations are "supported" by an unusually small industrial labour force. "This point was solidly established in the 1950s by Bert Hosalitz, who compared current industry-urban relations in developing countries to those in developed countries during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries".³

3. S.H. Preston, [1970] Urban Growth in Developing Countries: A Demographic Reappraisal, p. 23.

This was an alarming observation to many, largely because industrial activity, producing tangible output, was seen as being in some sense more "productive" than the service occupations that were tending to substitute for industrial ones.

Urban growth has been fastest, where economic levels and economic growth rates are highest. In India as well, urban agglomeration takes place in those places which are already well developed. The rate of urbanization has been rapid in India since 1961. Ashish Bose considered the period between 1951-61 as the first decade of planned economic development in India and a decade of rapid industrialization. India has a low level of urbanization. It does seem that there are limits to the absorptive capacity of our cities in view of the strained urban infrastructure (and a virtual collapse of the infrastructure in several big cities like Calcutta and Kanpur) which has slowed down rural to urban migration. The rapid rate of urbanization and the greater mobility of persons has led to a large houseless and squatter population.

In spite of the slow rate of urban growth, the 1991 census revealed that the proportion of population in million

plus cities has shot up from 26.4% to 32.5% as the number of such cities increased from 12 in 1981 to 23 in 1991. Some cities like Calcutta has reached the saturation point quite sometime back and is heading towards stagnation and decay. Along with this various social problems have cropped up in most urban areas in South Asia. All the social problems are unique to South Asia.

2.2 Society and Its Problems

Before dealing with the various social problems, it is important to understand the crux of the matter as to what we call a social problem?

Francis E. Merrill has described a social problem as "Social disorganization and amelioration. It must constitute a threat to or an infringement upon an established social value. The term social disorganization has, unfortunately, misleading implications. Disorganization does not mean that there is no social organization, rather, it means that some elements in the existing social organization are not functioning as well as would be desirable or are functioning

in such a way as to jeopardize social welfare".⁴ Merrill maintains that social problems and social disorganization are complementary ways of describing the same thing, though the relationship between the two concepts may not be simple.

A social problem is partly a state of the social mind and hence not purely a matter of unfavourable objective conditions in the physical or social environment. In South Asia, social problems pertain to the unfavourable aspect of physical environment, unfavourable distribution of population, poor social organization and the conflict of divergent ideals or social values cherished by different classes or groups within the society.

In most countries, "social problems are clearly both culturally and historically specific. Like the city itself, they reflect the prevailing values, ideology, and structure of the existing social formation. At the most general level they will reflect the nature of the urban environment at the particular stage of development achieved, and the way in which the people perceive conditions of life within them.

4. E. Francis Merrill [1956], The Study of Social Problems in Analyzing Social Problems, 1956, p. 46.

More significantly, they will relate to the level of development of the economy, its capacity to support social services, the degree of cohesion or conflict within the population, the prevalence of forces making for behavior that might be considered deviant or threatening to the existing social order, the strength of social contact and so on".⁵

Usually, certain criteria are taken to understand the social conditions of a city such as health, housing quality, education, economic status, employment and crime. Until fairly recently, the collection of data on social problem conditions proceeded in a highly unsystematic manner. Statistics on the incidence of crime, delinquency, illness, various forms of "social deviance" and so on were generated largely as a by-product of the administrative procedures of institutions charged with some responsibility for regulating or curing the problem, e.g., the police force and hospitals.

Two alternatives yet complimentary approaches or Schools of thought may be identified within the social

5. D.M. Smith (ed) [1979], The Identification of Problems in Cities: Applications of Social Indicators, p.14.

indicators movement. The distinction between them is especially important at the city scale. The first is concerned with the development of subjective social indicators, based on the direct monitoring of human life experience. The second relies on less direct measurement, after employing aggregate data compiled on a territorial basis. The latter approach lends itself more readily to work of a geographical nature. The subjective approach takes as its implicit point of departure the proposition that it is how individuals feel that matters most. Objective conditions such as housing quality, level of pay, security on the streets, and services available affect people's level of life satisfaction or happiness. Different people, in different classes and inhabiting different places, can react differently to the same objective conditions. The subjective approach can be concerned with the individual perception of well-being with respect to such obvious conditions as income, housing quality and health which figure prominently in the more "objective approach to social indicators such as comfort, privacy, social mobility, job

satisfaction, achievements etc. Dalkey and Rourke gave the components of the quality of life and their relative importance:

TABLE 2.3
Quality of Life

Component	Relative Importance
1. Love, care, affection, communication, interpersonal understanding; friendship, companionship; honesty, sincerity, truthfulness, tolerance, acceptance of others; faith, religious awareness.	15.0
2. Self respect, self acceptance, self satisfaction; self confidence, egoism; security; stability, familiarity, sense of permanence; self knowledge, self awareness, growth.	11.5
3. Peace of mind, emotional stability, lack of conflict, fear, anxiety, suffering, pain, humiliation belittlement, escape, fantasy.	10.0
4. Sex, sexual satisfaction, sexual pleasure	8.5
5. Challenge, stimulation; competition, competitiveness; ambition; opportunity, social mobility, luck; educational, intellectually stimulating.	8.0
6. Social acceptance, popularity; needed, feeling of being wanted; loneliness, impersonality; flattering, positive feedback, reinforcement	8.0
7. Achievement, accomplishment, job satisfaction success, failure, defeat, losing, money,	7.0

acquisitiveness, material greed, status, reputation, recognition, prestige.

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 8. Individuality, conformity, spontaneity, impulsive, uninhibited, freedom. | 6.0 |
| 9. Involvement, participation; concern, altruism, consideration. | 6.0 |
| 10. Comfort, economic well-being, relaxation, leisure; good health. | 6.0 |
| 11. Novelty, change, newness, variety, surprise; boredom, humorous, amusing, witty. | 5.0 |
| 12. Dominance, superiority, dependence, impotence, helplessness, aggression, violence, hostility; power, control, independence. | 3.5 |
| 13. Privacy | 2.0 |

Source: Environmental Protection Agency (1973, 1-51) in Social Problems and the City: David T. Herbert and D.M. Smith [1979], p. 16.

Social problems also seem to arise from the socio-economic status, place of residence etc. Various studies based on empirical data have shown that low status potential problem areas are mostly on the outskirts of the towns. American sociologists have found a high degree of agreement on the two problems viz., cost of health care and drug addiction. This reflects distinctive features of

contemporary American society in which market forces have the rather perverse effect of making narcotics more readily available than medical care in many poor communities. But after this, quite considerable differences in ranking emerge, as between people in the North and South. According to some urban sociologists like Faris and Duncen, "The ecological approach to the identification of social problems in cities is, on the face of it, extremely simple. Data are compiled on the incidence of a particular condition, and then mapped as sets of individual observations or as aggregates for territorial subdivisions. Cause-and-effect relationships may be sought via ecological correlation or, for example, by relating the frequency of incidents to distance from the city centre".⁶

Often ecological association, coupled with the distance-decay effects etc., seldom penetrate the root cause of social problems. Research based on social problems deal with two types of parameters. In the first type, attention is confined to one specific problem: crime, delinquency,

6. D.M. Smith [1979], The Identification of Problems in Cities: Applications of Social indicators, p. 17.

health, education and so on. The second type of research is based on the multi-dimensional nature of social deprivation. It is based on the proposition that the incidence of different social problems will tend to coincide, with respect to both individuals as well as to population aggregates defined on a territorial basis.

While studying a social area, very little of substance either about the incidence of social problems in cities or about their origin is revealed. The identification of problem areas can be guided by the criteria of human well-being which includes the various components which the U.N. has set for increasing the level of living such as health, demographic conditions; food and nutrition; education including literacy and skills; conditions of work; employment situation; aggregate consumption and savings, transportation; housing; clothing; social security and human freedom.

Karl Marx, identified the problem areas of London and described the city as "stuck in the same vicious circle despite extensive intervention by both local and central

government".⁷ Today, "multiple-deprivation" in inner London is the single most important social problem in Britain. A number of attempts have been made to identify "problem areas" in connection with policy directed towards improving housing and education in deprived districts by a process of positive discrimination.

The Chicago School has discovered a clear picture of geographical regularity where social deprivation or need falls away from the inner city to suburbia in a close approximation to the concentric rings. The pattern of spatial association between different kinds of deprivation may vary significantly from place to place and the degree of spatial concentration of various social problems also vary and operate in some specific to particular places.

However, according to Townsend, the empirical identification of problem areas in cities is descriptive. But, against this the reality that the deprived live in geographical space as well as in an economic system and class structure where resources are allocated is clearly relevant to the individual. This cannot be ignored in public

7. Ibid.

policy, however, much poverty and other social problems may be identified as an outcome of the prevailing social formation and economic structure.

In India, the major social problem arises out of poverty, unemployment and the like. For example, the problem of crime and delinquency is very complex in India. The country is inhabited by persons of different cultural backgrounds who constitute themselves into tribes, castes, village kinship groups and metropolitan communities. About 20% of the total population live in the urban areas. The pattern of crime and delinquency seem to have some link with these settings. The growth of urbanization and industrialization has also brought new problems which affect the nature of crime and delinquency.

The traditional forms of social control based on informal primary group relationships and group pressures have also undergone some changes in recent years. "For a long time the force of religious, superstitious and demonology is reported to have influenced the conceptions of crime as well as punishment. Even today in some parts of the country superstitions frequently influence the incidence of

many crimes. The existence of tribes which till recently were officially designated as Criminal Tribes is yet another dimension of the field of criminology in the country".⁸ Despite years of study and research and the publication of tonnes of literature in some Western countries, efforts to know the causes of social problems, crimes and delinquency have not been very fruitful, though some helpful insights have been acquired.

In the case of India, very little research have been conducted prior to 1980s to determine and understand the causes of crime and delinquency. With the exception of a few studies, all other studies are of a general nature. According to Venugopala Rao, the prevalence of mass poverty, economic factors have received overriding importance in the causation of crime and delinquency and have overshadowed other contributory factors such as religious, social customs, superstitions, caste, sectional vendetta, alcoholism and drug addiction. In the process of discussing social problems in society, it is also important to mention

8. S. Venugopala Rao [1963], Facets of Crime in India, p. 28.

another important parameter which determines some social problems --- the concept of women in society. In South Asia, the focus on gender problems have been only taken into consideration recently. Several social problems, crimes etc. arise out of gender deprivation and neglect.

2.4 Women and Urbanization in South Asia

The world conference for the International Year of Women in Mexico in 1975 stimulated a world-wide movement which has steadily gained momentum. While progress in improving the quality of life of women throughout the world, particularly in the developing countries, has at times appeared to share the invisibility that characterizes women in the rural areas and the informal urban sector, some substantial progress has been achieved that would form the basis of more effective implementation of the major goals of the U.N. Decade for Women -- to improve the overall status of women by eliminating inequalities between men and women in education, employment, nutrition and health and participation in economic and political decision-making and

to integrate them at every level is the process of national planning for development. Today only minor inroads have been made in changing the conditions of women in situations of inferiority, dependency and exploitation.

According to Alfred de Souza, appropriate reports on the status of women in South Asia is difficult to prepare due to the paucity of data on important social and economic indicators related to women, i.e., occupation, education, economic conditions and participation in economic and political decision-making. The lack of full and accurate statistics on women is found not only in India but also in Pakistan, Bangladesh and Afghanistan.

In South Asian countries, the dependency assumption that a woman cannot be a primary earner as long as there is an adult male in the household. The woman occupies the secondary position inspite of being an earning member of the household. The study of rural women in Bangladesh who were participating in the food for work programme reveals that 50% of these women were the chief income earners in their families and some of them supported the whole family. Further, divorced and separated women lack institutional

support and social acceptance and yet, as we see from the study of rural women in Bangladesh, they are often heads of households and solely responsible for the maintenance of the family.

Migration data in South Asia mostly represent women migration in association with marriage. Several research studies on the micro level, as noted by I.P. Singh, show that women also tend to migrate for economic reasons and not merely because of marriage and association.

Some of the major social problems which a women has to face in South Asia pertains to employment, education, marriage, family and mostly in the cultural context. "The disadvantaged situation of women in the labour market is a consequence of their position in the social system, particularly their almost total exclusion from the structures of decision-making and power. It is within this structural framework that the institutional and historical aspects of discrimination against women workers in society and in the labour market can be understood".⁹

9. Alfred de Souza [1980], Women in Contemporary India and South Asia, p. 53.

Because of the constraints of the sex segregated labour market, women tend to cluster in a limited range of occupations which have low status and are poorly paid. As a consequence of the concentration of women in a limited range of occupations women are forced to compete with women for limited job opportunities and this also has the effect of driving down the wage rate. In most South Asian countries, women are less likely than men to continue their education to higher levels and are more likely to be found concentrated in female occupations like teaching, nursing, social work and all of which have low status and low remuneration. Amongst the reasons why educated women in India and South Asia tend to cluster in a limited range of occupations are preferences based on cultural definitions of employment considered appropriate for women. Education is more directly linked to occupation in the case of women than men, though the level of education is not correlated in a linear fashion with propensity to enter the labour market.

There is also another remarkable association where wives and husbands form an asymmetrical hypothesis of family status. Wives are conditioned to take on a job which is of

equal status on inferior to that of the husband. Hence, very often it is seen that the legislation on the right of women to work and to equal employment opportunities may not be effective if the social structural factors are not taken into account.

There is also a general expectation that all wives must be housewives, hence there are career sacrifices and women, even though employed, are often employed in the unorganized sector. This is largely due to the cultural perceptions. The tendency of South Asian women to prefer self-employment within the home is also seen amongst migrant women in Britain and USA.

These migrant women are exploited when they work at home because they are poorly paid and are unprotected by legal norms affecting wages or working conditions. In the South Asian countries between 70 to 80% of the total female work force is employed in agricultural activities either as cultivators or farm labourers. Women usually perform unskilled or semi-skilled task that are poorly paid but they are also involved in different wages in dairying, poultry and gardening. Rural women not only

do their share of subsistence farming for the survival of the family but they are also entirely responsible for the female tasks of child care and housework.

Education is another sphere where women face problems and find it hard to achieve the same level as the males in the family in most South Asian countries [as in Table 2.4].

TABLE 2.4
Trend in Literacy of Women in South Asia

Countries	Females Per 100 Males			
	Primary		Secondary	
	1970	1990	1970	1990
Bangladesh	18	47	16	-
Nepal	47	81	-	49
Bhutan	-	-	-	-
India	60	71	39	55
Pakistan	36	52	25	41
Sri Lanka	89	93	101	105

Source: World Development Report 1993, p. 300.

"The relationship between education and propensity to participate in the labour force tends to be non-linear for

women with higher educational attainments. Several reasons for this have been suggested such as the operation of the asymmetry hypothesis or that relatively few job opportunities are available to higher educated women or else that, while jobs may be available and women may have even the skills for them, these employment opportunities are not used because of cultural preferences".¹⁰ Even in the informal urban sector where educational opportunities may be available to girls and women, the perception of female education as unrelated to improvement either in wages or in conditions of work or occupational mobility leads to parental unconcern for the education of girls. Cultural and religious influences determine not only success to educational opportunities but indirectly employment opportunities and the very propensity to participate in the labour force.

In Asian especially South Asian societies, a woman's sense of personal worth is related to her fertility performance and the social standing she achieves as a mother of sons.

10. Alfred de Souza [1980], Women in India and South Asia: An Introduction.

In Indian cities, excluding urban slums, it has been found that high school education for girls is significantly associated with smaller family size. Though education of women has tended to raise the age at marriage and lower the birth rate, it has not brought about any radical change in the traditional pattern of arranged marriage with dowry. It seems unlikely that the requirement of dowry will be discontinued with the education and employment of women. The problem of dowry is rooted in the system of arranged marriage and, while it may provide the bride with security and facilitate upward social mobility, it also encourages a view of women as a commodity with a market price that varies according to her education.

Marriage is a universal factor in South Asia. Since society in South Asia is sex segregated, most marriages are arranged and this tradition is carried over by Indian and Pakistani migrants when they migrate to other countries. I.P. Singh noted that "the system of arranged marriages appears to be at the core of the society's ability to sustain traditional images and roles for women despite revolutionary changes in the economic and political spheres

of the wider society". A distinctive feature of arranged marriage is dowry or "mehr" among Muslims, and in recent years there have been several cases of women who have been harassed or committed suicide for reasons related to dowry.

A large number of young men and their parents consider dowry a legitimate stepping stone to higher rungs in the social ladder and possibly a passport to domestic comfort, if not happiness. Because arranged marriage is an alliance between families rather than between individuals, divorce and remarriage lack social acceptance. While the ideal pattern of the family in the sex segregated societies of South Asia continues to be the joint family, in actual fact a high proportion of families, both in the rural and the urban areas tend to be nuclear in composition. The structure of family has important implications for the status of women particularly with respect to education, life styles and entry into the labour market.

Since, relations within the family have great significance for the status of women rather than their participation in the formal social, economic and political institutions of society, it is important to examine the

distribution of power within the domestic domain. There is an imbalance of work and power in the household between husband and wife. Even when women are employed outside the home they have to combine the double work load of occupation, housework and child rearing without, however, enjoying a corresponding increase of power in decision-making within the family. It has been pointed out that in the perception of disparities in labour productivity, the wife in housework and child rearing and the husband in agriculture or industrial occupation, fosters the operation of the principle of unequal exchange in the productive relations within the household. The process of socialization which encourages women to have a poor self-image of themselves and to relate to the menfolk in the family in terms of dependency is seen in the cultural modes of expression which identify women in terms of their husbands, rather than by their own name. Religion acts as an important cultural factor which reinforces the ideological perception of women as subordinated and under male control. In a variety of ways religion also tends to provide support for the system of *pardah*.

The persistence of traditional images of women in India and other countries of South Asia tends to mark the significant changes that are taking place in the self-understanding values and roles of women whatever their position in the social structure. In the countries of South Asia, the problems women experience in employment cannot be considered in isolation from the social and cultural context, nor must their solutions be considered the sole responsibility of women. Yet, for women's movements to be successful, the family, educational, economic and political institutions and society must collaborate in creating a social environment in which women will be able to enjoy genuine freedom and equality of opportunity.

Another menace which is growing stronger in the recent years is violence against women. "Violence against women, like all other historical phenomena of violence, has to be seen in the socio-economic and political context of power relations. It is produced within class, caste and patriarchal social relations in which male power dominates. A narrow view of violence does not go beyond an act of illegal, criminal use of physical force. But

violence includes exploitation discrimination, upholding of unequal economic and social structures, the creation of an atmosphere of terror, threat or reprisal and all forms of religio-cultural and political violence".¹¹ While violence against women is part of the general violence inherent in all social structures of class, caste, religion, ethnicity etc. and in the way the State controls people, the specificity of violence against women underlies aspects of structural violence and forms of control and coercion exercised through a hierarchical and patriarchal gender relationship in family and society. "It is essential to see the different forms of violence confronted by different sections of women, the relationship between violence and class, caste, rural urban divisions, nationality and other forms of division among women. Here some general patterns can be noted: Upper caste women (and those middle castes which try to follow upper caste paatterns or to sanskritize themselves) are involved in *pardah* norms that keep them confined to the home and so. Sheltered from external

11. Govind Kelkar [1992], Violence Against Women: Perspectives and Strategies in India, p. 2.

violence. Employed women in the urban organized section (primarily upper-caste) who do go out of the home generally enough resources (for instance in terms of available transport) to provide them protection from the worst forms of social goondaism. Thus, upper caste, upper-middle class urban organized section women tend to be subjected to violence in the family rather than to external social violence".¹²

The family which protects the woman very often is the source of the greatest violence against them. It is in these sections that dowry deaths are the most rampant, followed by female infanticide, wife beating, etc. The lower caste and lower class women often claim a greater degree of relative independence with regard to their own men. They are often more assertive than the sheltered upper-caste and upper class women and they may fight back sometimes even physically, against the more brutal forms of wife beating and other violence in the family. At the same time, they are more subject to violence like molestation,

12. Gail Omvedt [1990], Violence Against Women: New Movements and New Theories in India, Kali, p. 6.

assault, rape, murder, etc. Gail Omvedt asserted that since the lower-class, lower caste women are independent, they become more sexually accessible and hence vulnerable to violence.

It is important to note, however, that the specificity of violence against women involves an analysis of gender relations and its centrality to the family which reproduces gender inequalities. Hence, it is evident that problems of women are a part of the social problems.

However, it has also been noticed that urbanization, growth, density and heterogeneity leads to higher crime rates. From the international scenario (as in the Table below), it is evident that higher the technology and economic development, the higher is the crime rate.

TABLE 2.5

Rate of Crimes in Some Select Countries

Country	Total Crimes per 100,000 of Population		
	1975	1978	1980
Bangladesh	185	169	148
Canada	9383	9792	11171
India	486	518	473
Japan	1107	1166	1163
USA	5212	4996	5840

Rapes per 100,000 of Population

Country	1975	1978	1980
Bangladesh	0.2	0.3	0.3
Canada	8.1	8.6	9.6
India	0.6	0.7	0.7
Japan	3.3	2.5	2.2
USA	28.0	30.1	36.1

Source: Crime in India 1991, National
Crime Records Bureau

There is regional imbalance due to rural urban migration. In South Asia, however, crime rate is due to poverty, destitution and unemployment. Certain crimes are typically of urban phenomenon, e.g., gambling, prostitution, etc. According to the biologists, over crowding produces increasing death rate. There is thus a positive correlation between population density, crime rate and violence.

Urbanization in South Asia is due to rapid rural-urban migration and without a corresponding level of economic development. The forces of socio-economic transformation leading to rapidity of metropolitanization in South Asia, has contributed to a rapid change in the urban social structures, life styles and value systems. There have been fast loosening of the methods of social control and breaking

down of social and family systems and relationships particularly in the urban areas. As a result, various individuals and groups are increasingly getting "alienated" and marginalized from the society. These social forces have aggravated many social problems particularly relating to problem relating to women in the cities.

The rapid urbanization and socio-economic imbalances have aggravated the urban crimes in general and crimes against women in particular. As seen in the table on rape per 100,000 population, both the South Asian countries of India and Bangladesh are showing a steady increase in the crime. So is the case with the overall crime rate in general.

Large scale rural-urban migration has led to high land values, housing crisis, high cost of living, which in turn has led to the mushrooming growth of slums. The proportion of people living in these low residential areas, is high within the metropolises and increasing at a faster rate than the population of the city itself.

It is to be seen that areas with higher density of population and with greater urban deprivation show higher

rate of the total crimes against women than lower density areas. This may be due to the growing urban landlessness, high prevalence of poverty, unemployment particularly among the educated youth migrants etc. leads to wide social deprivations, low living standards, high population density etc. Hence, cities or areas within a city having more youth population and having high incidences of poverty rate and unemployment will have greater rate of crime against women.

Various socio-cultural, economic, demographic and psychological factors are at work in the million cities. Due to these forces, there has been growing social problems in general and in urban cities in particular. Be it Calcutta, Karachi, Dhaka, Delhi, Bombay or Madras, all bear a testimony to the increasing urban crimes particularly crimes against women.

There is a clear geographical expression of the prevalence of urban crime against women which are deep rooted in the socio-economic fabrics of the "million" cities. As there exists wide geographical inequalities in the socio-economic base between the cities and in different areas within a city thus urban crimes against women show

spatial variations. Geography of crime against women in cities, has close bearing with the population density, residential segregation and social deprivation within a city. With the wide variations of geographical inequalities within a city, thus, social problems in cities have clear spatial expressions.

Urban crime against women takes different forms such as rape, molestation, dowry death, murder, wife beating, kidnapping, eve-teasing, etc. A particular type of crime may occur in a specific location. It is believed that the total crime against women is more in the urban periphery (suburbs) than at the core. This is primarily because of depressing socio-economic conditions and more rural and semi-urban characteristics coupled with the poor enforcement of law and order as well as a lack of strict vigilance.

Conclusion

One common feature of South Asian culture is the deep rooted religiosity. Accompanying the religiosity are strong kinship ties and a fairly rigid family structure

which remains relatively unchanged. In most parts of South Asia, with the exception of Sri Lanka and Southern India, the patriarchal structure dominates with greater powers accorded to elders and to males who quite strictly control family decisions and codes of behaviour.

Today, spurious urbanization has led to a complex social structure where a certain level of modernity has been achieved but people cling to the conservative society for security. Hence, crime rates against women is showing an upsurge, and "the larger the number of havenots, and this is bound to be so in a metropolis, the greater the scope for crime, temptations for commission of crime".¹³ As in the developed countries, where urbanization guarantees a good livelihood, in the South Asian context it is associated with grim, squatter settlements, crime, delinquency and attack on the vulnerable section of society, namely, women.

Rekha Pandey, in her analysis in the Social Work Journal in 1987, said that the causes of rape and the allied

13. Nikhil Kumar, Times of India, 25th August, 1980.

crimes lie in the psychological make up, socio-cultural scenario oppressive to women and the socialization of men in such a milieu. Rape, according to Rekha Pandey, is not necessarily associated with poverty and backwardness of the people. "It has been found that the most advanced society, USA, has about one rape per minute".¹⁴ And all this is happening despite the fact that in recent years the women's liberation movement has contributed much towards the reduction of the incidence of rape and the amelioration of the circumstances faced by those who survive the rape ordeal.

The social structure, psychology of individuals that women is a lesser being in society, social learning and society is unequal and exploitative leads to the various crimes against women.

Since independence with rapid rate of urbanization, although we expect a certain extent of modernity in outlook, yet it seems the society with its social problems is slipping deeper and deeper into misery. As far as the

14. Rekha Pandey, Search of Causes of Rape in India, Indian Journal of Social Work, 48 (1); April 87, p. 103.

status of women in the urban sphere in South Asia does not present a very positive picture. Inequalities by gender continue in terms of access to education, employment and health. Although women contribute significantly to agricultural production, female participation in high productivity modern sector of the economy is limited and still low.

In South Asia where all standards of women's position relative to men is low, this has direct implications on the population trends of the region. Congruously, the high rates of fertility and infant-child mortality deplete women of their health. Repeated pregnancies lead to severe anaemia, frequent illness, and in many cases maternal deaths. With minimal levels of schooling and sex education in South Asia, it is possible for women to control their reproductive behaviour and safeguard their health and that of their children. The pitiable condition of the women in South Asian countries is due to historical, socio-economic and political context of power relations in society.

CHAPTER 3

CRIME IN INDIA: A SOCIO SPATIAL PERSPECTIVE

3.1 Introduction

As population of India is forever on the rise, so also the crime index is having an upward trend since Independence. The need for reliable statistical information about crime in this country is recognized by everyone who makes even the slightest study of any of the aspect of the problem. It is hardly possible to talk or even think about crime without resorting to statistics. In fact, seldom can a conclusion be stated that does not result from premises or assumptions which themselves vest on statistical information.

A detailed data on crime is being published by the National Crime Records Bureau since 1954. From these available sources, it is possible to study rise in crime at not only the national level but at the district and the various metropolises.

"It is generally agreed that crimes reported to the police furnish the best index of the amount of crime. This should be obvious from the fact that it is the police who

receive and record the first official report of the occurrence of a crime through information furnished by the victim or someone who has knowledge of its commission".¹ Hence, the major bulk of crime statistics is provided by the police, although it is only a statement of under-reported crime statistics.

3.2 Trends at the National Level

"The bed rock of our penal system is the Indian Penal Code (IPC) which is a combination of western scientific outlook and oriental sensitivity. The code covers a vast range of anti-social behaviour in relation to the state of society as it existed more than a hundred years ago. The IPC makes a broad classification of crimes against property, person and state".² Total cognizable crime covers not only

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1. Ronald H. Beattie, The Sources of Criminal Statistics, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, 1941, Sept. Vol. 217, p. 20.
 2. S. Venugopala Rao, Facets of Crime in India, Bombay: Allied Publishers, 1967, p. 4.

all of the crime categories [i.e., murder etc.] but also another separate category of miscellaneous crimes.

In case of crime against women, the National Crime Records Bureau has very recently brought out a separate data analysis on crime against women.

The crimes against women, identified under the Indian Penal Code [IPC] are:

1. Rape [Sec. 376, IPC]
2. Kidnapping and abduction for different purposes [Sec. 363-373, IPC]
3. Homicide for dowry, dowry deaths or their attempts [Sec. 302/304-B, IPC]
4. Torture, both mental and physical [Sec. 498-A, IPC]
5. Molestation [Sec. 354, IPC]
6. Eve-Teasing [Sec. 509, IPC]

With regard to specific social problems existing in the country, some special laws have been enacted, primarily with a view to safeguard the women. The laws falling under this category are:

1. Commission of Sati [Prevention] Act, 1987
2. Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961
3. Immoral Traffic [Prevention] Act, 1978

4. Indecent Representation of Women
[Prohibition] Act, 1986.

Since in "every seven minutes some crime is committed against women in the country, every 56 minutes a women is raped, every 26 minutes one is molested, every 33 minutes some cruelty is perpetrated against her and every one hour and 42 minutes, a dowry death takes place".³

Since the crime against women is escalating every year, it is becoming a grave concern.

The incidence of crime does not make any sense if it is not compared to population density. According to an article in the Statesman, January 1982, India is experiencing wide-spread lawlessness. Hardly a day passes without serious crimes being reported from somewhere in the country. It is not only in India that the rate of increase in crime is more than the increase in population, but crime is increasing at an alarming rate all over the world.

The Table 3.1 and Figure 3.1 aptly shows the rise in population with an escalating incidence of crime since 1951:

3. Times of India, Crime Against Women Every Seventh Minute, 9 Oct., 1994, New Delhi.

TABLE 3.1

Growth in Incidence of Crime in
Relation with Increase in Population

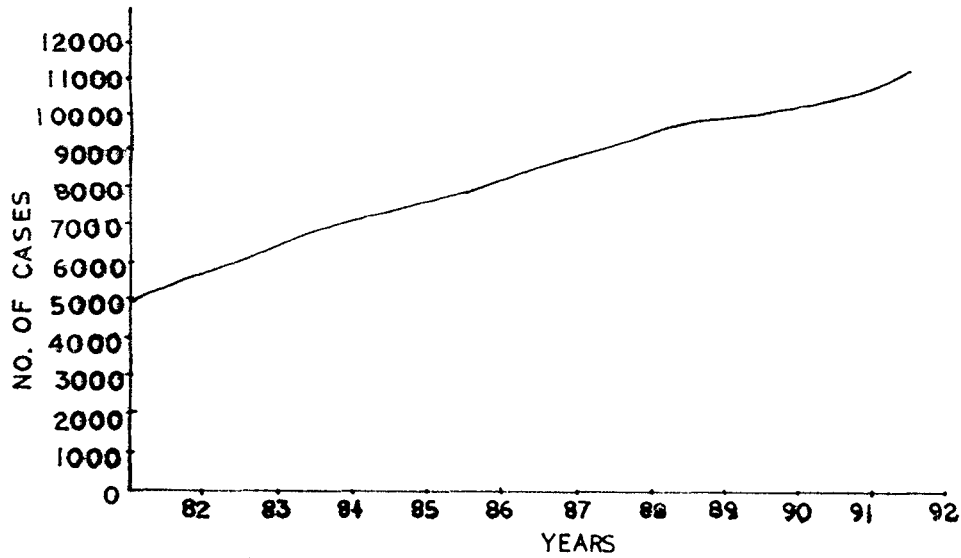
Year	Population in [millions]	Incidence of Crime in [000s]	Rate [Per Lakh of Population]	Police Strength in [000s]
1951	361.1	850	179.9	NA
1961	437.7	626	142.9	NA
1971	551.2	953	172.8	707
1981	690.1	1386	200.8	898
1986	766.1	1406	183.5	1032
1987	781.4	1407	180.1	1062
1988	796.6	1440	180.8	1066
1989	811.8	1530	188.5	1126
1990	827.0	1604	194.0	1127
1991	849.6	1678	197.5	1153
1992	867.7	1689	194.7	1182
Percentage				
Growth				
1951-81	135.3	158.2	9.8	--
1991-92	2.1	0.7	-1.4	2.5

Source: Crime in India, 1992.

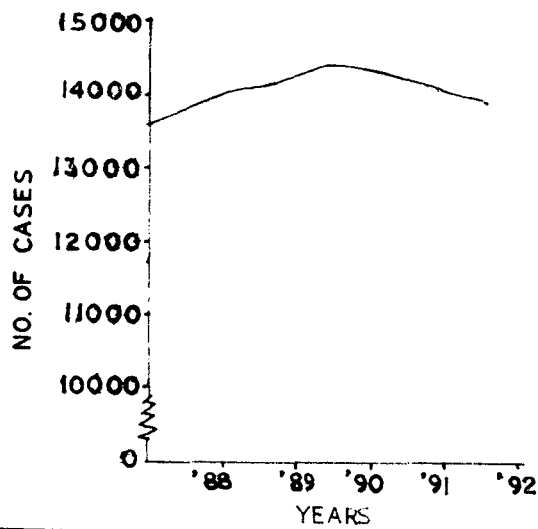
Hence, from the Table, it is evident that the rise in population has had a negative impact on the crime index of the country.

FIG: 3.1
INCIDENCE OF CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST WOMEN

RAPE :



KIDNAPPING AND ABDUCTION OF WOMEN AND GIRLS



As many as 79,037 cases of crimes against women were registered during the year 1992, compared to 74,093 in 1991 and 68,317 in 1990 thereby showing an increase of 8.5% in 1991 over 1990 and 6.7% 1992 over 1991. Although the proportion of these crimes towards total IPC crimes was only 4.3% in 1990, 4.4% in 1991 and 4.7% in 1992, yet it indicates a slow and steady increase in trend.

TABLE 3.2

**Increase in Crime Against Women
with Percentage Increase Since 1990**

Year	Total IPC Crimes	Crime Against Women	Percentage Increase	Percentage to Total Crimes
1990	1604449	68317	--	4.3
1991	1678375	74093	8.5	4.4
1992	1689341	79037	6.7	4.7

Source: Crime in India, 1992.

TABLE 3.3

Rise in Crime Against Women over a Decade

Year	Rape	Growth Rate	Kidnapping and Abduction	Growth Rate
1988	9099	6.30	13880	-
1989	9752	7.17	14169	2.08
1990	10068	3.23	14446	1.95
1991	10410	3.39	14283	-1.12
1992	11708	12.46	13996	-2.00

Source: Crime in India, 1992.

From Table 3.3, it is evident that since 1988, there has been a steady rise in rape cases. The largest number of cases have been registered in 1992, however, maximum growth rate has been in 1991-1992. In 1990 and 1991, the incidences of rape had gone down as low as 3.23 per cent and 3.39 per cent respectively. However, in 1992, the rape cases have escalated to over 12.46 per cent.

In the case of kidnapping and abduction since 1988, a clear break up has been given as kidnapping and abduction cases showed a significant rise. However, as in the incidences of rape, the 1990, 1991 data showed a significant curtailment. The 1992 data has showed negative growth rate.

The other crime head-wise incidence reported during the years 1990 to 1992 alongwith the percentage variation over the previous years is presented in Table 3.4:

TABLE 3.4

Crime Head-wise Incidence alongwith the Percentage Variation

Crime Head	Incidence			%age Variation in	
	1990	1991	1992	1990-91	1991-92
Dowry Deaths	4836	5157	4962	6.6	-3.8
Torture	13450	15949	19750	18.8	23.8
Molestation	20194	20611	20385	2.1	-1.1
Eve-teasing	8620	10283	10751	19.3	4.6

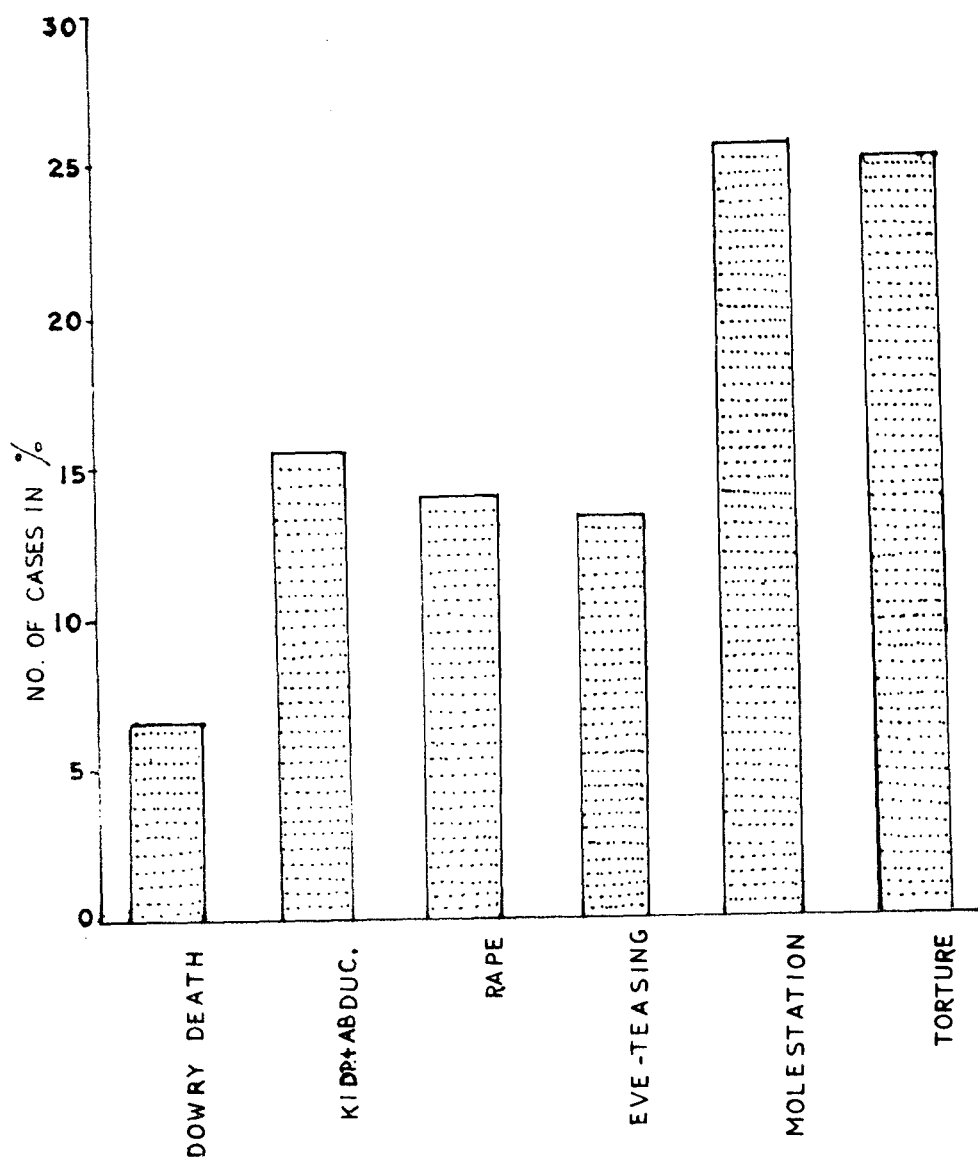
Source: Crime in India, 1992.

It is apparent that the incidence of rape, torture or harassment and eve-teasing recorded increase in 1992 over its previous year while those of kidnapping and abduction, dowry deaths and molestation cases have declined. The highest increase of 23.8% was noticed under torture. However, crimes under all the heads had increased with varying magnitude in 1991 compared to 1990.

Relative percentage share of different forms of crimes remained identical with marginal fluctuations, during the last three years. During 1992, percentage shares showed marginal decline in all types of crimes except torture and eve-teasing. The percentage share of molestation cases is as high as 23.8 as seen in Figure 3.2.

The incidence of rape cases have been given special importance in Crime in India series. Since 1981, an analysis of the data shows that crime under almost all the heads recorded an increase from year to year. The incidence of rape cases which were 9099 during 1988 rose as high as 10088 during 1990. Similarly, kidnapping and abduction cases increased from 13880 during 1988 to 14446 during 1990, 13996 in 1992.

FIG:3.2
PERCENTAGE SHARE OF VARIOUS CRIMES COMMITTED
AGAINST WOMEN IN 1992



In an age group distribution of the victims of rape in 1988-1992, the highest number of cases [7000]

TABLE 3.5

Age-wise Distribution of Victims of Rape, 1988-92

Year	Below 10 Yrs	10-16 Yrs	16-30 Yrs	30 Years and above
1988	233	1869	5832	1165
1989	369	1965	5646	1772
1990	394	2105	6028	1541
1991	1099	2630	5377	1319
1992	532	2581	7000	1621

Source: Crime in India, 1992.

in the age group of 16-30 years which accounted for 59.8% of the total victims, showed a significant increase of 30.2% over the previous year. Paedophilia, i.e., child rape below 10 years of age has come from significantly 1992 as north India which had a high proportion of such cases showed a sharp decline [Table 3.5].

It has been deduced that the causes of rape lie in the psychological make-up, socio-cultural scenario, oppressive to women and the socialization of men in such a milieu.

"Rape is not necessarily associated with poverty and backwardness of the people. It has been found that the most advanced society, i.e., USA, one rape takes place per minute. And all this is happening despite the fact that in recent years, the women's liberation movement has contributed much towards the reduction of the incidence of rape and the amelioration of the circumstances faced by those who survive the rape ordeal. In some cases, the rape takes place in assertion of male dominance over women".⁴

There has been an increase in the dowry deaths in recent years due to a greater inclination towards dowry due to the rise in the material aspirations and expectations. Unless there is a radical change in our value system, the problem will continue to exist.

The motives for violence against women range from situational urge, to socio-psychological aggression as suggested by Ram Ahuja. In most abduction cases, the motives for kidnapping the unmarried girls or abducting the married women have been either for "sexual relations, for

4. Rekha Pandey, Search of Causes of Rape in India, Indian Journal of Social Work, 48(1), April 1987, p. 102-3.

marriage, for selling and for prostitution. In kidnapping and abduction occurred with an economic motive in 12.2 % cases, with a purely biological motive of sex satisfaction in 29.3% cases with the twin object of sex and marriage in 19.5% cases, and with the object of marriage in 39.0% cases".⁵

As for cases such as murder of women, generally the trend for such cases follows remarkably closely the general pattern of crime offences against a person. Despite the increase in murders, the incidents of murder are not excessively high in India.

3.3 Crime Against Women in States and Union Territories

After studying crime against the vulnerable section of the population at the national level, it is important to see the meso level data, i.e., the states and the union territories. The data for the analysis of the incidence of violence and crime in the States is relatively limited in

5. Ram Ahuja, Crime Against Women, Rawat Publishers, 1987, p. 84.

terms of the crime classification, compared to that of India as a whole. Figure 3.3 gives a state-wise overview of crime against women in 1991.

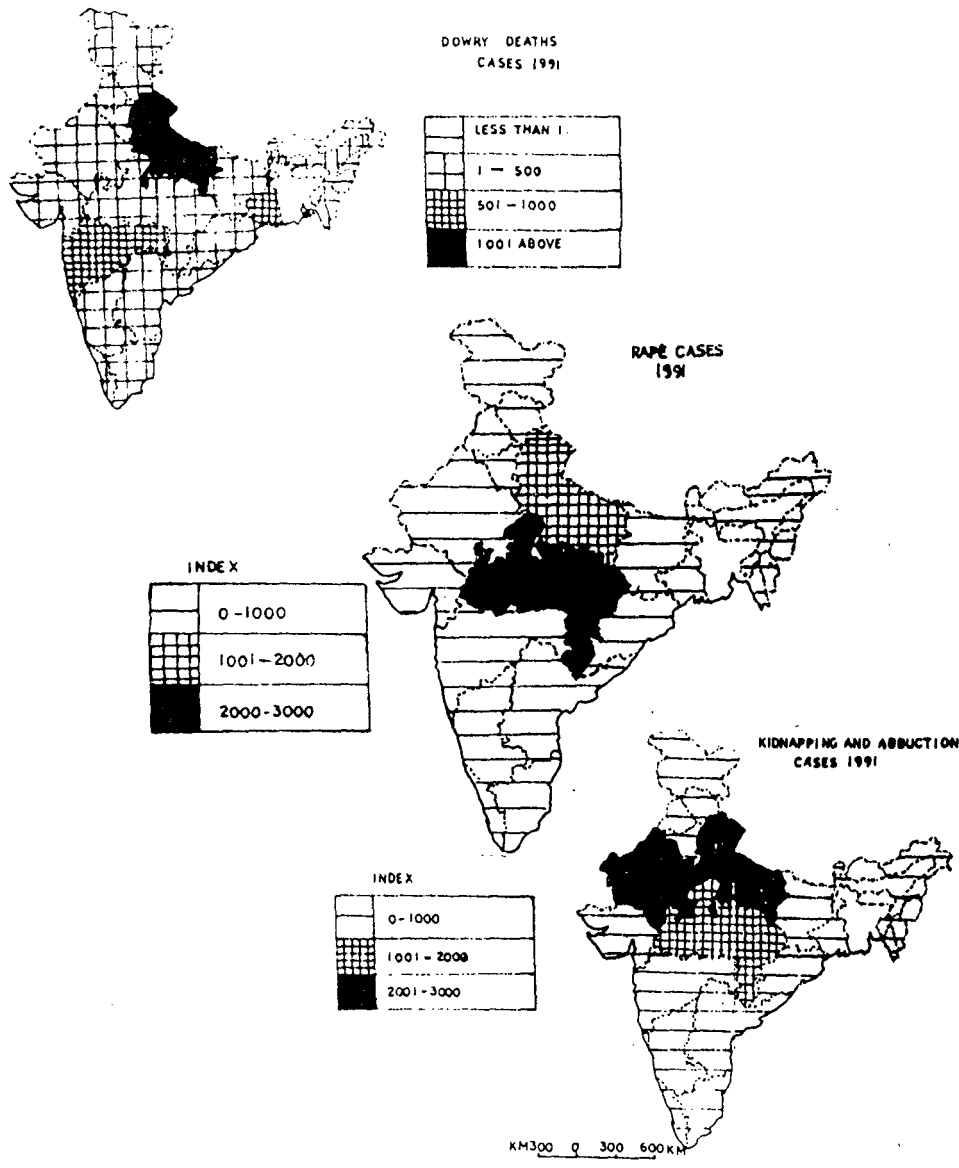
It is evident that in case of total cognizable crime under IPC, in both 1981 and 1991, UP, MP and Maharashtra reach the level of high concentration of crime. As far as the Union Territories are concerned, Delhi exceeds by the average rate of crime [Appendix I].

However, in the case of women specific crimes such as rape cases, Madhya Pradesh had the highest number of cases in 1991, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan are the other states where the rape cases are the highest.

As far as kidnapping and abduction of women and girls is concerned, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan have the highest number of such cases. As far as dowry deaths are concerned, the 1991 data also shows that Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan have the largest number of cases.

The variation between 1990 and 1991 for rape and abduction cases for all India is 3.4% and 1.1% growth respectively. Amongst the states, there has been a considerable reduction in rape cases over one year in

FIG: 33
STATEWISE DISTRIBUTION OF CRIME AGAINST WOMEN 1991



Manipur, Meghalaya, Tripura, Mizoram, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana and Tamil Nadu. However, the outstanding rise in rape cases over the year has been in Arunachal Pradesh, Goa, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim and Nagaland. Amongst Union Territories, Delhi with 20.9% and Pondicherry with 15.1% has recorded a considerable rise over one year.

In the kidnapping and abduction cases of women and girls, outstanding escalation of crime has been in Nagaland followed by Sikkim, Haryana and Goa. Surprisingly in the U.Ts., there has been a 100% rise in abduction cases in Daman and Diu, while Delhi which is a crime prone state has shown a negative growth [Appendix].

Figure 3.4 gives the state-wise percentage contribution of total crime committed against women during 1992.

The "state-wise incidence level indicates that nearly 70% of the total crimes were reported for only six states, namely, Uttar Pradesh [16.3%], Madhya Pradesh [15.7%], Maharashtra [15.1%], Rajasthan [9.0%], Andhra Pradesh [8.1%] and Gujarat [5.4%]. The remaining 19 states and 7 UTs contributed the balanced 30%. A comparative study of the three years, i.e. 1990, 1991 and 1992 indicates that this

form of crime is proportionately on the increase in UP, Rajasthan and UT of Delhi. Correspondingly, decrease in Madhya Pradesh is noticeable".⁶

As in Figure 3.4, the States/UTs having contributed less than 5% of the crimes can be categorized as low risk States/UTs.

"Analysis of the statistics reveals that the high level of incidence of rape and molestation cases is in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, kidnapping and abduction cases in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, dowry deaths and torture cases in Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh, eve-teasing cases in Delhi, Pondicherry and UP".⁷

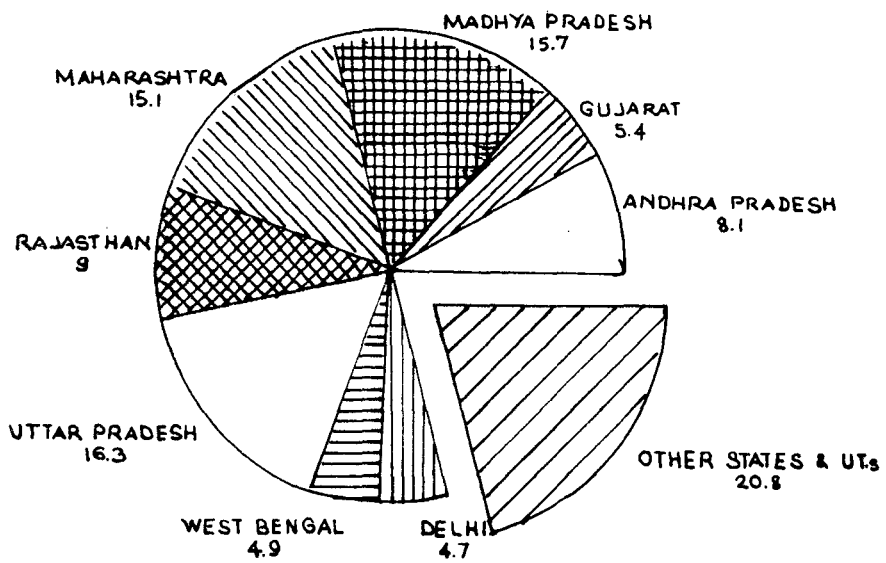
Incidence of crime alone may not be the correct indicator of the level of crime, as the states have varying density of population. The rate of crime, i.e., incidence per lakh of population is considered as a balanced indicator to assess the level of severity of crime universally.

6. Crime in India, 1992, National Crime Records Bureau, Government of India Publication, p. 233.

7. Ibid.

FIG 3-4

STATE WISE PERCENTAGE CONTRIBUTION TO TOTAL
CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST WOMEN DURING 1992



The local and special crimes also need special mention in this portion.

In the Dowry Prohibition Act, 5157 cases were reported in 1991 recording 14.6% decrease over the previous year and 4962 cases were reported in the year 1992 recording 14.2% increase. Bihar, Tamil Nadu, UP and Karnataka reported the bulk of the cases in that order constituting 81.6% cases reported under this Act.

"As far as the Sati [Prevention] Act is concerned, total of 52 cases were reported in 1990 recording 44% increase and 17 cases in 1991 recording 67.3% decrease. Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra reported 29 out of 36 cases. In the year 1991, 9 cases were reported from Haryana, 6 from West Bengal and one each from Bihar and Pondicherry. General trend is indicative of the fact that the crimes of this nature are sporadic, particularly in the state of Rajasthan where only 1 case was reported in 1989. In the entire country, just one case [from Andhra Pradesh] was reported during 1992, indicating that this Act has brought about the desired reforms in the society".⁸

8. Ibid.

Rape which is perhaps the most gruesome and heinous crime has shown a steady increase. In 1981, the largest number of such cases were reported in Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Surprisingly, even after a decade of stringent legislation, the number of cases have escalated and the above three states still occupy the same position. In 1981, Delhi and Mizoram were the UTs with the largest number of cases. In 1991, there were 161 cases in Delhi. In the other UTs, the number of cases reported are few. The cases of paedophilia [i.e., child rape below 10 years] which was 394 in 1990 has gone upto 1099 in 1991. But in 1992, it went down to 532. "This may be mainly due to a steep decline of 88.1% in UP and 66.8% in MP. On the other hand, sharp rise of 68.3% in Maharashtra and 40.6% in the UT of Delhi are observed. Not a single case of paedophilia was reported from the state of Jammu and Kashmir, the UTs of D&N Haveli and Daman and Diu".⁹

From the study of the statistical details, it is evident that the north-central India is the area where there

9. Ibid.

is maximum violence against women. " Nayer noticed that the area stretching across India from Rajasthan to Manipur [but not including Punjab or Haryana] was one of the especially crime prone areas".¹⁰

Violence is more a part of social life in north-central India than in the remaining parts of the country. Although little attention has been given to the patterns of crime in India, north-central India clearly has a much higher incidence than the rest of the country, especially south India. Poverty related crimes are widespread throughout the country, but crimes of violence are strongly concentrated in a zone approximating the northern plains from Punjab to West Bengal".¹¹

The combination of historical, cultural and geographical factors have led to a regional sub-culture of violence in north-central India.

10. Ashok K. Dutt and others, Is There a North Central Subculture of Violence in India, The National and Geographical Journal of India, Vol. XXV, Part I, March, 1979, p. 101.

11. Ibid.

3.4 Crime in the Metropolitan Cities of India

The rising crime rate in developing countries is not related to the socio-cultural perspective, but more so to the level of industrialization and urbanization crime is mostly concentrated in the urban areas of the country and also depends on the size of the cities. "Violent crimes are associated with large cities. Population specific rates of violent crimes exhibit considerable variation in their relationship to metropolitan population size. In America suicide rate has been shown to increase with the size of the city. In England and Wales higher proportion of all indictable crime was committed in the larger and medium sized cities and towns".¹²

It is believed that the urban way of life is characterized by extensive conflicts of norms and values, rapid social change, increased mobility of population, emphasis on material goals and individualism. Heterogeneity is a striking characteristic of large cities

12. A. Sivamurthy, Town Size and Crime, Indian Journal of Criminology, Vol. 4, No.1, Jan, 1986, p. 17.

and naturally brings exposure to a great diversity of norms and values. This moral decay in the crowded towns results in the break down of law and so on".¹³

In Figure 3.5 and Table 3.10, the rape cases and the kidnapping and abduction cases in three years, i.e., 1981, 1985 and 1991 is clearly evident for the 12 cities.

TABLE 3.10
Incidence of Crime Against Women in Metropolises

Cities	Rape			Kidnapping and Abduction of Women & Girls
	1981	1985	1991	1991
Ahmedabad	5	10	26	164
Bangalore	19	15	25	32
Bombay	74	102	114	164
Calcutta	24	27	17	78
Delhi	78	71	195	551
Hyderabad	8	31	38	33
Jaipur	10	19	22	121
Kanpur	45	36	23	153
Lucknow	18	29	28	29
Madras	10	13	26	24
Nagpur	26	87	51	70
Pune	12	22	36	50
Total	329	402		

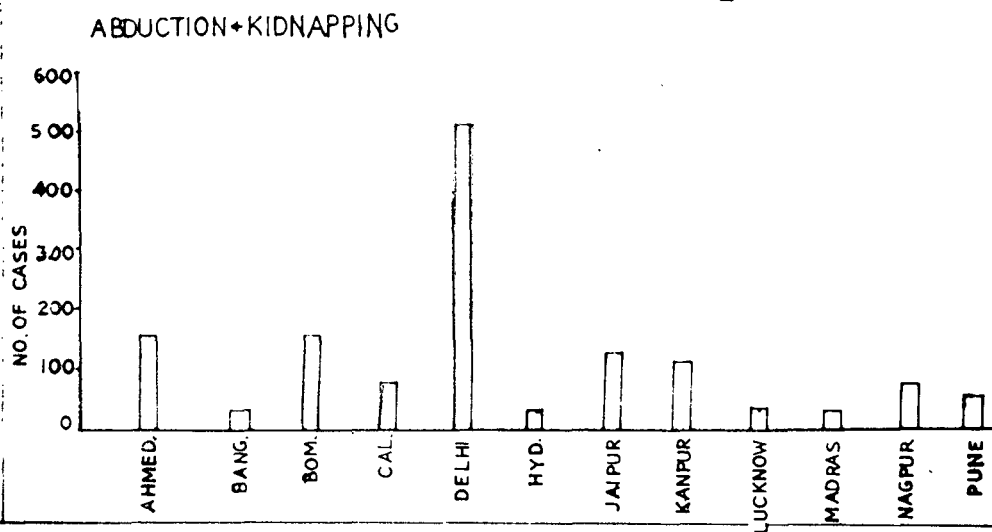
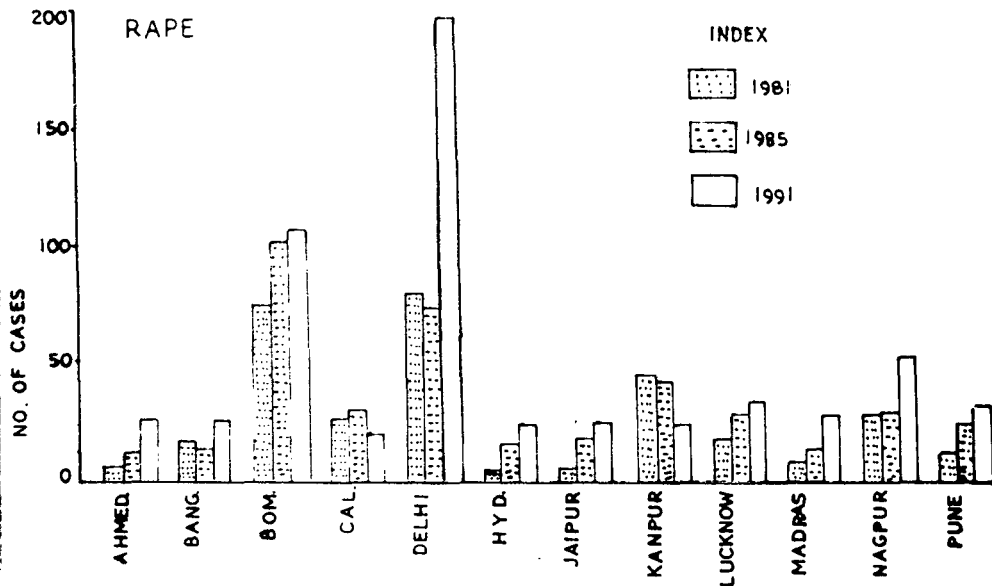
Source: Compiled from Crime in India, 1981, 1991.

13. Ibid.

FIG:3-5

TREND IN CRIME AGAINST WOMEN IN THE MAJOR CITIES

IN INDIA:1981 1985 1991



In 1981, Delhi had 78 rape cases, while Bombay was close behind with 74 cases and Kanpur was a close third with 45 cases. In 1985, the scene changed only slightly where Bombay had 102 cases, Delhi 71 and Kanpur 36 cases. In 1991, Delhi again occupied the central feature in rape cases with 195 cases, followed by Bombay with 114 and Nagpur 51 cases. In a year, i.e., by 1992, the crime index for rape cases increased to 236 cases in Delhi, 104 in Bombay, Pune with 51 cases and Nagpur with 48 cases.

In 1991, a clear picture for kidnapping cases was evident with Delhi having the highest figures of 551 cases followed by Ahmedabad, Bombay and Kanpur.

The largest number of cases in all cities is in the age group of 16 to 30 years. However, Kanpur which has 45 cases in total has 30 cases in the paedophilia group [i.e., below 10 years] in 1981. This feature has been successfully curbed over the last decade.

In 1992, the highest rape cases have been reported in Delhi with 236 cases, Bombay 104 cases, Pune with 51 cases and Nagpur 48 cases [Appendix V].

The largest number of rape cases in each age group is in Delhi. In Delhi, most of "the violent crimes like murders mostly occurred in the resettlement colonies and villages".¹⁴

"Delhi has the dubious distinction of having the maximum number of sexual crimes against women among the metropolitan cities of the country".¹⁵

In Delhi, rape cases have shown a steady rise during the past years. In 1991 only 195 cases were reported. The number rose to 236 in 1992. The molestation cases have shown an upward swing in the capital while there is a definite downward swing in eve-teasing.

"Bombay had 314 cases of rape during these three years. They went upto 113 last year from 100 in 1992. The number of molestation cases in Bombay was lower to that of Delhi. A total of 658 criminal cases against women were reported in Bombay during the said period. Eve-teasing cases in the city, however, were many times lesser than in the capital.

14. Times of India [New Delhi]. 29th October 1994, "Affluent South Delhi More Prone to Crimes of All Hues".

15. Times of India [New Delhi], Delhi leads sexual crimes in 6th March 1994.

Among other metro cities, Hyderabad, which accounted for the minimum number of crimes against women, has registered higher number of rape cases as compared to Calcutta, Madras and Bangalore. As many as 115 rape cases were reported in Hyderabad during 1991-93. Against 32 in 1991, there were 42 such cases in 1993. Madras showed a downward trend in rape incidents. As against 13 rapes in 1992, only three such incidents took place last year. Cases of molestation were also not high in Madras, but eve-teasing continued to plague the city at a higher rate than its other southern counterparts. In Bangalore, rape cases almost doubled last year as compared to 1991 when some two dozen incidents of rape were reported".¹⁶

The three most common hypothesis to the cause of crime which were held in the nineteenth century, namely, poverty, lack of education and population density can still be used to explain crime in general as well as crime against women. V. Veeraghavan's study on Delhi gave a general overview that crime is mostly concentrated in the middle and low middle

16. Times of India [New Delhi], 6th March, 1994, "Delhi Leads in Sexual Crimes".

class colonies. Most victims and offenders came from lower level of occupation or skilled workers like mechanics, technicians, drivers, taxi and scooter rickshaw drivers, vendors".¹⁷ The study also indicates that the higher the educational level of the women, the lesser were the chances of rape. In other words, in most circumstances in India, educational qualifications are directly proportional to the financial condition of the person.

3.5 Conclusion

Crime in India is increasing at an alarming rate especially those crimes which are against the vulnerable section of the population. Today, the growth rate of crime has far outstripped the rate of population growth. If the trend continues, growth of crime and population would outstrip the growth of police strength in the coming decades. Today, the all India average crime rate is 9.1.

17. Times of India [New Delhi], move for cell on rape cases, 5th Sept., 1986.

As far as the over all national crime statistics is concerned, in 1992 the crime rate is increasing with 12.46 growth rate for rape cases and a negligible -2.00 growth rate in kidnapping and abduction cases for women and children. As for the overall percentage increase between 1991 and 1992 for crime against women is 6.7%.

Crime such as eve-teasing and wife harassment is on the rise. As far as rape cases are concerned, there is an escalation of such cases especially of victims belonging to the age group 16-30 years.

The most crime prone states are those of the north-central India, namely, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan. Rape and molestation cases are prominent in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, kidnapping and abduction cases in Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, dowry deaths and torture cases in Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal and Andhra Pradesh, while eve-teasing cases in Delhi, Pondicherry and Uttar Pradesh.

Due to the problem of lack of data and sufficient information, the hypothesis for crime and urban population [size and density] cannot be properly established. However,

it can be safely inferred that there is a positive relation between the size of population, growth and its density. For instance, U.P. and Bihar are the most populous states in the country, showing one of the highest rate of crime.

In the metropolises, the largest number of crime against women are in Bombay, Delhi, Nagpur, Kanpur, etc. However, in recent times, Delhi is heading the list in case of sex related crime against women.

However, very sadly, often statistics distort the crime scenario. "Mere use of statistics to illustrate the city's crime situation often projects a distorted picture. Some police officers feel this is the main reason for resorting to burking which means non-registration of crime incidents".¹⁸ This is done to induce a sense of security among the citizens, as the political and administrative bosses and also the media evaluates the police performance through statistics. Often burking is resorted to ward off both internal as well external pressures. Hence, although often an efficient police force

18. Times of India [New Delhi], Statistics Distort Crime Scenario, 10th Sept, 1994.

is projected, the victims are refused justice. Often, an unprecedented growth and urbanization and a burgeoning slum population defeat the efforts of the police force which does not increase with the corresponding increase in population. A controlled crime statistics has often led to a decline in crime".¹⁹ According to researchers, it is difficult to manipulate rape and murder cases. However, crime against women is on the rise all over India due to the complex socio-cultural and economic matrix. Rapid urbanization coupled with growth of population and lack of space and education have often led to various social evils. Greed, feudal mentality, economic benefit, a need to dominate along with overall degeneration of ethical and moral values in society, has led to the recent situation of increasing crime against women in India. Over all development, i.e., rural as well as urban development should take place side by side. Exodus of unemployed youth should be checked from the villages to the city. This in the long run will check crime. But above all women should be made

19. Ibid.

aware of their rights, they should be educated and more participation of the women's organizations should be encouraged. The attitude of the parents, society and women themselves should change. Women should not be considered as a burden. Independence and self-respect should be encouraged which will check crime against the vulnerable section of the population in the long run.

CHAPTER 4

CRIME IN CALCUTTA

4.1 Introduction

It has been observed that increase in population results in rise in crime against women. Calcutta is one such place where in the consistent rise in crime rates alongwith the population rise is very clearly manifested.

The city is characterized by widespread human poverty, ever increasing employment, child labour, wide socio-economic inequalities, a large migrant population, over crowding and acute congestion, physical and functional obsolesce, dilapidation, industrial obsolesce, economic and sectoral crisis: housing, transport, water problems like any other city in the Third World.

The crisis in Calcutta is deep rooted in its physical, socio-cultural, economic, environmental and politico-administrative city structures. The city portrays a physical crisis, in the sense that very limited space is available for its areal growth. The crisis in the city is nothing but economic crisis...

The housing crisis is the most common as in all other cities in South Asia. The fast growing slums and squatters are the manifestations of such crisis. Nearly one-third of the metropolitan population live in over crowded settlements of single storey hutments of temporary construction. About 1.8 million people in the city proper and three million people in the whole metropolis do not have adequate shelter and live in bustees [slums]. They constitute more than half of the population and about 58% of the total metropolitan bustee population.¹

Given such tremendous space constraints and virtual non-availability of any scope for physical expansion there is a severe economic crisis. This complete degradation and dilapidation of the city has even eroded the traditional genteel Bengali disposition towards women as the most respected and sheltered segment of the social fabric and made them the targets of the most heinous forms of social attack.

1. M. Mohanty, Geography of Urban Crisis and Conflicts in the Third World: A Comparative Study of Calcutta and Dhaka, Thesis, JNU, SIS, 1991, p. 146.

The present study which is based on three years namely, 1981, 1991 and 1993 data is more a demographic and socio-cultural locations of crime. The demographic and socio-cultural study of both criminals and victims is limited to the items of information which are recorded. From the arrest statistics in the First Information Report or FIR, of the 36 police stations in Calcutta, the best source of statistics on crime, one can usually get the age, sex, marital status, occupation of the criminal as well as the victim. The information collected at arrest is neither a model of accuracy, nor is grossly inaccurate and unusable. In the present study the limitations of data on crimes inhibit the analysis of the locality of the criminals. A total of eight parameters have been taken to justify whether crime against women is on the rise or not in the city of Calcutta. While dealing with the statistical data spanning over three years, but representing two decades, several technical problems have arisen. In 1981, no crime was recorded under the crime-head dowry death as the dowry law came into existence only in 1986-87. Besides, rape laws have been redefined in 1983. The social stigma and the

taboo which a women has to face to report a rape case, eve-teasing or molestation is too great, and often such crime and the details are deleted to protect the social status of the women. In 1981, eve-teasing and women or wife harassment cases were often overlooked as minor offences, until in the late 1980s women's organization placed more emphasis on the dignity of the woman.

Under these limitations and in a few cases due to the non-availability of the FIRs from some police stations for the year 1981, there have been certain constraints in the work.

The present study involves studying and identifying the dominant factors explaining geography of crimes against women and emerging spatial pattern in the city.

- o The statistical data aptly proves that the areas of high density of population and urban deprivation shows a higher rate of the total crimes against women in the city than low density areas.
- o Besides this, it is also evident that the rate of total urban crime against women is more in the low residential areas than in the high residential areas.

- o A positive correlation has been found between the high male population and number of crimes.
- o The present study has clearly brought about the fact that certain type of crime against women is more prominent in specific areas in a city. However, the total crimes against women are more in the urban periphery or suburbs than in the city core.
- o A caste segregation study has also been done on Calcutta. However, such a study is incomplete if other socio-economic details are not taken into account.
- o In this study an attempt has been made to correlate crime with season and time period during the day over a period of three years, namely, 1981, 1991 and 1993.
- o Lastly, though the content analysis of the newspapers over the specified three years i.e. 1981, 1991 and 1993, the under-reporting of crime at the police stations is more evident.

It is also evident that gathering of information on individual offenders is more thorough at the point of

TABLE 4.1

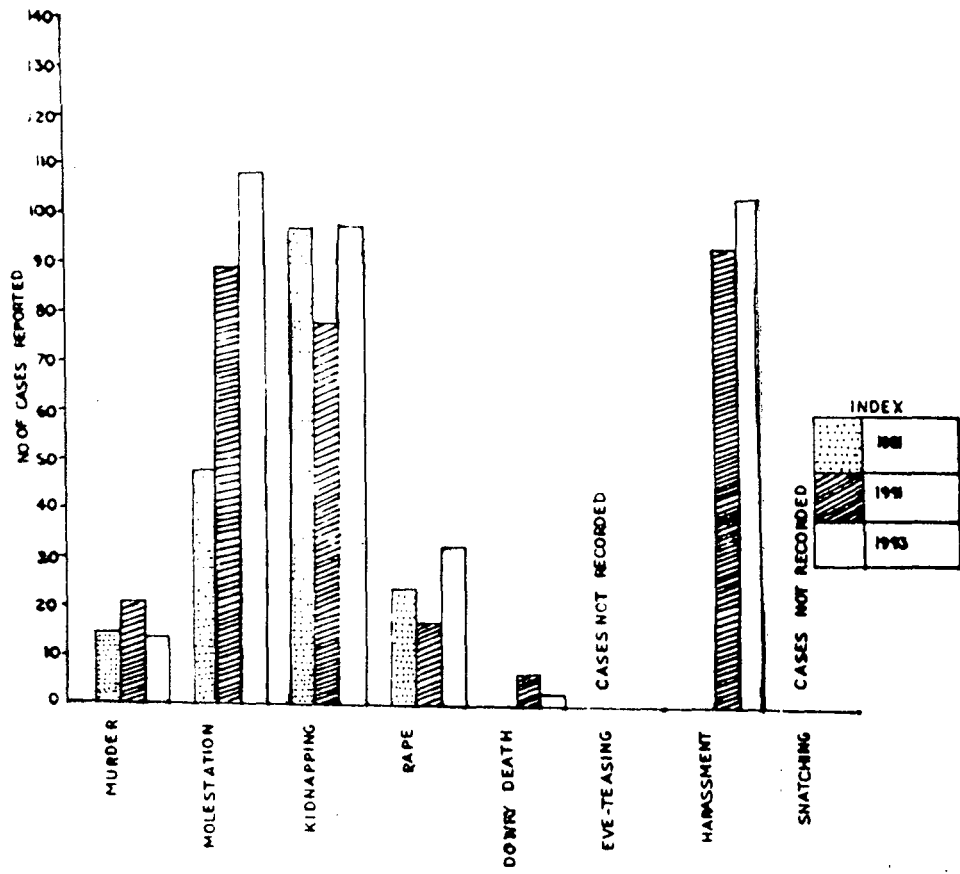
Crime in Calcutta City

Heads of Crime	1981	1991	1993
Murder	15	21	14
Molestation	48	89	108
Kidnapping	97	78	98
Rape	24	17	33
Dowry Violence	.	7	3
Eve-Teasing	.	.	.
Alcoholism and Wife Torture	.	93	133
Snatching	.	.	.
Total	184	305	387

**Source: Crime Figures as Published in the Official
Records, Police Headquarters, Calcutta.**

admission to prisons than at the point of arrest. But those admitted to prison are such a small proportion of legally processed offenders that they do not represent a good picture of criminological demography as do the police arrests.

FIG. 4-1
 INCREASE IN CRIME AGAINST WOMEN IN CALCUTTA

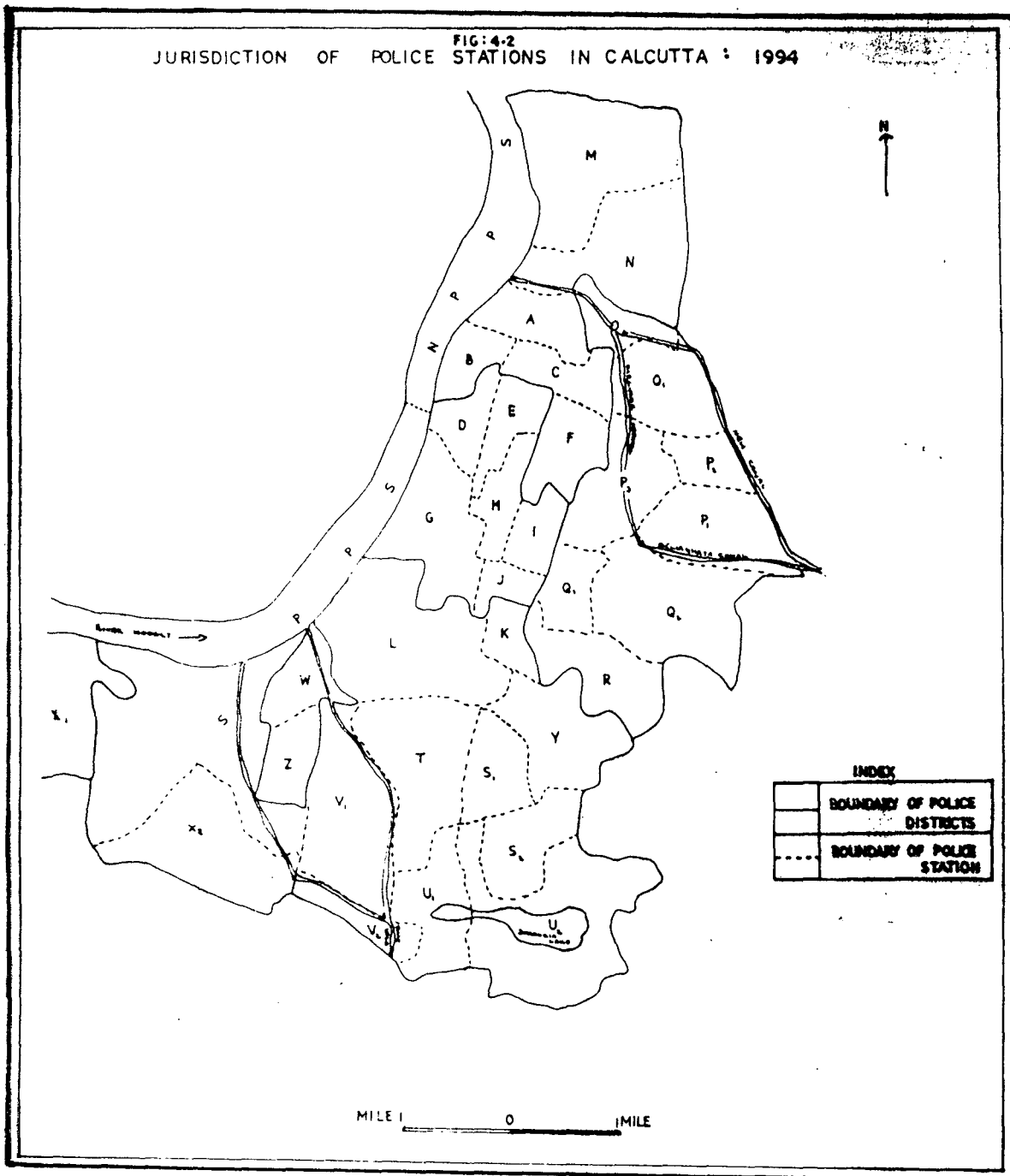


4.2 Crime in Calcutta

Crime statistics have been collected for three years namely, 1981, 1991 and 1993 for the eight variables such as rape, dowry death, women harassment, snatching, kidnapping or abduction, murder, molestation, eve-teasing and others as seen in Table 4.1.

The city has five divisions for convenience in police administration with a total of 36 police stations. The administrative set up with the details of approximate area and number of crime committed in the three years 1981, 1991 and 1993. Figure 4.2 shows the police stations in the city as in 1994. It is obvious from that the largest police administrative division is the Eastern Suburban Division with a total area of 22.3 sq.kms. with a moderate population density. However, the area has the highest number of reported cases of crime against women in 1981 with a total of 62 cases. Since the largest number of cases are reported in this area, it is necessary to study the other socio-economic variables as well [Appendix VI].

FIG:4-2
 JURISDICTION OF POLICE STATIONS IN CALCUTTA : 1994



From the study especially from Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1, it is evident that the city of Calcutta has a high rate of domestic violence in the form of alcoholism and wife torture which has been further elaborated as harassment of women. In 1981, no case was registered under this category as the very concept, domestic violence could be registered as a crime came into existence much later. Molestation cases have also increased twice over the decade, and almost by three times by 1993. The total crime against women has increased over the years. Calcutta is known to have experienced tremendous growth due to refugee influx which in turn over the years has led to shortage of housing accommodation, over crowded localities, slums, traffic congestion, etc. has aggravated the law and order problems in the city.

"The physical and social density conditions produce crowding phenomenon, but all crowding phenomenon need not necessarily have the external high density conditions. Therefore, the condition of density exists in reality whereas the condition of crowding is more an outcome of perception than experience in the real world. The phenomenon

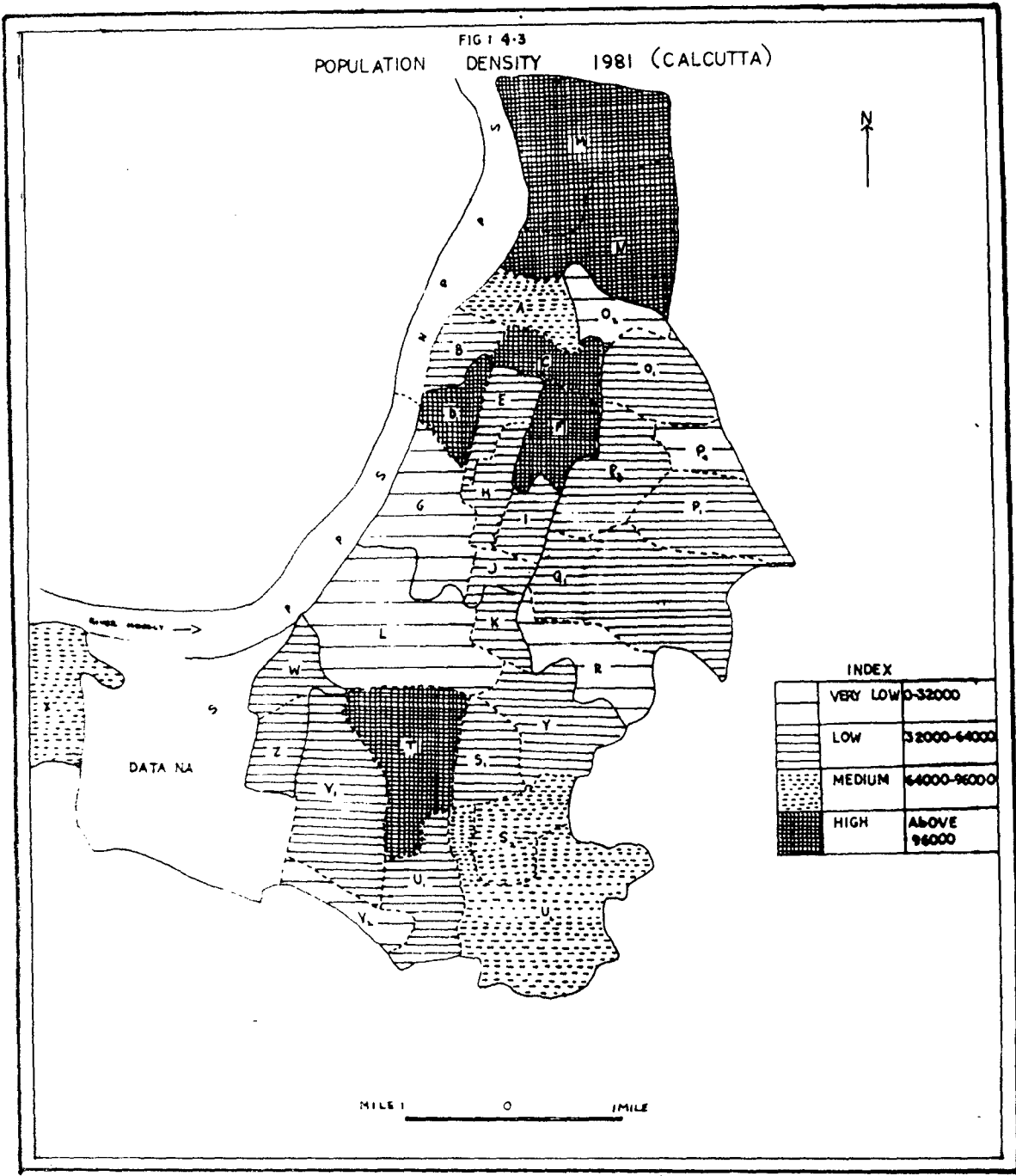
of crowding is related to the perception of environment by an individual or a group, or a section of society. It is largely the subjective feeling and assessment of the environment by the concerned persons".²

Calcutta has a slum population of 1,000,000 which is 30.26% of the total population of the city. The city which occupies an area of 104 sq.kms, has 6.14 sq.kms. of slums which houses a density of 162,866 persons per sq.kms. This density far exceeds the average population density of the city which is 31,779 sq.kms.³ [as seen in Fig. 4.3]

"The greater occurrence of crimes in urban areas is perhaps due to its heterogeneous social conditions, diversified economic activities, and class structure which is influenced by language, religion, caste and culture. Crimes occur in the same socio-economic neighbourhood where the criminal resides. Secondly, crimes occur in areas where high socio-economic conditions exist. The criminal considers such areas as favourable areas for his purpose. Lastly,

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2. K.M. Kulkarni, Geography of Crowding and Human Response: A Study of Ahmedabad City, Concept Publishing Co., 1984, p. 15.
 3. Census of India, Town Directory, Calcutta.

FIG 1 4-3
 POPULATION DENSITY 1981 (CALCUTTA)



INDEX

VERY LOW	0-32000
LOW	32000-64000
MEDIUM	64000-96000
HIGH	ABOVE 96000

MILE 1 0 1MILE

crimes occur over an interacting space where the criminal and the possible victim come in contact".⁴

In the present study, the limitations of data on crimes inhibit the analysis of the locality of criminals. However, an attempt has been made to relate the reported cases of crime alongwith variables such as literacy of both male and female population, caste segregate and sex ratio of population.

The city has a large migrant population alongwith a refugee population. In both the cases, the male population is naturally more dominant than the female population in the city. Industry, commerce and finance are thus a vital phenomena in the life of the metropolis, a large part of its life geared to making and spending high incomes. Several thousands have flocked to the city for a brighter future. The influx has been constant and rapid. Crime in Calcutta especially against women cannot but reflect the vastness and diversities which mark the life of the city.

As seen in Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1, all forms of crime against women have been on the rise. The highest number of

4. K.M. Kulkarni, n. 2, p. 68.

cases have been recorded in the Eastern Suburban Division, which also occupies the largest area of 22.3 sq.kms. with the highest male population of 19.5%. However, this area does not have the highest density of population, but this area does have the largest slums in Calcutta. The Eastern Suburban Division is along side the salt marshes and swampy area, which might explain the cause for a low population density and low land values which have led to the growth of the largest slums in the city.

Slum areas are also naturally "the areas of constant and intense interaction [fractional areas] hence prone to conflicts and crime".⁵ The slum areas also have a higher incidence of crime associated with a higher proportion of labourers engaged in industrial activity and the largest share of non-working population, which is 20.85% of the total non-working population of the city. As for the caste segregation is concerned, the Eastern Suburban Division has the largest percentage of 29.04% of Scheduled Caste male population. The population which belongs to the lower rung of the social ladder and those economically backward, occupy

5. Ibid.

the low rent and low land value areas. Hence, this Eastern Sub-division has a higher proportion of people belonging to the backward communities.

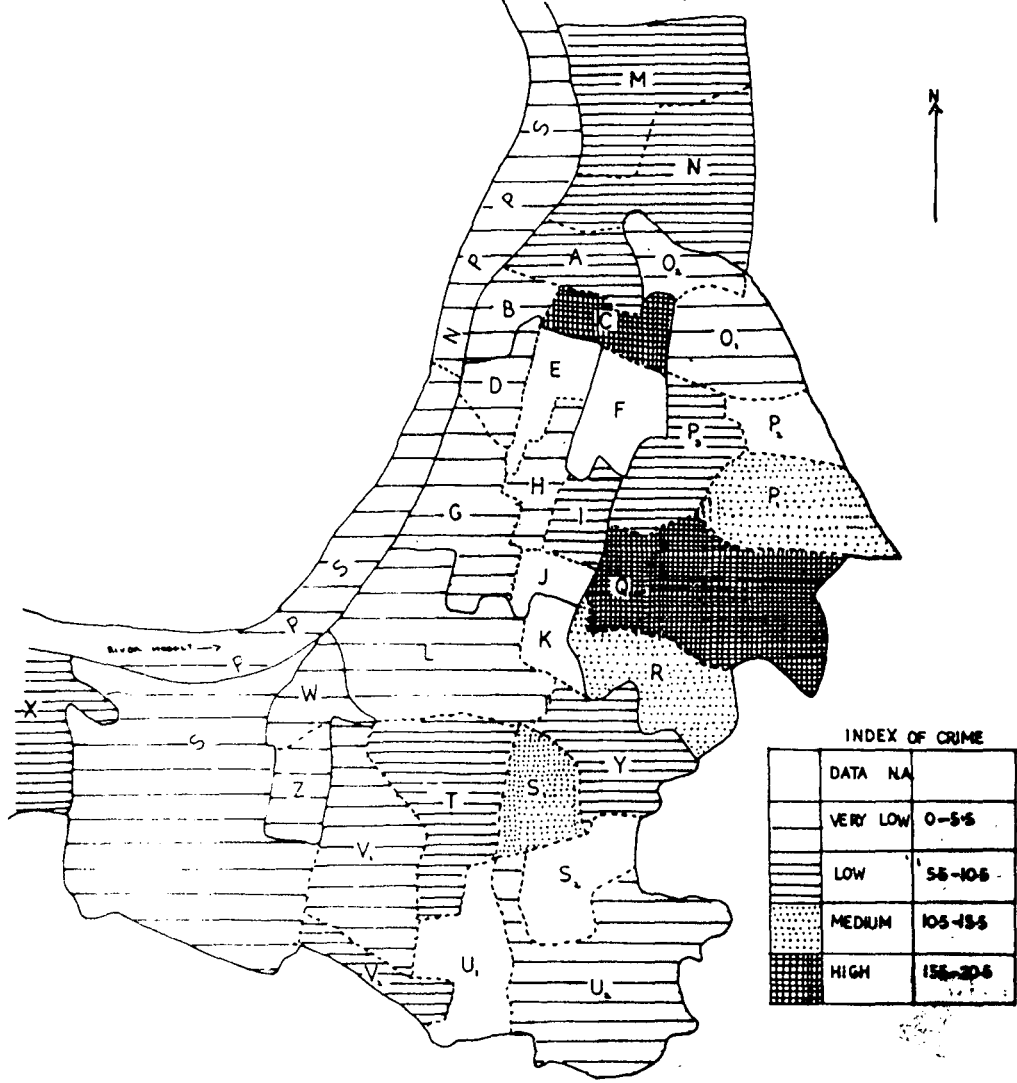
Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.4 give a clear picture of the spatial and administrative set up of the city, along with the number of crimes committed against women, as in 1981. There has been a steady increase of crime over the years in the city [Appendix VII].

In 1981, Calcutta had 34 police stations. In 1981, Entally police station which covered an area of 6 sq. kms. had registered the highest crime against women. In 1987, the police station was divided to form the present Entally and Tangra police stations to facilitate better management of crime. In 1994, the Garden Reach police station was also divided to form the present Taltolla and Garden Reach Police Stations.

In 1981, the total crime against women recorded by the Calcutta police was 184. However, while doing an intensive study, it was found necessary to include certain types of crime in the present eight chalked out parameters of crime against women. Section 104 which involves inciting a person

77A-6085

FIG 14-4
 CRIME IN CALCUTTA POLICE STATIONWISE, 1981



INDEX OF CRIME	
DATA	NA
VERY LOW	0-5
LOW	5-10
MEDIUM	10-15
HIGH	15-20

MILE |-----| 0 |-----| 1 MILE

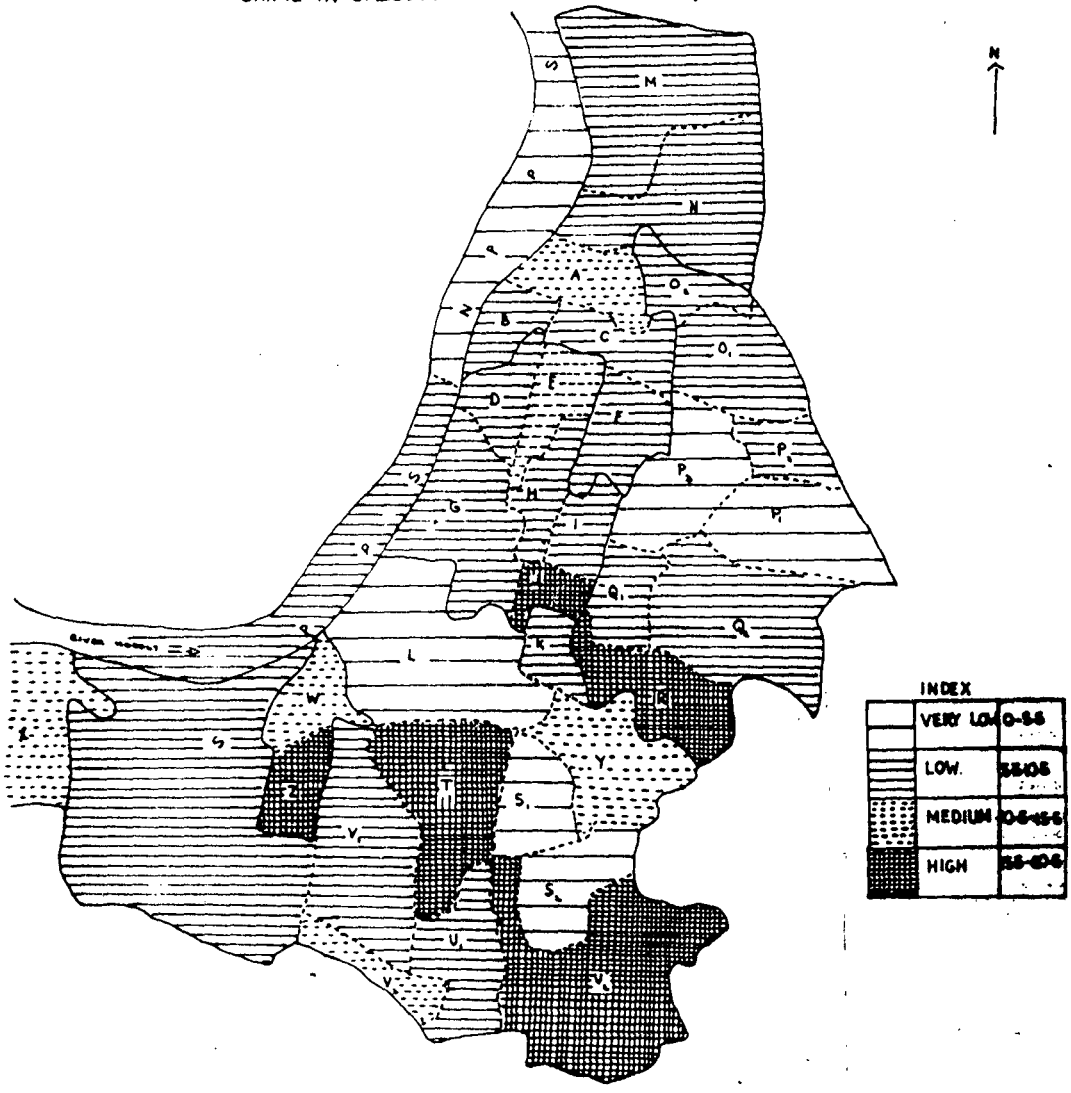
into prostitution has been included in the cases of kidnapping. Usually a woman does not willingly enter the flesh trade. In most cases the person is lured or forcibly made to enter this profession. Hence, it was found necessary to include this under cases of kidnapping. On several occasions, it has been seen that a person due to constant harassment has been forced to end her life to stop all pain and suffering. Hence, cases which were registered as abetment to commit suicide have been included under harassment of women. In this study, attempt to murder has not been considered, as it could form a separate parameter by itself.

It is evident from Table 4.1 that no case has been registered under eve-teasing or snatching. In several cases, due to administrative convenience and due to misunderstanding on the part of the officials, often cases of eve-teasing and molestation have been clubbed together. Hence, in all the three years [i.e., 1981, 1991 and 1993], the data used for the study has varied from the official data as provided by Calcutta Police.

In 1981, the number of cases registered was 196 [as seen in Appendix VII]. The largest number of cases were

registered under the Entally Police Station. This was closely followed by Burtolla [14 cases], Beliaghata [12 cases], Ballygunge and Beniapukur [11 cases], Cossipore and Chitpur [10 cases], Shyampukur, Karaya, Garden Reach [9 cases each], Muchipara and Narkeldanga [8 cases], Bhowanipur [7 cases], Hastings, Lake, Alipur, Ultadanga [5 cases each], Burrabazar, Hare Street, Manicktolla, Watgunge [4 cases each], South Port [2 cases] and the lowest number of cases i.e. 1 each was registered under Jorabagan and North Port police station area. However, the scenario has changed quite dramatically over the decade. As seen in Figure 4.5 in 1991, the largest number of crime against women were registered under the Beniapukur police station [19 cases] followed by Taltolla and Lake [18 cases], and Bhowanipur, Ekbalpur [16 cases], Shyampukur [15 cases], Jorasanko, New Alipur and Watgunge, Karaya [11 cases each], Cossipore, Burrabazar, Bowbazar, Muchipara, Park St, Manicktolla [10 cases each], Jorabagan, Amherst St, Hare St, Tollygunge, Entally [9 cases each]. In this year Entally registered only 9 cases as in 1987, the police station was divided to accommodate the Tangra police station as well

FIG: 4-5
 CRIME IN CALCUTTA POLICE STATIONWISE, 1991



INDEX	
VERY LOW	0-55
LOW	55-65
MEDIUM	65-85
HIGH	85-100

MILE 1 0 1 MILE

which registered 7 cases. Both Entally and Tangra together have reported about 16 cases which is far from the 20 cases previously registered under the Entally area in 1981. Burtolla, Alipore, Ultadanga have registered [8 cases each], Chitpur and Tangra [7 cases each], Phulbagan and South Port [6 cases], Beliaghata and Narkeldanga [5 cases each], Ballygunge, Gariahat [4 cases each], Hastings and North Port have again recorded one of the lowest crime against women [2 cases each].

By 1993, crime has escalated many folds. The largest number of cases reported was in Entally [25 cases], followed by Narkeldanga and Beniapukur [23 cases each], Karaya [21 cases], Ekbalpur [20 cases], Taltolla and Manicktolla [19 cases each], Burtolla, Jorasanko, Bhawanipur [18 cases each], Watgunge [15 cases], Cossipore, Beliaghata, Garden Reach [14 cases each], Phulbagan [13 cases], Amherst St [12 cases], Chitpur and New Alipur [11 cases each], Muchipara, Park St. [10 cases each], Jorabagan and Ultadanga [9 cases each], Tollygunge and Gariahat [8 cases], Bowbazar and Lake [7 cases each], Alipur and South Port [6 cases each], Shyampukur, Hare St. [4 cases each], Burrabazar, Hastings

registered [3 cases each] while Ballygunge and North Port have registered only one case each. North Port has maintained its record of the lowest crime in all the three years. Ballygunge has shown a steady decline in the number of crime against women.

Since the data for 1981 is incomplete, an over all picture is not very clear.

The pattern of density of population, literacy and caste are evolved by communities over a period of time depending upon the degree of functional emphasis. The emerging pattern of crime shows a fairly reasonable association with the social and economic aspects of the area. The incidence of crime along with several demographic variables such as number of male population, total scheduled caste male population, male non-workers and number of female literates [Appendix VIII].

Figure 4.3 shows the population density in 1981. The city is classified into four divisions of very low population density, low population density, medium and high.

Cossipore, Chitpur, Burrabazar, Burtalla, Amherst Street and Bhawanipur has the highest population density.

Shyampukur, Gariahat and Lake police stations have medium population density. While the rest of the area falls under low to very low population density. The peripheral areas of the city has high density of population. While studying the crime map of 1981 [Figure 4.4], Burtolla has a high population density and also a high incidence of crime against women. The other areas all have a high density of population, but low level of crime. On a macro-level the hypothesis that the rate of crime does correspond with the density of population is not valid. However, the incidence of both major and minor crimes are conspicuous in the slum areas especially in the Eastern Suburban Subdivision. As "greater the degree of urbanism in a community, the greater is the rate of offences".⁶

"The urban slum is a symbol of urban decay and poverty. The penury-driven migrants find it easier to pick up corrugated tin sheets and build makeshift shacks in cities".⁷

6. A. Sivamurthy, "Town Size and Crime", Indian Journal of Criminology, Vol. 14, No.1, Jan. 1986, p. 17.

7. Raj Chengappa, Urban Decay; India Today, Jan 31, 1988, p.116.

The male population is highest in the Entally area which may help to a certain extent to account for the high rate of crime in 1981 [as seen in Appendix VIII]. As for the caste segregation, the highest percentage of scheduled caste male population is in the Entally area of 13.97% followed by 5.63% in the Lake police station area, 5.04% in Shyampukur area, 5.42% in Beliaghata etc. Each of these areas also represent a high male population and high incidence of crime. However, without further study, it is difficult to find a correlation between the official data on crime and the schedule caste male population.

As far as the percentage of male non-working population is concerned [as seen in Appendix VIII], it is evident that Entally has the highest male non-working population, followed by Chitpur 4.88%, Bhawanipur 4.85%, Lake 4.06% etc. These areas also have a relatively high incidence of crime [Appendix VII].

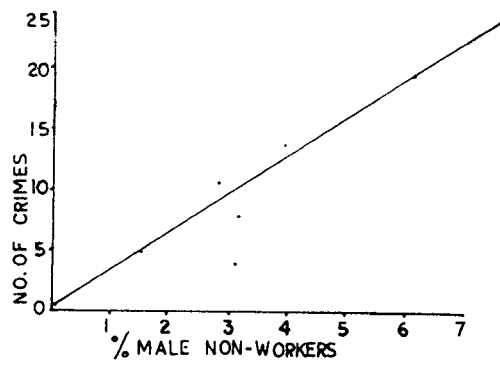
However, one outstanding feature is that high female literacy areas do not have low crime rates. Hence, the male illiteracy, coupled with non-working male population does show a positive co-relation as evident in Figure 4.6. Both

FIG: 4-6

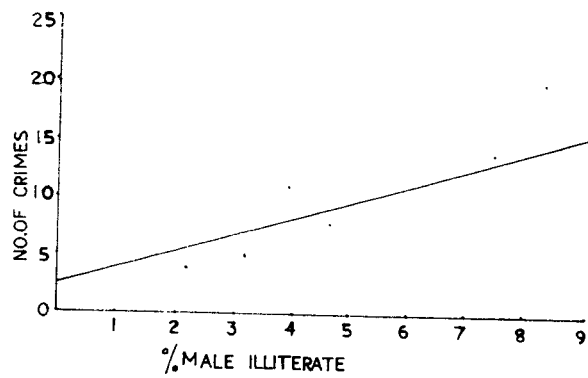
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES AND CRIME IN

EASTERN SUBURBAN SUBDIVISION 1981

RISE IN MALE NON WORKERS LEADS TO INCREASE IN NUMBER OF CRIME



RISE IN MALE ILLITERACY LEADS TO INCREASE IN NUMBER OF CRIME



illiteracy and a male non-working population are evidences of a socio-economic well-being of the area.

RAPE:

Rape cases have increased from 24 cases to 17 and then 33 cases as seen in Table 4.1. In 1981, the number of rape cases registered were 5 as studied from the 27 FIRs which were available. Of these, Jorabagan, Cossipore, Watgunge, Garden Reach and South Port area registered one case each. All five areas are along the outskirts or the peripheral areas of the city with a large number of refugee slums or colonies as in Garden Reach, Watgunge and South Port area while both Jorabagan and Cossipore have a mixed migrant population from the neighbouring states of Bihar and other areas. The population comprises of very poor to a lower middle class population. In 1981, Lake and Beniapukur area registered the largest number of cases. The lake area especially along the Eastern Railway tracks, there are vast areas of slum population. Along

with this, the Dhakuria Lake being an isolated spot in the evening hours form an excellent refuge for various anti-social and a youth population. Beniapukur which is along the Eastern By-pass and "Dhapa" area harbours large slum population belonging to the lower strata of the society. The other two areas with three case each are Shyampukur, Burtolla and Cossipore have a varied population which also forms a mini industrial belt. Burtolla has one of the notorious red light areas of the city, hence, such type of crime is naturally more rampant. In 1993, Entally and Ekbalpur areas in the Eastern Suburban area and the Port Division registered the largest number of cases of 5 and 3 respectively. Jorasanko as mentioned earlier registered four cases and over the decade has been an area with a mixed lower middle class to poor population interspersed with the houses of the rich which are more in a dilapidated condition. This area has been a part of old Calcutta [Appendix IX].

Over the decade rape laws have changed [in 1983] and new clauses are going to be incorporated soon.

Hence, the registration of rape cases are on the rise as the social taboo imposed on a victim are also disappearing.

MURDER:

Murder cases surprisingly are on the decline since 1991. In 1981 a total of 14 cases were registered. With two crimes each in Hastings and Bhawanipur. Bhawanipur in both 1981 and 1991 had a high incidence of crime with a relatively low population density. However, lower to upper middle class people reside in this area. The area also has a large refugee population along the Tolly Nala area. In 1991 again this area had the maximum murder cases of women. Another prominent area is Manicktolla with 5 cases, Bowbazar with 3 cases, Jorabagan, Amherst Street, Muchipara, Alipur, Ultadanga and Beniapukur registered 2 cases each. All the mentioned areas have high proportion of slums, refugee colonies and are a relatively lower class residential areas except for Alipur. But this area

again answers the question that there are several bustees along the Tolly Nala and Chetla *Hât* area. In 1993, Tollygunge and Beniapukur had 2 cases each and this brought the total number of cases to 12 in Calcutta.

EVE-TEASING:

Amazingly no cases of eve-teasing is in the official records. However, while studying the FIRs of 1981, 3 cases were found which were previously clubbed under molestation. The three cases registered were under the Amherst Street, Alipur and Garden Reach police station. No record was found on cases of eve-teasing in 1991 and 1993 as the data was collected from the crime index file. However, either such cases are not registered or over-looked or the victim might feel these to be too minor to report. However, cases of eve-teasing are sometimes reported in the newspapers.

MOLESTATION:

Cases of molestation have been on the rise all over India and in Calcutta. This falls under the purview of sexual assault and related crimes. In 1981 official records showed 48 cases as against 93 cases found in the FIR. In 1991, the official records showed 89 cases [Table 1] while an indepth study showed 81 cases. In the 8 cases which cannot be accounted for, has been included in harassment of women. In 1993, a total of 108 cases were registered both in the official records and in the study [Appendix X]. The highest number of molestation cases were recorded in Entally area. This area has a large varied, refugee population and a large number of illiterate male non-working population. There are several small scale workshops as the land values are still low in the area. Besides in 1981, the area was too large for administrative purposes and the area bordered the "Dhapa". Since 1991, the number of such crimes have gone down relatively [i.e. to that of 1981]. But, still in 1993, the area

recorded the second highest number of molestation cases. The Beliaghata Canal and the Kankurgachi Chord Line are ideal sites for the large bustees. Other areas which have registered high incidences of molestation cases are Beniapukur, Beliaghata, Chitpur in 1981. Both Beniapukur and Beliaghata have a large number of slums and refugee colonies. Besides this, the Beniapukur area has a number of schools and colleges like Pratt Memorial School, St James School and Lady Brabourne College and large expanses of open waste lands in the form of burial grounds, cemetrys and parks. In isolated lower residential areas, such type of crime are more prevalent. In the Beliaghata area, there are some small workshops and factories, glassworks, and vast wastelands. The isolated areas and semi or mini industrial pockets with a large male working population and an idle male, illiterate non-working population naturally make women more prone to sex-related crimes. In 1991, Taltolla registered the maximum number of molestation cases. This area is the most densely populated central business district in

Calcutta, with at least 6 movie halls, innumerable small and large hotels and the shopping complex of New Market also known as the Hogg market. In 1993, again this area has registered the largest number of cases. The other two notorious areas are Watgunge and Garden Reach in 1991 [with 5 and 6 cases] registered respectively. In 1993, apart from Taltolla, Narkeldanga has also registered 9 cases. This area has the Sealdah Station which is also an ideal place for anti-socials. A mixed ethnic population is seen in this area.

Tangra and Amherst Street have registered 6 cases each. Amherst street forms the university and college area. Hence, all types of people are known to frequent such places. As the area has a highly mobile population, molestation cases could take place on the public conveyance. The young women who are victims come from well to do families and having a broader outlook willingly report the cases at the police stations. Tangra on the other hand is a low class residential-cum-factory area with brass factories and vast expanses of waste land. There are tanneries

and small workshops as well. Hence, molestation cases are more rampant in such areas.

Other areas are Ekbalpur, Watgunge, Beniapur, Entally, Manicktolla, Bhawanipur, Park Street, etc.

DOWRY DEATH:

Dowry death is the worst kind of social evil. In 1981, no cases were registered as dowry laws came into existence only after 1986. In 1991, two cases were reported in Jorasanko and one each in Bhawanipur, Karaya and Beliaghata.

Jorasanko has a large migrated ethnic population, with old buniya residential houses and interspersed with slum population. The other areas like Bhawanipur, Karaya and Beliaghata as observed earlier have a large refugee population and are mostly low class residential areas where the demand for money is a part of the basic need for survival. In 1993, the largest number of cases [2 cases] were in the Tangra area and one case each in Cossipore, Bowbazar, Tollygunge and New Alipur.

SNATCHING:

No such case has been registered in the three years in the official records. However, newspapers do give some isolated cases.

HARASSMENT:

Harassment of women are also on the rise. Although the official records have no such cases in 1981, the FIRs did prove to give two such cases in Entally and Garden Reach. Such cases which range from physical assault to mental torture are solely domestic violence. Both the victim and the offender are known to each other. Most cases are over financial matters in the family. Cases of harassment also include cases of abetment to commit suicide. In 1991, 14 cases were registered. The highest number of cases were reported in the Lake area. This area has middle class to upper middle class residential houses. However, on the extreme south-eastern part of the area is the Dhakuria

Lake and the rail line which has large bustees. However, domestic violence seems to be more prevalent in the middle class residential areas like Shyampukur, Muchipara and other lower residential areas like Beniapukur, Garden Reach etc.

In 1983, the harassment of women was mostly recorded in the lower residential and refugee colony areas like Karaya, Tangra, Beniapukur [10 cases each], Manicktolla [9 cases], Jorasanko, Bhawanipur, Beliaghata, Phulbagan recorded 8 cases each.

KIDNAPPING:

In kidnapping cases, Section 104 i.e., inciting a person into prostitution has been included. On several occasions young women are lured into the flesh trade. Kidnapping has shown an over all rise. In 1981, 11 cases were recorded under the Burtolla police station as there were several cases reported under Section 104. This is also a red light area of the city. Other areas with large number of kidnapping cases were Entally,

Ballygunge [6 cases each], Beliaghata [8 cases]. In 1991, Ekbalpur had 5 cases, while Jorabagan, Burrabazar, Taltolla and South Port recorded 4 cases each. Without further study, it is difficult to come to a conclusion as to why these areas have a high incidence of kidnapping.

In 1993, Ekbalpur and Burtolla recorded the highest cases [9 cases each], followed by 7 cases in Narkeldanga, Beniapur, Entally, Karaya and Cossipore with 6 cases each.

From the study it is evident that the Entally police station recorded the maximum number of crime cases. This was followed by Narkeldanga and Beniapur and Karaya. All the four areas fell under the same administrative division, i.e., Eastern Suburban Division, while Karaya falls under the South Division but borders the Eastern Suburban division.

A closer look at the data in Table 4.2 reveals that the Eastern Suburban Division has a large male non-working population, mostly illiterate. However, without a more detailed study of various socio-economic

factors, no co-existence between the male schedule caste population and crime can be made.

This division also has about 21% of the total male non-working population of the city.

TABLE 4.2

CRIME AND OTHER RELATED SOCIAL VARIABLES: 1981

Eastern Suburban Division	Section	1981 Population	No. of Crime	Total Male Population	Total Male SC Population	Percentage To Total Population	Total Male Non-Workers	Percentage to Total Male Non-Workers	Total Male Literate	Percentage of Total Male Literates	Total Female Population	Percentage of Total Female Literates
Manicktolla	D ₁	47692	4	51797	2007	2.21	26837	3.15	10923	2.14	29089	3.37
Ultadenga	D ₂	27660	5	31960	1066	1.17	13290	1.56	16105	3.16	13732	1.59
Beliaghata	P ₁	60516	14	65308	4919	5.42	33564	3.94	38192	7.50	37902	4.39
Phulbagan	P ₂	28359	NA	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	8022	0.92
Markeldenga	P ₃	40982	8	63076	3941	4.34	26679	3.13	24247	4.76	21407	2.48
Entally	D ₁	32478	20	112909	12675	13.97	52590	6.17	42526	8.35	43649	5.05
Beniapukur	R	13984	11	50470	1737	1.91	24592	2.88	20410	4.00	19056	2.20
Total		251671	62	375520	26345	29.04	177560	20.85	152403	29.91	172857	20%

Source: Compiled from Police Records, Calcutta

Entally which has the highest crime rate also has largest male population, with 6.17% of the total non-working population and 8.35% of the total illiterate male population. However, another amazing feature is that the

Entally area boasts of having the largest female literate population. The Suburban Division is on the periphery of Calcutta, which is bordered on the entire South and South East by the "Dhapa", the Beliaghata Canal and New Canal and the railway lines. Hence, land values are relatively low and hence a low class residential area has developed.

On the other hand, Ballygunge has recorded the lowest crime against women in 1993. This area has mostly high class residences. Hence, it seems that the crime against women in Calcutta is dependent on the economic criteria of the population. "Poverty, disadvantage and even social disorganization have been recognized as conditions out of which delinquency emerges".⁸

4.3 Geography of Crime:

"Crime and delinquency are reported to the police in the place where they occur".⁹ The area of the crime and the

8. David Herbert, The Geography of Cuban Crime, Longman, 1982, p. 27.

9. Walter C. Reckless, The Crime Problem, Geographic Location, Meridith, 1967, p. 113.

residence of the offender is sufficient to establish area risks. However, sufficient information is never collected in the FIRs [First Information Report]. The age of both the victim and the offender is necessary along with the exact area of residence of the criminal and the victim. These details help in forming the spatial analysis of crime.

Besides the demographic concept of crime, early branches of Geography had also emphasized on the deterministic concept of personal and environmental forces. Criminologists such as Lombroso emphasized on the physical attributes of criminals as the causation of crime. However, some early works also emphasized on the "influences of physical environment on criminal behaviour can be noted. There are studies relating to climatic variations and seasonality to crime with a frequent assertion that an increase in violent crimes take place during the summer and in property offences during the winter".¹⁰

In the nineteenth century, M. de Guerry de Champneuf, the Director of Criminal Affairs in France stated, "there is the influence of climate and there is the

10. David Herbert, The Geography of Urban Crime, Longman, 1982, p. 22.

influence of seasons, for whereas the crimes against persons are always more numerous in the summer.

Climate was believed by these 19th century writers to exert its influence in diverse ways. The warmer temperature of summer and the continuous warmth of the Southern latitudes were regarded as effecting the physical mechanism directly, heightening emotion, stimulating activity, and according to Lombroso, encouraging quarrels, brawls and stabbing affairs. The most abundant food supply and the minimum need for clothing was believed to account for the decrease in acts of criminal appropriation during the summer months and in the lush southern areas. Sex crimes, which were reported to be at a maximum during May and June, were regarded as related to an inherent biological periodicity of sexual interest".¹¹

In Calcutta, a certain degree of seasonality of crime has been observed.

11. Joseph Cohen, "The Geography of Crime", The annals of the American Academy, Vol.217, 1941, p. 30.

TABLE 4.3

Seasonwise Incidence of Crime in 1991 and 1993

SEASON	YEAR 1993	YEAR 1991
January	30	17
February	33	28
March	30	29
April	49	36
May	35	22
June	52	38
July	40	26
August	31	28
September	40	30
October	34	32
November	31	30
December	37	24

Source: Compiled from Police Records and Newspaper: Statesmen, Calcutta

Table 4.3 gives the seasonal pattern of crime against women. In both 1993 and 1991, it is found that the number of crime against women escalated with the approach of the summer months. The number of crimes shot up to 49 in April from 30 cases in March 1993. The peak of all criminal activity was in June in both 1991 and 1993. Amazingly, the number of crime cases in July went down in both the years. In the months of July and August, the number of reported cases are low, but by September the cases again increased.

The criminal activity against women in Calcutta can be explained in terms of seasonal change. Calcutta experiences

a typical hot humid climate as in most cities in South Asia. The winter season is a time of pleasant weather which lasts from November to mid February. The summer sets in by mid April and lasts till June. July to early September is the rainy season, which also happens to be the slack season for all business activities. E.G. Dexter's "Weather Influences: An Empirical Study of the Mental and Physiological effects of definite meteorological conditions" gives some explanations of causes of certain crimes in certain seasons. "Rainy weather has ambivalent influences upon the organism. It puts people out of sorts, but also deprives them of the energy necessary to indulge their sulky moods. The number of crimes of violence is, therefore, minimized by rain.

Dexter believed that the weather operates directly upon the emotional and physiological activities of the individual producing various anomalies of behaviour".¹²

The winter months in Calcutta records a moderate number of cases. While, June which is the peak of the summer season has the highest number of cases. With the rains, the crime committed against women slacken. Another feature

12. Ibid.

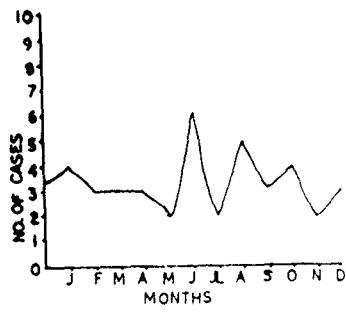
which can be noted here is that from October onwards till early January, Calcutta has innumerable festivals and trade fairs. Hence, this is the season of brisk trade, hence, crime rates are low.

Figure 4.7 gives a more indepth study of crimes against women. It is evident that all sex related offences and heinous crimes like the dowry death and kidnapping cases take place in the height of summer, i.e., in the month of June [Appendix XI]. In case of dowry death and murder cases, crime is more rampant in April with the onset of summer, which very aptly fits Cohen's article on Geography of Crime where he said, "in general murders are committed more frequently during the summer than during the winter, but there is marked variation in peak and low months from year to year and from area to area".¹³ However, now-a-days due to scientific and other modern household appliances which make living more comfortable such as heating or cooling systems, the fluctuation of crime also takes place due to these factors.

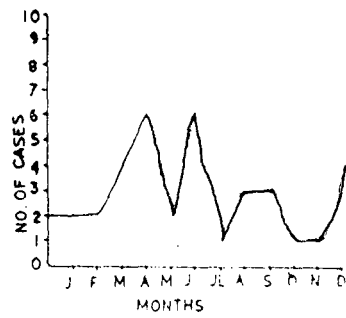
13. Ibid.

FIG: 47
SEASON-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF CRIME 1993

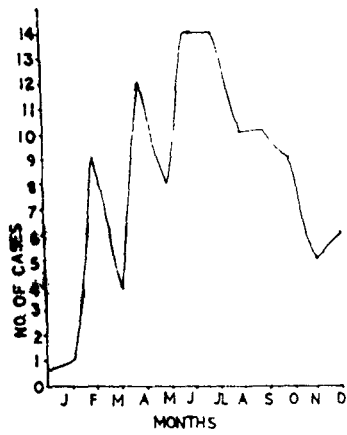
RAPE



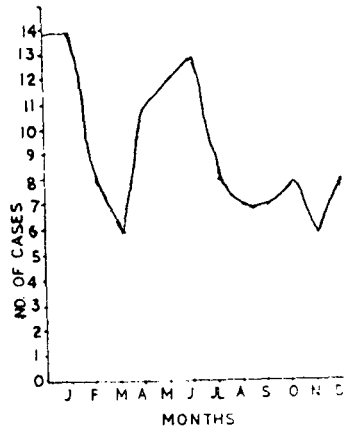
DOWRY DEATH



MOLESTATION



KIDNAPPING



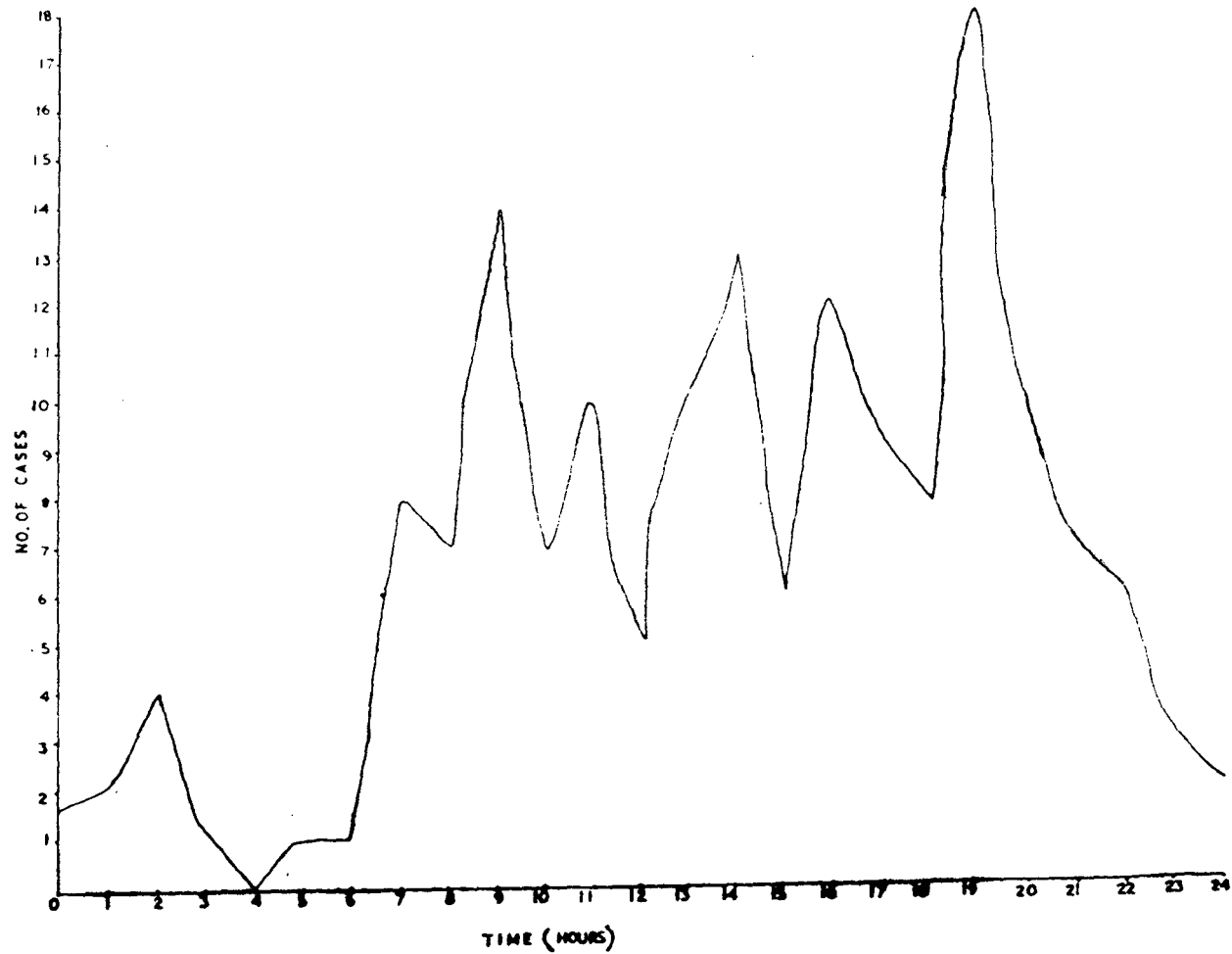
Along with seasonal fluctuations, diurnal fluctuations are also noticeable. From Table 4.4 and Figure 4.8, it is evident that the type of crimes committed during the 24 hour time period also varies.

TABLE: 4.4
THE TIME PERIOD WHEN THE CRIME WAS
COMMITTED IN THE CITY IN 1981 AND 1991

Time Hrs	1981			1991			
	Kidnapping	Molestation	Murder	Total	Murder	Harassment	Total
1:00	-	1	1	2	1	1	1
2:00	-	4	-	4	-	-	1
3:00	-	1	-	1	1	2	2
4:00	-	0	-	0	1	-	1
5:00	-	1	-	1	2	-	1
6:00	1	0	-	1	1	1	2
7:00	1	7	-	8	5	2	2
8:00	1	5	1	7	1	1	7
9:00	2	11	1	14	1	3	2
10:00	2	5	-	7	2	1	4
11:00	4	4	2	10	3	2	3
12:00	3	2	-	5	1	-	5
13:00	7	3	-	10	1	-	1
14:00	4	8	1	13	1	-	1
15:00	4	2	-	6	1	1	1
16:00	6	6	-	12	-	2	2
17:00	1	7	1	9	1	1	2
18:00	3	4	1	8	-	-	2
19:00	14	3	1	18	-	1	0
20:00	3	6	1	10	-	1	1
21:00	4	2	1	7	2	-	1
22:00	1	4	1	6	-	-	2
23:00	0	2	1	3	-	3	3
24:00	1	1	-	2	-	-	-

Source: Compiled from Police Records, Calcutta

FIG. 40
THE TIME PERIOD OF CRIME IN CALCUTTA (1981)



The number of kidnapping cases are highest during the evening hours around 7:00 PM and 1:00 PM in the afternoon in 1981. In 1991, murder cases were highest around 7:00 AM in the morning and 11:00 AM. The early morning hours are the best as there is less activity both on the domestic front as well as outside. In both cases of molestation [1981] and harassment of women, 9:00 AM and 5:00 PM are the most suitable periods as most of the molestation cases occur on the road during peak hour of traffic. Very often molestation cases take place on the bus or at bus-stops. In the data on 1981, it is seen that 9:00 AM, 2:00 PM and 5:00 PM are the most vulnerable time periods. In 1991, based on two parameters, it is found that 7:00 AM and 11:00 AM is the time which is most favourable for crime.

Another important feature which can be studied with seasonality of crime is the age group of the victims. In the FIRs and the crime index, the age of the victim and offender should be recorded. However, in several cases, it was found that the information recorded is incomplete either due to negligence or incompetence on the part of the policemen who record the cases.

The data on rape, molestation and kidnapping cases for 1993 were most complete. Analysis of Table 4.5 shows that the most vulnerable group of victims belong to the age group 0-15 years. This is the most vulnerable section as the young girls can be lured by both known and unknown men. In case of rape, the age group between 0-15 is most prone. Rape committed against a female child of less than 10 years is called paedophilia. This is becoming more common in the urban society today. In case of molestation as well, the 0-15 and 16-30 years is the most mobile group. Hence, they are more prone to become victims. However, further study on this is necessary to draw a conclusion on the age group of victims who are more prone to certain types of crime.

TABLE: 4.5

Victims of Crime Under Different
Age Groups During 1993

Age Group	Rape	Molestation	Kidnapping	Total
0-15	14	20	52	88
16-30	12	20	25	57
31-45	1	5	-	6
41-60	-	-	-	-
Above 60	-	-	-	-

Source: Compiled from Police Records, Calcutta.

Content Analysis of Newspapers:

Apart from the FIRs and the Crime Index, another good source for data are the newspapers. The newspaper reporting is never extensive. Usually, crime cases are reported on the third page of all popular daily newspapers of the city. The more sensational cases find their way to the front page in the form of head lines. As such, the newspapers report only 6% to 12% of the total crime against women. On several occasions, the official data does not tally with those published by the newspapers. Appendix XII gives a sorrowful picture of the crimes which are reported by a popular daily in the city. Besides, while collecting data, it was obvious that some areas are given more prominence than others. A murder or a rape in a posh locality or in a notorious area is more sensational, hence, it easily finds its way to the front page. The gravity of the present situation can be brought to the eyes of the public by the newspapers, hence a separate section with more emphasis on crime reporting can be done.

4.4 Conclusion

From the study, it is evident that crime against women is on the rise in Calcutta along with the steady rise in the population which is a result of constant refugee migration and migrants from the states of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Gujarat, etc. The mixed ethnic population are mostly male dominant, as in a migrant working population, the male members are more mobile. This has led to a relatively high male working as well as non-working population who reside in clustered houses or slums. The areas having the highest population density may not have the highest crimes in the city. On the other hand, areas having a low population density may have clusters of slums or bustees which leads to high crime figures. The best example of such a region is the Eastern Suburban Division which has the largest slums in the city. Section "T" better known as Bhawanipur, however, conforms with the theory that high population density leads to high incidences of crime.

Most of the migrant and the refugee population of the city settle in areas having low land values and cheap rent.

The south-eastern part of the city bordering the marshy area "Dhapa" is an ideal spot as land values are low. This is an area of industries and workshops. Hence, the Eastern Suburban Division which forms the South-eastern part of the city forms an ideal location for low class residences and hence, incidence of crime is more in such areas.

A positive correlation has been found between a high male population and high crime rates. Again the Eastern Suburban Division especially the Entally police station area has a high male population and high crime rates against women.

Another positive co-relation is evident where there is a large non-working male illiterate population and high incidence of crime against women. Entally, Beniapukur, Ekbalpur, Cossipore and Chitpur have shown a positive correlation.

However, without further study, it is difficult to find a co-relation between the scheduled caste male population with crime rate and illiterate population with crime rate.

As far as the various types of crime against women are concerned, they are seen to concentrate in different parts

of the city as crime is influenced by the socio-economic environment of the area as well.

The highest number of rape cases were registered in Jorabagan, Cossipore, Watgunge, Garden Reach and South Port in 1981. In 1991, it changed to the Lake and Beniapukur area and by 1993, it was concentrated in the Entally, Ekbalpur and the Port Division.

Murder cases are on the decline in the city since 1991. Bhawanipur had the highest incidence of murder in both 1981 and 1991. In 1993, Tollygunge and Beniapukur recorded the largest number of cases.

Amazingly, no case of eve-teasing have been recorded in the official data. This may be due to the fact that such cases are included in cases of molestation.

Molestation is on the rise all over India as well as Calcutta. This falls under the purview of sexual assault and related crimes. The highest number of such cases were recorded in the Entally area which has a large mixed refugee population, with a high male non-working illiterate population. This area has recorded high incidence of molestation cases in 1981, 1991 and 1993. Taltolla which is

one the most densely populated areas with one of the most important shopping complexes, the New Market has also registered a large number of cases.

Dowry death is the worst kind of social evil. In 1981 no cases were registered as dowry laws came into existence only after 1986. So far there have been some isolated cases in Calcutta in the Jorasanko, Beliaghata, Tangra, New Alipur area where there is a large number of mixed population.

No case has been registered under snatching. Harassment of women is on the rise. Such type of cases range from physical assault to mental torture, and is considered as domestic violence. The Lake area in 1981, and some of the refugee colony areas in Karaya, Tangra, Beniapukur have registered the largest number of such cases. In 1981, there have been only two cases. This may be due to the fact that women are becoming more aware of the laws and due to the growing complexities of urban life.

Kidnapping cases have also been included with section 104, i.e., inciting a person into prostitution. Both in 1981 and 1993, Burtolla recorded the largest number of kidnapping cases. This is one of the red light areas of the

city. In 1991, Ekbalpur, Jorabagan and Burrabazar recorded the largest number of cases.

From the study, it is evident that the Entally police station area recorded the maximum number of cases of crime against women followed by Narkeldanga, Beniapur and Karaya, in other words, the Eastern Suburban Division except Karaya which falls under the South Port but borders the Eastern Suburban Division, crime is seen to concentrate along the peripheral areas of the city.

Besides the spatial aspect of crime climate is also believed to influence crime. Warmer seasons especially June in Calcutta is the peak season for crime against women. During the rainy season, i.e. around August, September, there is decline in the various types of crime. The diurnal fluctuation of crime has been chalked out in the study. The highest number of cases are mostly reported around 7:00 AM, 9:00 AM and 5:00 PM This is due to the fact that most crimes take place on the road or the public conveyance. As far as the age-group of the victim is concerned, the most vulnerable group is between the 0-15 years age group as they can be easily lured and are the most insecure group.

From the study, it is evident that crime reporting in both the newspapers and the FIR and the Crime Index File is inadequate as they do not help in further research which might help in curtailing crime in the risk areas. There is under-reporting of crime often due to the negligence of the concerned authorities or even the victim for fear of the social stigma which is associated with certain crimes.

The present study highlights the measurement of the concentration of crime and other socio-economic variables such as male population, male illiteracy, female literacy, scheduled caste male population and male non-working population. It is also of great interest to find a close dependence between climate and crime. However, more emphasis must be given on crime reporting and systematic recording of cases of crime against women.

Emphasis should be given to research oriented data processing on crime as this will clearly identify risk prone areas in the city and will make the residents more aware of the social menace which will, in turn, make them into more alert citizens.

CHAPTER 5

WOMEN AND SOCIAL LEGISLATION AND THEIR ENFORCEMENT

5.1 Introduction

Today data on crime in India is published and from the official records, the extent of crime is quite astounding. However, this is only the tip of the iceberg of crime. Legislation differs, the quality of recording varies, policies of law enforcement diverge and there is the darker side of unreported crime. This pattern differs at various places due to the police-public relations.

Figures of crime in India are of cognizable crimes registered by the police under the main criminal statute, the Indian Penal Code, and under a large basket of supplementary statutes referred to as Local and Special Laws. The figure of cognizable crime in India under both heads for 1991 was 50.49 lakhs, representing a 28.4% increase over the 1981 figure of 48.98 lakhs. The Local and Special Laws have a wider social impact. The break up of the published figures for 1981-1991 do not tell us much of the deeper dimensions of the crime problem. While they do

convey a broad impression that violence related crimes are relatively on the increase, the overall figures do not give a realistic picture of crime increases or of significant shifts that are, in fact, taking place in several critical features of the crime problem.

One is almost led to the conclusion that the relatively static level in the strength of police station manpower and their inflexible attitudes and practices virtually impose a rigid pattern on the registration of crime.

To cope with this situation, it is necessary "for the political system in India to recognize crime as the greatest internal danger in the country and to give up the naive assumption that with development and economic growth, the problems will solve itself. There is need, at the outset and at the basic level, to review our development strategies, organisation and methods and put in place changes that will minimize the opportunities they may create for criminal exploitation".¹

1. N. Krishnaswamy, For a National Crime Policy, Hindu, 3rd October, 1993.

To combat crime in general as well as crime against women, it is necessary to build a crime policy and strategy that will not only make the criminal justice system more flexible and effective, but will integrate to form a broader people's movement against crime. However, to understand and implement policies, it is necessary first to study the social legislation and the laws which define the status of women. This is especially necessary to combat under reporting of crime against women as well as the concept of taboo which is in the Indian society concerning certain topics such as rape, incest etc. which furnishes a women's image in society.

5.2 Women's Rights and Social Legislation

The factors that helped in the conceptualization of human rights generated an awareness among women for their rights. However, even with the development of human rights over the ages one finds that women were not given the opportunity to enjoy such rights.

"Social structure, cultural norms and value systems are important determinants of women's roles and their position

in society. In a country like India, the inequalities inherent in her traditional social structure, based on caste, community and class have a very significant influence on the status of women in different spheres. The subjection of Indian women is, therefore, rooted in the social and economic structure of the society of the period. Moreover, the inferior status of women in the society was further made sacrosanct by religious ordinances. The social restrictions on women, and also the people's notions about their proper roles in the domestic and extra domestic spheres, are largely derived from the religious conceptions of a women's basic characteristics, her assumed "virtues" and "vices" her proverbial strength and weaknesses".² The caste system alongwith the misinterpretation of religious texts have led to a decline in the position of the women.

Increasing contacts with Western liberalism, growing social consciousness among masses and numerous reform societies heralded another crusade on the social front like widow remarriage, prevent female infanticide.

2. Towards Equality, Report of the Committee on the Status of Women in India, (New Delhi: Dept. of Social Welfare, 1975), p. 3.

The Indian Constitution provides not merely for the establishment of secular and democratic society, but it has special provisions for the vulnerable sections of society, including women who have suffered in the orthodox milieu. The provisions of the Constitution do not merely guarantee certain human rights and safeguards against exploitation, but they are a Charter for future development. Women constitute an integral part of the Constitution so that the goals of justice "social, economic and political and equality of opportunity for all including women" could be achieved. Indian women are beneficiaries of the rights and opportunities embodied in the Constitution in the same manner as Indian men and the Constitution lays the foundational norm for gender equality.

The Preamble to the Constitution of India resolved to secure to all citizens, justice - social, economic and political, liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship, equality of status and opportunity and to promote among them all fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the nation.

"Indian women are the beneficiaries of all these rights in the same manner as Indian men. Article 14 ensures that

the State shall not deny to any person equality before the law or the equal protection of the laws within the territory of India. Again Article 15 prohibits discrimination against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, or any of them. However, Article 15 (3) empowers the State to make any "special provision for women and children" even in violation of the fundamental obligation of non-discrimination among citizens, *inter alia* of sex. This provision has enabled the State to make special provisions for women, particularly in the field of labour legislation like the Factories Act, the Mines Act, etc."³

India inherited a system from the British where the differences in the various communities were sought to be perpetuated by their being governed by personal laws -- the only commonality being that the position of women was far from equal. The policy makers deferred to implement a uniform Civil Code which would establish one family law to govern all citizens irrespective of community and religion.

3. Report of the Andhra Pradesh State Level Conference on Violence and Women (20-21 Nov. 1992), Hyderabad.

However, a uniform law governing all Hindus was implemented in the Hindu Code Bill.

In the area of criminal law, two enactments seeking to uphold the dignity of women are the Criminal Procedure Code, 1973 and the Indian Penal Code, 1860. The former covers subjects like search and arrest of a person, maintenance of wife, provisions regarding the making of a complaint, requiring a woman as witness etc.

The I.P.C. denounces practices derogatory to the dignity of women. It seeks to uphold women's dignity by making provisions against prostitution, kidnapping, abduction, rape, bigamy, adultery.

There are certain other types of social legislation which seek to protect interests and benefits that are of special concern to women. It seeks to uphold dignity of women by making provisions against prostitution, kidnapping, abduction, rape, bigamy and adultery.

If oppression could be tackled by passing laws then this decade would be adjudged a golden period for Indian women, when protective laws were offered on a platter.

However, some of the enactments were only on paper. Some were callously framed while others were just token

gestures. Women's campaigns have to a certain extent achieved their goals in a few cases only. "The solutions were sought within the existing patriarchal framework and did not arise from a new feminist analysis leading to empowerment of women. They seldom questioned the conservative notions of women's chastity, virginity, servility and the concept of the good and bad women in society.

The campaign against dowry tried to artificially link "dowry which is properly related, and death, which is an act of violence. If the campaign had succeeded, it could have benefited the women's brother and father. It would have failed to elevate the women's status in her matrimonial home, nor could it have ended domestic violence. So, any remedy, no matter how effective and foolproof, to check the superficial malady, could not effectively arrest the basic trend of violence against women which results from women's powerlessness in a male dominated society".⁴

4. Flavia Agnes, Protecting Women Against Violence? Review of a decade of Legislation, 1980-89. Economic and Political Weekly, 1992, April 27 (17), 25, p. 19.

Women's campaigns for legal reforms have received wide media coverage. Although, in some cases the government response was prompt, but most of the recommendations which would have far reaching impact did not find a place in the final enactment.

Each enactment resulted in more stringent punishment rather than plugging procedural loopholes, providing guidelines for strict implementation, setting time limit for deciding the case and extending compensation to the victim.

The campaign on rape is perhaps a classic example of the impact of public pressure on the judiciary. It is felt that public pressure is a better safeguard to ensure justice than ineffective enactments. Some of the terms which have affected women and helped solving crime against them are as follows:

Reforms in Rape Laws (1983)

Out of the countless incidents of sexual assault on women that take place in India every year, very few make it through the jungle of shame and adversity to the courts.

Even then an overwhelming majority of the accused go scot-free due to the gaping loopholes left by the passage of time in the country's legal system.

Perhaps the turning point and the basis of the rape reforms was with the Supreme Court judgement of the Mathura Case where a 16 year old girl was raped by two policemen within a police compound. However, the Sessions Court had acquitted the policemen on the ground that since Mathura had eloped with her boyfriend, she was habituated to sexual intercourse and hence could not be raped. The Supreme Court had acquitted the policemen as Mathura had not raised any alarm, hence her allegation of rape was untrue. This judgement triggered off a campaign for changes in rape laws. This led to the principal gain that rape which was a taboo subject was openly discussed. Redefining "consent" in a rape trial was one of the major thrusts of the campaign. The Mathura judgement had highlighted the fact that a rape trial would be extremely embarrassing for a woman and the victim has to prove the fact whether she gave consent or not. The Supreme Court judgement had interpreted that absence of injuries and passive submission implied consent. The burden

of proving that the victim had given her consent should be on the accused. Another factor which is taken into account in a rape trial is a woman's sexual history and the general character of the person which is used as evidence.

The Bill which was ultimately passed in Parliament in 1980 did not include the positive recommendations regulating the police power. The demand that a woman's past sexual history and general conduct should not be used as evidence in a rape trial was excluded from the Bill. The term custodial rape was also included in the Bill. By 1982, the Bill included the fact that the publication of rape trials was made into a bailable offense.

"The important provisions in the amendment were:
(1) A new section was added which made sexual intercourse by persons in a custodial situation (policemen, public servants, managers of public hospitals and remand homes and wardens of jails) an offense even if it was with the consent of the woman. (2) For the first time a minimum punishment for rape was laid down -- 10 years in cases of custodial rape, gang rape, rape of pregnant women and girls under 12

years of age and 7 years in all other cases. However, the age of consent was 16 years".⁵

H.L. Kapoor suggested in 1994 that "trials in rape cases should be held in camera, as it is the hesitation of the victim or her parents to lodge a report which encourages rapists. Special Women Judges may be appointed to hear the cases".⁶

Judgements quoted in sexual cases have led to several campaigns where demand for a new definition of rape is being advocated.

The new Bill on Prevention of Sexual Violence Against Women and Children recommends sweeping "changes in Sections 375 and 376 of the I.P.C. -- which deal with rape as a cognizable offense -- and relevant Sections of the Indian Evidence Act, 1872. It has been prepared by a team of women's rights activists and legal experts on behalf of the National Commission for Women's Status, a statutory body constituted in January 1991 under aegis of the Ministry of

5. Ibid.

6. H.L. Kapoor, Statesmen, 18th Jan, 1994.

Human Resources Development".⁷

The draft Bill on Prevention of Sexual Violence Against Women and Children, prepared on behalf of the National Commission for Women's Status, the draft is expected to cut through the confusion and ambiguity that mark Indian law on sexual violence.

- o "Under Section 375 of the IPC, the definition of rape has been based on penetration by the penis. Judging from experience, the Committee said that in several cases of children -- especially those below 12 -- although penetration had not taken place, a rape had clearly been committed.

- o The most important indicator of rape, according to law, is that intercourse has taken place without consent. The age of consent for girls has been stipulated at 16. However, the same law stated that sexual intercourse, with or without consent, with anyone under the age of

7. Radha Basu, Statesmen, 16th Jan. 1994.

18 will be deemed as rape. What happens therefore for rape victims between the ages of 16 and 18?

- o The clause in Section 155 (4) of the Indian Evidence Act (1872) allows the accused to introduce into the trial evidence of the "general immoral character or sexual history of the person sexually assaulted.
- o The concept of marital rape is not recognized except in cases where the husband and wife live separately (Section 376A, IPC).

The draft is specially aimed at ensuring quicker justice by modifying or deleting these legal holdovers. The recommendations include:

- o The concept of rape being redefined and expanded to cover the broader experiences of sexual assault.
- o In cases where sexual assault has been proved and the question is whether it was with or without the victim's consent, the Court should presume that she did not consent if she says so in Court.

- o The exception in Section 375, which equates marriage with consent, negating the concept of marital rape be deleted".⁸

Hence, it is evident that due to the shortcomings of social legislation and the administrative machinery, Calcutta in 1993 had a total of 40 rape cases as from the newspaper reporting and the police records. However, only 33 such cases were registered. The under reporting of such heinous crimes against women in a country like India is understandable as more than the crime, the character of the women is judged, leading the victim to go through a turmoil of guilt feeling.

Dowry Act Reforms

The Dowry Prohibition Act 1961, made dowry, its giving, taking or abetments, punishable with imprisonment upto 6 months or a fine of Rs.5000 or both. It made demanding dowry a penal offense. Although the Act became a law in

8. Ibid.

1961, recent studies indicate that the practice of dowry is widely prevalent. In Calcutta itself there have been 7 registered cases in 1991 and 3 registered in 1993. These figures definitely prove that there is perhaps some discrepancy in the official figures due to loopholes or otherwise. The approximate dowry violence cases in Calcutta in the year 1991 and 1993 have been 20 and 35 respectively as taken in combination with the newspaper reports. In this case dowry deaths have been taken along with abetment to commit suicide.

Before we progress any further, it is necessary to see the exact definition of dowry as "property given in consideration of marriage and as a condition of the marriage taking place. This definition excluded presents in the form of cash, ornaments, clothes and other articles from its purview. The definition also did not cover money asked for and given after marriage. Both giving and taking dowry was an offense under the act. The offense was non-cognizable and bailable. In legal parlance this means that it is a trivial offense....

The ineffectiveness of the act was manifested at different levels. On one level, there were hardly any cases

filed under this act and there were less than half a dozen convictions in the period between the enactment and the amendment. So, the purpose of the enactment as a deterrent factor was totally lost".⁹

The Bombay High Court in Shanker Rao Vs L.V. Jadhav held that a demand for Rs. 50,000 from the girl's parents to send the couple abroad did not constitute dowry. The judgement was that anything after the marriage would be dowry only if it was agreed or promised to be given as consideration for the marriage. This absurd judgement was in total contrast to the spirit of the Act. Gradually, the violence that the women were facing due to dowry and the term dowry death became synonymous with suicides and wife murders. It was soon accepted both nationally as well as internationally that these murders were unique to India.

In 1980 due to the active support of Promila Dandavate (Member of Parliament), the Joint Committee defined that the definition of dowry as too narrow and vague. The bill which

9. Flavia Agnes, Protecting Women Against Violence? Review of a Decade of Legislation, 1980-89. Economic and Political Weekly, 1992, April 27 (17), 25.

was ultimately introduced in 1984 failed to take into consideration the gravity of the crime as the period of punishment was extended to five years and Rs. 10,000. However, no consideration was taken of the presents which are given to the bride. However, the Act was again amended in 1986. The Act became more stringent as the fine was increased to Rs. 15,000 and the dowry was made into a non-bailable offense. All the loopholes of the previous act was dogged as if a women died an unnatural within seven years of her marriage then the case will be registered as a dowry death. It is believed that violence is a manifestation of a women's powerlessness in a husbands house, and not receiving adequate dowry as gift from her parents also made her more vulnerable to violence. Provisions for appointment of Dowry Provision Officers and Advisory Committees have also been made. The amended law and the active involvement of women's organizations has led to social awareness of this crime and an increase in the number of cases recorded.

The Voluntary Action Bureau of the Social Welfare Boards and the Legal Aid and Counselling Centres run by voluntary groups with government funding have been rendering

valuable services in this field. However, there has been no significant reversal of the trend nor any visible change in attitudes even among the educated urban elite.

Domestic Violence

Women are not only vulnerable outside her home, but she is more prone to violence at the place she feels safe. She realizes that her world is shattered when the people closest to her rally to harm her.

The discussions on the two amendments to the criminal laws (with a specific reference to Sections 498 A and 304 B of IPC) are usually taken into consideration with dowry. These cases mostly involve wife harassment. This type of crime is rather high in the Indian context, with a total of 132 such cases in 1993 and 115 in 1991 in Calcutta. Hence, we can see that the domestic violence is definitely on the rise.

Till 1983, there was no specific provision pertaining to violence within the home. Husbands could be convicted under the general provisions of murder, abetment to suicide,

causing hurt wrongful confinement. But these general provisions of criminal law do not take into account the specific situation of a women facing violence within the home as against assault by a stranger.

The offense which is committed within the home by a person on whom the woman is economically and emotionally dependent needs to be studied from a different angle.

In most cases registered under the IPC, it is necessary to have an evidence. But in such cases neither witness nor evidence is available in most cases as the crime takes place behind closed door over a long period of time. These persistent beatings naturally results in grave mental as well as physical injury on the women and her children. Hence a different criteria had to be evolved to measure injury and hurt in a domestic situation.

"Even though provisions for the IPC could be used against the husband for assaulting the wife, it was very seldom done. The police being committed to the value system which condones wife beating would not register a complaint against a husband for assaulting the wife even when it had resulted in serious injury which was punishable under

Sections 324 or 326, i.e., causing grievous hurt with or without weapons. It is generally assumed that a husband has a right to beat his wife/ward.

On the contrary, a wife who actually mustered enough courage to approach a police station would be viewed as brazen and deviant. Instead of registering her complaint, the police would counsel the women about her role in the house, and explain that she must please her husband and obey him. She would be sent back without even registering a complaint. So, a special law was needed to protect a woman in her own home".¹⁰

Several western countries had passed laws against domestic violence in the 1970s. However, in India it took a long time to come. The initial demand was for a law to prevent dowry-related violence. This turned out to be a narrow, short-sighted and wrongly formulated programme. Placing dowry violence on a special pedestal denied recognition and legitimacy to the need for protection against violence by all women under all circumstances.

10. Madhu Kishwar and Ruth Vanita, "Can Police Reform Husbands?" Manushi, No. 31 (Nov-Dec, 1985), p. 38.

The Criminal Acts were amended twice in 1983 and 1986 to create a special category of offenses to deal with cruelty to wives, dowry harassment and dowry deaths.

However, prior to the amendment, the IPC dealt with a chapter with offenses against marriage, another chapter deals with offenses against the human body such as murder, suicide etc.

In several cases statistics compiled often erroneously convey the impression that all violence is dowry related, leading to a false assumption that if dowry is curbed, violence on women will disappear. Often there is a misconception that the law is misused by women. While it is true that a significant number of cases filed under this section are subsequently withdrawn, the complexities of women's lives, particularly within a violent marriage, have to be taken into account. The conviction of the husband may not be the best solution to her problems.

A dowry death is registered under Section 304 B IPC. This is unlike Section 498 A (i.e., enticing or taking away or detaining with criminal intent a married women) gives no scope to be used in situation where the violence is not

linked to dowry. Since no record is maintained and no complaints made at the time of meeting the dowry demands, while the girls is alive, it is extremely difficult to prove a dowry death under this section. However, the Section does not benefit women who are suffering domestic violence.

However, sections 302 and 306 (i.e. punishment for murder and abetment to suicides) can be very aptly considered as a part of the dowry death cases. Due to modifications made in the laws since 1981, the dowry cases are seen very much on the rise in Calcutta in the decade 1981-1991, where there has been a sharp rise from 20 cases in 1981 to 35 cases in 1991.

Often cases where the women are mortally harmed, the husbands are acquitted by the Court due to the presumption that the victim has committed suicide due to depression etc. Hence, lack of proper evidence for domestic violence along with proper laws for women and lack of proper implementation has led to a rise in the violence of such cases in the urban areas.

Other Laws Concerning Women

Women and atrocities against women need a different kind of treatment. The most recent case of law being enacted to protect the woman victim is the law against the practice of widow burning or *sati*. The Sati Prevention Act of 1987 was passed in Parliament in response to the demand following the burning of Roop Kanwar on the funeral pyre of her husband in Deorala, Rajasthan.

The Act also prescribed the maximum punishment for the abetment of the commission of *sati*, to equate it with murder rather than with abetment of suicide under Section 306 of the IPC, as had been done in earlier cases of commission of *sati*. The Act also makes glorification of the practice of *sati* an offense and goes a long way in reporting the myth that the *sati* is a manifestation of the glory of Hindu Women.

"The passing of the law has taken the clock back a century. The first legislation against *sati* was promulgated in 1827 in Bengal; this was followed by similar legislations

in Madras and Bombay. The act was challenged in the Privy Council by pro-sati religious fractions on the ground of freedom of religion. This was countered by the argument that there could be no freedom of religion that could go beyond what was compatible with the paramount claims of humanity and justice. The argument of a women's choice which was the main premise in the defense of the Roop Kanwar murder was not put forward then".¹¹

By passing a law, the government has been able to bestow a special status to the public murder of widows and will in future put an end to the cultural content to the issue. However, the most ironical part of the story is that a women who attempts *sati* is to be imprisoned for one to five years and fined Rs.5000 to Rs.20,000. Hence, the victim of all atrocities is being held as accused, while the accused is held innocent till proved guilty or acquitted.

Other noticeable Acts which have been introduced in the last decade are those on prostitution, Indecent Representation of Women and the sex determined tests.

11. Maja Daruwala, Central Sati Act - An Analysis, The Lawyers (January, 1988), p. 17.

The Suppression of Immoral Traffic in women and Girls (SIT) Act of 1956 instead of protecting women as a whole race, divides the society into 'good' and 'bad' women. It is these so called bad women who have suffered due to poverty and she has been a victim of circumstances. To protect the society from the 'necessary evil' of these bad women, they are restricted to certain areas of the city. The SIT Act prohibits a prostitute from public places and forces her to work in certain areas. By penalizing her, the act subjects her to further exploitation and forces her to live in constant fear of police harassment. However, almost always the clients, agents and touts go scot free. The main reason for this law was to prohibit the trafficking in women.

The Act was amended and the "Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act was formed in 1988. It recognizes that children or even men can be sexually abused and exploited for commercial purposes. The provision which penalizes a prostitute is retained in the amendment".¹²

12. Nilima Datta, SIT (Amendment) Bill, 1986, The Lawyers (September, 1986), p. 8.

The bill against indecent representation of women was introduced in the Rajya Sabha in August 1986 in response to the demand raised by the women's movement against derogatory depiction of women in media.

Another Bill which has taken India by storm is the Pre-Natal Diagnostic Techniques Act, 1988. In India where being born female is treated as a deformity, the tests were widely used for sex determination with the specific intention of aborting a female foetus. The ban on the misuse of the technology in government institutions had led to its privatization and commercialization.

In spite of several such social legislation for the protection of women's rights in several ways, the Government has failed to curb rampant atrocities against women.

To prevent more such heinous crimes from taking place, care should be taken to fully implement the laws and a new public policy should be chalked out for better crime management for the vulnerable section.

5.3 Level of Implementation of Public Policy and New Measures

Keeping in mind the rapid escalation of atrocities against women, it is necessary to look for a comprehensive

crime management for tackling various crimes against women and for dealing with female depersonalization trauma.

William Clifford an internationally acknowledged specialist in crime prevention and criminal justice described the Indian crime policy as "If I have understood the Indian problem of crime prevention planning correctly, it has been concentrated on investments within the criminal justice sector, i.e., better police courts and correctional services, with faith being placed in wider social development to reduce the poverty, over-crowding and family disruption to which so much crime has been traced. In this, India has probably a better record than many other countries. In Australia, the US and many European countries, the machinery for national planning, such as India has developed from 1951, does not exist. In communist countries, where it certainly exists and has an even larger history, the planning is bolstered by more controls of individual freedom than India or western countries might be prepared to tolerate as a cost of planning".¹³

13. William Clifford, Planning to Prevent Crime in India, Indian Journal of Social Work, Vol. 47(3); Oct. 1986, p. 330.

There are several limitations in planning to prevent crime in India, such as there is a sectoral and a piece meal planning; lack of adequate research on the causation of crime in India; too great reliance on law enforcement to prevent crime; weak coordination of national and state policies, lack of integration amongst the police force, various social organizations etc. are some of the drawbacks.

For a compact and well defined crime management, Ram Ahuja aptly recommended a four step formula of first socially redefining violence, strengthening women's organizations, encouraging a more humanistic approach while dealing with sensitive issues and making adequate changes in the criminal justice system.

In most of the cases where crime is committed against women, invariably the offender is a person known to the women. In most cases in Calcutta in 1991, the criminal was well aware of the weaknesses of the women. The maximum crimes committed have been those on women harassment and molestation. Both these criminal acts were invariably committed by close members of the women's family or people staying in the same locality.

Although there are laws to prohibit and condemn criminal acts, often the women does not report a case as she feels threatened and certain crimes such as rape, molestation can be a social stigma for the victim. "In rape and abductions, it is difficult to get a conviction when the slightest intimate relationship is proved to have existed between the victim and the offender. Wife-beating cases are never reported to the police because of the traditional values of Indian women. Bride-burning cases are difficult to prove because they take place in the privacy of homes in the absence of witnesses. Thus, what happens in crimes against women and subsequently in the criminal justice system reflects the male and female roles in the broader society".¹⁴

Hence, the traditional stereo-type role of the Indian women must be done away with. This can be tackled by media. Instead of projecting a negative image of the women, emphasis can be given to women's issues, and thus end the

14. Ram Ahuja, Crime Against Women, "Depersonalization, Humanistic Approach and Policy Planning", Rawat Publications, 1987, p. 198.

callous approach to the portrayal of women in the media which may have aggravated crime in several cases.

While campaigning, it has been seen that the voice of a single woman carries no weight. In fact, she is accused of being too outspoken. However, outdated norms and values in society can be effectively tackled by women's organizations by making people especially women more aware of her rights. Besides this, these organizations will be in a far better position to help oppressed women. They can provide emotional support to women, pressurize the police to act faster, help review laws on women etc.

Several social organizations have been able to help aggrieved women out of distress. However, very often, there is no proper counselling mechanism in India. The NGO's have been accused of raising the hope of the dowry victims. They are often known to make impossible promises like getting the custody of the child, a flat and other material comforts.

It is also necessary to develop a humanistic approach while dealing with the victims. It is necessary to change the traditional role of the women, from being helpless, dependent and being maltreated. The woman must be able to

assert her position and must be able to gain sufficient respect both at home and in society.

Rehabilitation centres as well as homes for the destitute must be set up to look after the welfare of women and young girls from broken homes. "To protect the rights of victims and to provide benefits to victims, an evaluation of organizational procedures (of police, courts, rescue homes, etc.) by university scholars and by outside individuals (not belonging to the organizations themselves) is necessary from time to time. One cannot expect the people from within an organization to find fault with their own systems. Review and planning must be structured into the systems both by assigning this duty to a particular position within the organization and giving a specific time to do it as well as assigning this duty to outsiders. Some changes suggested by outsiders may be seen as being difficult to implement by the organizations, but these changes may be necessary for the victim's benefit".¹⁵

Besides this there must be adequate changes in the attitudes and values of judicial officials, the

15. Ibid.

establishment of family courts or like Lok Adalats and above all there must be a change in the attitude of the police.

The judiciary ought to take the cue from the Lok Adalat and consumer protection movements to recast time-consuming processes and extensively adopt summary disposal procedures and flexible sentencing practices in criminal trials.

On the other hand, "the police functioning as they do as the cutting edge of the criminal justice system, has clearly to break out of its straitjacket of limited legalistic responses to cognizable crime, which is a very small segment of the total crime problem. Police organisation and methods should be given a new sense of direction based upon humanistic responses of openness, fairness, helpfulness, sympathy and empathy, especially towards the poor and downtrodden. This should be backed by new institutions of mediation at the village or ward level, where disputes will be quickly resolved and tensions will be quickly defused at their very origins in time and place".¹⁶

16. N. Krishnaswamy, For a National Crime Policy, The Hindu, 3rd Oct, 1993.

To the layman, the police officer is the law. "It is the police who in their capacity as first line enforcers make the important decision whether the specific situation requires official action or not. If they choose not to identify an act as a crime, or if they choose not to label a person as a suspect, or if they choose not to take official action even when they have applied the legally appropriate labels, the members of a society lose faith both in the law and its enforcement agencies".¹⁷

It is most unfortunate that due to some cases either on grounds of callousness or indifference, the image of the police has deteriorated.

Special Women's Cell must be created in each police station to look into the grievances and to look into delicate matters.

Although our society is a welfarian society, proper social legislation cannot be achieved due to the large population ratio which is protected by an inadequate police force. In Calcutta, for example, for every 10,000 population there are 50 policemen. In other words, the ratio is

17. Ram Ahuja, Crime Against Women, Rawat Publications, 1987, p. 203.

1:199. The total sanctioned strength of the Calcutta police in 1992 was only 21,964. Naturally under such conditions, the law-enforcers also find themselves at a loss.

Proper crime management techniques should be adopted such as larger number of policemen, police control vans and control rooms should be sanctioned for areas which are prone to crime. This is possible by analyzing crime data over 20 years. Accordingly, a core-periphery theory can be worked out for crime as well as stationing of adequate police personnel.

Another major problem often faced by victims while reporting cases at police stations is that often due to lack of proper boundaries between police stations, the cases are not registered. Police personnel are often known to shake off their responsibility as they feel that the case does not fall under their jurisdiction. There should be inter-station coordination as well as inter-city coordination to execute their duties better. Police station boundaries and police districts should be chalked out taking into consideration the socio-economic, topographical, demographic variables and the

crime density of the city. The proper lay-out of police districts and station boundaries will help in effective crime management and coordination among police personnel.

If crime, in general, can be well tackled, crime against women will also go down.

5.4 Conclusion

While examining and understanding the various crimes against women, it is evident that as victims go through the police, the Rescue Home and Court Ordeals, they often feel depersonalized, lost, bewildered and neglected. Although sometimes they may find sympathetic, supportive individuals within these institutions who help them, yet, the overall organizational structures of these institutions contribute to their feeling that persons associated with these institutions do not care much about them.

The procedures are often mechanical, a matter of routine. The victims are shunted back and forth. Often they run from pillar to post in search of justice. There are a handful of professionals who work to

help the victims such as the police, doctors, lawyers, magistrates and the personnel of the rescue homes. However, one very striking fact is that these groups of professionals have a total lack of communication amongst themselves. Each group sticks to its own guns, while the victim who is already emotionally broken is further sashed out in matters which are a part of the procedure to give the victim justice.

Crimes against women deserve a scientific study and the victims of these crimes require an objective approach in understanding the administrative procedures.

There should be correct assessment of the violence as well as the offenders alongwith balanced treatment programmes and preventive strategies. The social laws should be reviewed from time to time.

Prevention is better than cure. This holds good in respect of crime control. "Participation in community affairs is the citizens' duty. In democratic countries, citizens are expected to participate actively in the affairs of the community, in decision making and in sharing community responsibilities. Every citizen has to

make his contribution in addition to what he contributes in return to the work done to earn his livelihood.

Increasing number of criminologists and corrections people are emphasizing that the task of crime prevention and control is indeed too complex to be left to the police, prosecutors, courts and correctional institutions run by the government alone. The assumption naturally is that it is the citizenry at large that will help curb crime and not only the police, the courts or the prisons. People's participation in every type of public activity is a value in itself and an administrative norm of good government in a democratic country. This is not to suggest that citizens and communities alone prevent crime. But citizen involvement in prevention holds important potential that should not be over looked in formulating strategies to combat crime and delinquency.¹⁸

Community agencies should be encouraged alongwith the welfare services for the youth to understand the problems of

18. Usha Razdan, Community Participation in Crime Prevention, Indian Journal of Criminology, 14 (1), January, 1986, p. 23.

cities and its people on a voluntary basis. The Japanese Crime Prevention Association provides a good example of this type of cooperation. "In the city of Tokyo alone there are 50,000 volunteers looking after welfare".¹⁹

A close cooperation between the community and the law enforcement branch of the Government is necessary for successful prevention of crime. Often the citizens seems only too willing to ignore their own prevention responsibility and look to the police to handle this aspect of the crime problems forgetting that the police cannot successfully prevent crime without substantial help from the entire community.

"Increasing the budget of the law enforcement apparatus and improving the conditions of jails can hardly cope with the escalating phenomenon of crime in an increasingly complex society. Preventive strategies involving the people therefore have to have the dominant place and priority in any national policy on crime control. The success story from Aurangabad assumes special

19. Ibid.

significance reminding citizens that crime and delinquency affect every member of society directly as well as individually may also increase their willingness to engage in preventive activities. Reporting of crime should be made a legal duty with penal sanctions for non-compliance. The citizen should be compensated for any loss he suffers if he does, in fact, assist his neighbour. As a witness an essential role is expected of a citizen. Parent-child and teacher-child relationship should be strengthened. Existing social agencies should be improved and expanded and many new ones must be started.

A supportive and conscientious public attitude should replace the existing apathy, especially so far as the police personnel are concerned. This is not to suggest that citizens and communities alone prevent crime, but citizen involvement in prevention holds important potential".²⁰

20. Ibid.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

A casual overview of literature which deals with crime brings out clearly that the essential focus of these studies depict crime as a social problem, crime in various parts of India as case studies, the role of the police and judiciary in curbing crime etc. Very few researchers have focused on the spatial analysis of crime. The present study contributes significantly to our understanding of this variation. The spatial aspect of crime against women has been dealt with. The significance lies in the fact why certain parts of the city are more prone to crime against women than the other parts. This spatial-temporal analysis of crime in Calcutta provides a background as well as understanding of urban society in general and the metropolitan situation in particular.

Generally, it is found that the total crime against women are larger in the metropolitan area than in the rural areas. It is found that in the content, that is South Asia, all the standards of women's position in relation to men is

low. This can be aptly seen in case of the trend of the population of the region. There are high fertility and infant-child mortality rates which deplete the health of the women. There is a clear geographical expression of the prevalence of urban crime against women which are deep rooted in the socio-economic fabrics of the million cities. There are wide geographical inequalities in the socio-economic base between the cities and in different areas within a city. Thus urban crime against women shows spatial variations. Geography of crime against women in cities has a close bearing with the population density, residential segregation and social deprivation within a city. With the wide variations of geographical inequalities within a city, thus social problems in cities have clear spatial expressions.

Urban crime against women takes different forms such as rape, molestation, dowry death, murder, wife beating, kidnapping, eve-teasing etc. A particular type of crime may be concentrated in a certain location. It is believed that the total crime against women is more in the urban periphery than at the core. This is primarily because of depressing

socio-economic conditions and more rural and semi-urban characteristics coupled with the poor enforcement of law and order as well as lack of strict vigilance.

In India, the rate of crime against women is increasing every year with the corresponding increase in the population. Eight parameters, namely, rape kidnapping and abduction, dowry death, torture or harassment, molestation, eve-teasing, snatching and murder have been taken into consideration for the study. Most of the official data is published by the Crime Records Bureau in the annual report Crime in India. Besides this, the FIR and the Crime Index File for the case study on Calcutta at first seemed to be adequate for the study. However, such records are not well maintained. Often information is incomplete especially those concerning the age, occupation and exact relationship of the victim. For the convenience of study, cases under Section 104 inciting a person into prostitution has been included under kidnapping and abduction of women. In most cases, the FIR and the Crime Index has not recorded any case on eve-teasing. In most cases, the cases on eve-teasing and molestation are clubbed together. In the data provided by

the Crime Records Bureau in the annual report Crime in India, before 1986 no break up for abduction and kidnapping of women and girls was available. The dowry laws came into effect in 1987, while the reforms in rape laws were made in 1983. Hence, in 1981, few cases have been registered under both dowry deaths and rape cases.

In India, crime against a women is committed every seven minutes. The condition is deteriorating at a fast pace with increase in industrialization and urbanization. The total number of cognizable crime against women is highest in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra. While Delhi exceeds the average rate of crime both amongst the Union Territories as well as cities. For specific crimes such as rape cases, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan occupy the highest positions. As far as kidnapping and abduction of women and girls are concerned, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar has the highest number of cases. In case of dowry deaths the largest number of cases were registered in Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Bihar. Thus, it is evident that the most crime prone states are Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Bihar.

From the study of the statistical details, it is evident that the north-central India is the area where there is maximum violence against women.

Crime is mostly concentrated in the urban areas of the country and also depends on the size of the cities. The largest number of sex-related crimes are associated with Delhi, Bombay, Pune and Nagpur. In other crimes such as kidnapping again Delhi has the highest figures. Among the metropolises, Hyderabad has accounted for the minimum number of crimes against women. However, in rape cases, Calcutta, Madras and Bangalore have all reported very low figures.

However, very often statistics are distorted to project a different image for a state or city to induce a sense of security among the citizens as well as for the political and administrative bosses. Crime against women is on the rise in India due to the complex socio-cultural matrix which includes greed, lack of education, feudal mentality and the need to dominate along with overall degeneration of ethical and moral values in society.

As in every other city in India, crime against women is on the rise. The city is characterized by widespread human

poverty, ever increasing unemployment, child labour, wide socio-economic inequalities, a large migrant population, over-crowding and acute congestion, physical and functional obsolescence, dilapidation, industrial obsolescence, economic and sectoral crisis, housing, transport, water problems like any other city in the Third World.

The city has several disabilities such as lack of space for further growth, housing problems, etc. coupled with constant flow of refugees as well as migrants from the neighbouring states.

Given such tremendous space constraints and virtual non-availability of any scope for physical expansion, there is a severe economic crisis. This complete degradation and dilapidation of the city has even eroded the traditional genteel Bengali disposition towards women as the most respected and sheltered segment of the social fabric and made them the targets of the most heinous forms of social attack.

From the study, it is evident that there is a large migrant mixed ethnic population. As in a migrant working population, the male members are more mobile. This has led

to a relatively high male working as well as non-working population who reside in clustered houses as slums. Often it is seen that areas with low population density may have a larger number of slums which due to their low socio-economic infrastructure has a large number of crimes against women. The best example of such a region is the Eastern Suburban Division which has the largest slums in the city. The area under Bhawanipur, however, conforms with the theory that high population density leads to high incidence of crime. The "Dhapa" area is an ideal spot for low land and cheap rent for residences. This is an area for industries and workshops. There are large number of criminal activities especially against the women. A high male, non-working population as seen in the Entally Police Station area leads to high crime rates. Illiteracy and high incidence of crime is also seen to have a positive co-relation as seen in the case of Entally, Beniapukur, Ekbalpur, Cossipore and Chitpur. Crime as seen on the whole is influenced by the socio-economic environment of an area.

Besides this, climate and the time period of the day also influences the number of crime committed against women.

As in research done in other countries, Calcutta also conforms to the norm that high crime rates are common in the summer months as seen in the months of May and June in Calcutta. There is a sudden decline in the number of crime cases during the rainy season. Seasonal change and the time period of the day which usually involves the time when the office-going crowd is most mobile namely 9:00 AM, 2:00 PM and 5:00 PM.

Although the crime figures are quite astounding, this is only the tip of the ice-berg of crime. Social legislation especially those on women are the most important factors and law enforcement policies depend on this. In several cases, the IPC was not conducive for cases of crime against women. In several cases, the woman who was the victim was humiliated to prove her innocence. Several enactments were only on paper. Some were callously framed while others were just token gestures. Women's campaigns have to a certain extent achieved their goals in a few cases only, such as the reforms in the Rape Laws in 1983 after several years of legal battle. Then again the Dowry Reforms Act was also redefined in 1986 to facilitate in preventing

harassment of married women. However, in the case of domestic violence, it is necessary to produce some evidence. But in such cases neither witness nor evidence is available as the crime takes place behind closed door over a long period of time. On several occasions, it is known that the policemen do not register cases of domestic violence. But they often indulge in reconciliation which invariably leads to a living hell for the victim. The offense which is committed within the house by a person on whom the woman is economically and emotionally dependent needs to be studied from a different angle. On several occasions, the woman is made to prove her worthiness and her moral character is judged in Court rather than the crime committed against her.

During the course of study, it is evident that public awareness on crime against women is necessary along with stringent public policy and measures to curb crime.

In India, especially in a city like Calcutta, no single measure is possible to reduce crime against women. Crime prevention activity can be balanced on activities as punitive, corrective or mechanical, in other words, depending on whether crime can be reduced by threats and

punishment or by personal, social or economic conditions. A target based crime prevention model can be created in Calcutta where depending on the criminal activity of a certain area, police and security personnel can be deployed coupled with a large social prevention activity by women's organizations with active support and assistance by police personnel and local political bodies.

Along with the above mentioned measures emphasis must be laid on organization of crime data, which will help in research and also curb crime. From a carefully generated data, it is possible to understand the local environment particularly the types of offenses. Some of the social and physical terms of the environment which may be the obstacles can be rectified.

However, the key to crime prevention especially against women lies in community involvement and management of their own environment.

The police personnel and other law enforcement agencies can also encourage the development of better recreational and social activities centres for the young men of the community which will keep them occupied. Citizens vigilance

is the most important as the police only form a small fraction of the total population and hence, it is not possible to always form the "eyes and ears" of the law.

Thus, it can be concluded that crime is a complex phenomenon and the interplay of various factors contributes to the patterns observed. Since the crime against women is escalating every year, it is becoming a grave concern. Care must be taken to lay more emphasis on proper registration of cases and further development of crime statistics which will help in forming long term policies of curbing crime in the notorious areas amongst the vulnerable section of the population.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Total Cognizable Crimes Under IPC [1981 and 1991]

S.No. States	1981	1991
1. Andhra Pradesh	75294	101676
2. Arunachal Pradesh	842	1861
3. Assam	43797	35144
4. Bihar	107006	119932
5. Goa	-	3805
6. Gujarat	78639	124472
7. Haryana	16699	28584
8. Himachal Pradesh	4197	9209
9. Jammu & Kashmir	15973	15545
10. Karnataka	79605	104489
11. Kerala	48064	74103
12. Madhya Pradesh	169119	218431
13. Maharashtra	172976	192295
14. Manipur	3278	2100
15. Meghalaya	2122	1726
16. Mizoram	-	1781
17. Nagaland	993	1641
18. Orissa	47780	52081
19. Punjab	13588	16081

20. Rajasthan	67052	113617
21. Sikkim	295	469
22. Tamil Nadu	118471	133284
23. Tripura	4178	5594
24. Uttar Pradesh	185485	208561
25. West Bengal	89207	69073

Total [States]	1343818	1635554

UNION TERRITORIES

26. A & N Islands	737	551
27. Chandigarh	1683	1629
28. D & N Haveli	192	437
29. Daman & Diu	3418	257
30. Delhi	30636	34876
31. Lakshadweep	12	54
32. Pondicherry	2914	5017

Total [UTs]	41939	42821

Total [All India]	1385757	1678375

Source: Compiled from Crime in India, 1981, 1991.

APPENDIX II

Incidence of Crime Against Women in 1990
and 1991 alongwith Percentage Variation

Sl. No.	States	Rape			Kidnapping [Women & Girls] And Abduction		
		1990	1991	1990-91	1990	1991	1990-91
				Percentage Variation			Percentage Variation
1.	Andhra Pradesh	601	664	10.5	600	458	-23.7
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	18	33	83.3	32	35	9.4
3.	Assam	458	486	6.1	1010	1012	0.2
4.	Bihar	1005	878	-12.6	1219	1236	1.4
5.	Goa	10	16	60.0	17	14	-17.6
6.	Gujarat	236	304	28.8	626	980	56.5
7.	Haryana	168	150	-10.7	149	248	66.4
8.	Himachal Pradesh	63	91	44.4	113	150	32.7
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	121	124	2.5	322	379	17.7
10.	Karnataka	164	168	2.4	296	240	-18.9
11.	Kerala	197	211	7.1	101	99	- 2.0
12.	Madhya Pradesh	2302	2596	12.8	122	1151	- 4.2
13.	Maharashtra	875	906	3.5	793	839	5.8
14.	Manipur	21	11	-46.6	85	86	1.2
15.	Meghalaya	37	28	-24.3	21	20	- 4.8
16.	Mizoram	56	46	-17.9	0	1	-
17.	Nagaland	13	13	0.0	6	13	116.7
18.	Orissa	249	313	25.7	319	310	- 2.8
19.	Punjab	55	64	16.4	118	100	-15.3
20.	Rajasthan	740	803	8.5	2018	2007	- 0.5
21.	Sikkim	6	9	50.0	2	4	100.0
22.	Tamil Nadu	290	316	9.0	674	705	4.6
23.	Tripura	76	58	-23.7	74	64	-13.5
24.	Uttar Pradesh	1541	1417	- 8.0	3099	2824	- 8.9
25.	West Bengal	561	469	-16.4	672	662	- 1.5
Total [States]		9863	10174	3.2	13568	13637	0.5

UNION TERRITORIES

26. A & N Islands	3	2	-33.2	7	8	14.3
27. Chandigarh	11	7	-36.4	19	14	-26.3
28. D & N Haveli	4	1	-75.0	4	2	-50.0
29. Daman & Diu	0	1		1	2	100.0
30. Delhi	177	214	20.9	841	609	-27.6
31. Lakshadweep	0	0		0	0	-
32. Pondicherry	10	11	10.0	6	11	83.3
<hr/>						
Total [UTs]	205	236	15.1	878	646	-26.4
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Total [All India]	10068	10410	3.4	14446	14283	1.1
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Source: Crime in India 1991.

APPENDIX III

INCIDENCE OF CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST WOMEN DURING 1991
[STATE AND UT-WISE]

Sl. No.	States/UTs	Rape	Kidnapping and Abduction	Dowry Deaths	Cruelty by Husband and his Relative	Molestation	Eye-Teasing
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
STATES							
1.	Andhra Pradesh	688	533	411	1444	1736	999
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	32	30	0	0	33	1
3.	Assam	427	819	14	199	190	10
4.	Bihar	633	413	263	315	209	24
5.	Goa	18	13	0	13	28	11
6.	Gujarat	253	670	103	1106	907	255
7.	Haryana	134	158	144	185	213	272
8.	Himachal Pradesh	91	150	30	87	242	5
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	124	415	9	3	282	143
10.	Karnataka	177	264	227	826	852	42
11.	Kerala	203	75	13	242	580	5
12.	Madhya Pradesh	2532	1219	423	1409	6916	675
13.	Maharashtra	885	904	828	5396	2635	460
14.	Manipur	13	81	0	0	47	1
15.	Meghalaya	27	5	0	0	17	0
16.	Mizoram	44	1	0	0	45	0
17.	Nagaland	1	1	0	0	1	0
18.	Orissa	285	172	63	245	722	62

19. Punjab	59	117	99	27	16	3
20. Rajasthan	803	2217	152	1033	1430	60
21. Sikkim	9	3	0	0	8	0
22. Tamil Nadu	250	513	97	222	676	1205
23. Tripura	57	68	7	41	82	4
24. Uttar Pradesh	1400	2330	1597	1415	2116	2500
25. West Bengal	461	451	538	1600	353	354

Total [States]	9606	11624	5018	15816	20336	7171
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UNION TERRITORIES

26. A & N Islands	3	8	0	3	28	0
27. Chandigarh	7	14	2	9	5	31
28. D & N Haveli	4	1	0	2	1	0
29. Daman & Diu	1	2	0	3	1	0
30. Delhi	161	644	133	112	203	2376
31. Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0
32. Pondicherry	11	7	4	4	37	697

Total [UTs]	187	676	139	133	275	3112
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Total [All India]	9793	12300	5157	15949	20611	10283
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NOTE: Figures are based on monthly crime statistics and may be treated as provisional.

Source: Crime in India 1991

APPENDIX IV

INCIDENCE OF CRIMES COMMITTED AGAINST WOMEN DURING 1992
[STATE AND UT-WISE]

Sl. No.	States/UTs	Rape	Kidnapping and Abduction	Dowry Deaths	Cruelty by Husband and his Relative	Molestation	Eve-Teasing
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
STATES							
1.	Andhra Pradesh	763	531	424	1842	1773	1079
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	25	27	1	2	36	0
3.	Assam	442	611	11	247	113	96
4.	Bihar	1019	267	170	315	151	24
5.	Goa	12	13	1	16	37	14
6.	Gujarat	285	575	123	1224	852	1199
7.	Haryana	215	228	209	237	306	417
8.	Himachal Pradesh	83	147	18	119	233	9
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	123	359	30	1	209	217
10.	Karnataka	150	259	209	985	884	53
11.	Kerala	212	72	18	290	553	1
12.	Madhya Pradesh	2658	1052	353	1469	6291	601
13.	Maharashtra	961	965	727	6168	2778	352
14.	Manipur	17	111	0	2	20	10
15.	Meghalaya	25	2	2	1	13	1
16.	Mizoram	34	0	0	1	52	0
17.	Nagaland	1	0	0	0	1	0
18.	Orissa	302	202	152	257	799	106

19. Punjab	61	101	101	33	17	1
20. Rajasthan	818	2434	250	1836	1740	15
21. Sikkim	11	6	0	0	12	0
22. Tamil Nadu	232	467	75	294	635	680
23. Tripura	73	55	3	31	122	0
24. Uttar Pradesh	1735	2218	1783	2329	2081	2727
25. West Bengal	615	631	174	1920	384	120

Total [States]	10872	11333	4834	19619	20092	7722
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UNION TERRITORIES

26. A & N Islands	5	2	0	6	13	2
27. Chandigarh	15	19	1	8	9	30
28. D & N Haveli	1	1	0	4	5	0
29. Daman & Diu	1	1	0	2	0	0
30. Delhi	215	709	121	106	226	2303
31. Lakshadweep	0	0	0	0	0	0
32. Pondicherry	3	12	6	5	40	694

Total [UTs]	240	744	128	131	293	3029
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Total [All India]	11112	12077	4962	19750	20385	10751
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NOTE: FIGURES ARE BASED ON MONTHLY CRIME STATISTICS
AND MAY BE TREATED AS PROVISIONAL.

Source: Crime in India, 1992.

APPENDIX V

Age-Wise Distribution of Rape
Cases in Metropolitan Cities

City	Number of Victims				
	No. of Cases Reported	Below 10 Yrs	10-16 Years	16-30 Years	30 Years & Above
1	2	3	4	5	6
Ahmedabad	27	7	3	6	11
Bangalore	27	3	9	14	1
Bhopal	44	5	21	16	2
Bombay	104	25	45	31	3
Calcutta	38	8	9	15	6
Coimbatore	1	0	1	0	0
Delhi	236	45	118	70	3
Hyderabad	41	0	2	30	9
Indore	32	3	13	14	2
Jaipur	27	0	13	14	0
Kanpur	38	2	6	30	0
Cochin	10	1	3	6	0
Lucknow	46	6	8	28	4
Ludhiana	6	1	1	3	1
Madras	17	0	0	17	0
Madurai	1	0	0	1	0
Nagpur	48	4	12	26	6
Patna	21	*	*	*	*
Pune	51	6	12	25	8
Surat	17	1	4	10	2
Vadodara	4	1	0	3	0
Varanasi	8	0	1	4	3
Vishakhapatnam	16	0	0	12	4

NOTE: * Age group-wise break-up of victims of rape is not available.

APPENDIX VI

CRIME IN THE FIVE ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS
OF CALCUTTA CITY, 1981

Police Administrative Division	Area sq.km	Population Density	No. of Crime	Percentage of Total Male Population	Percentage of Total Male SC Population	Percentage of Total Male Non-Workers	Percentage of Total Female Literates
North Division	8.11	563533	46	66.42	15.62	17.09	23.78
Central Division	11.31	289514	19	63.89	5.16	7.73	13.04
South Division	17.5	524967	48	56.98	17.15	18.4	29.28
Eastern S'ban Division	22.3	251671	62	56.97	29.04	20.85	20.00
Port Division	13.75	153550	21	28.40	1.77	5.69	4.11

Source: Compiled from Police Records, Calcutta

APPENDIX VII

Crime Against Women in Different Police Stations in Calcutta

Administrative Division	Section	Area in Sq.Kms.	No.of Crime Against Women		
			1981	1991	1993

North Division

Shyampukur	A	1.5	9	15	4
Jorabagan	B	1.5	1	9	9
Burtolla	C	1.03	16	8	16
Amherst St.	F	1.5	-	9	12
Cossipore	M	1.08	10	10	14
Chitpur	N	1.5	10	7	11

Central Division

Burrabazar	D	1	4	10	3
Jorasanko	E	2.4	-	11	16
Hare St.	G	2.56	4	9	4
Bowbazar	H	1.25	3	10	7
Muchipara	I	2.5	8	10	19

South Division

Park St.	K	1.75	-	10	10
Hastings	L	2.5	5	2	3
Ballygunge	S ₁	2.50	11	4	1
Gariahat	S ₂	1.25	-	4	8
Bhowanipur	T	1.5	7	16	16
Tollygunge	U ₁	1.75	-	9	8
Lake	U ₂	2	5	18	7
Alipur	V ₁	1.5	5	8	6
New Alipur	V ₂	1.75	6	11	11
Karaya	Y	2	9	11	21

Eastern Suburban Division

Manicktolla	O ₁	2	4	10	19
Ultadanga	O ₂	2	5	8	9
Beliaghata	P ₁	2	14	5	14
Phulbagan	P ₂	1.25	-	6	13
Narkeldanga	P ₃	2.55	8	5	23
Entally	Q ₁	3.25	20	9	25
Tangra*	Q ₂	2.75	-	7	18
Beniapukur	R	6.5	11	19	23

Port Division

Watgunge	W	1.5	4	11	15
Garden Reach	X ₁	2.5	9	12	14
Ekbalpur	Z	2.75	5	16	20
South Port	SPPS	5	2	6	6
North Port	NPPS	2	1	2	1
Taltolla**	X ₂	-	-	-	-

Total			106	335	416
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Source: Compiled from Records provided by Police Headquarters, Calcutta

[- Non Availability of FIR]

* Formed in 1987

** New Subdivision of Garden Reach PS formed in 1994.

APPENDIX VIII

NUMBER OF CRIMES AND OTHER DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES
ACCORDING TO POLICE STATION: 1981

Police station	Section	Population	No. of	Total Male	Total Male	Percentage	Total Male	Percentage	Total	Percentage
		Density	Crime	Population	Sch. Caste	To Total	SC	Non-Workers	Female	Female
		km ²			Population	Population		Male Non-	Liter-	Female
								Workers	rates	Literates

North Division

Shyampur	A	74274	9	64055	4579	5.04	28869	3.39	39454	4.57
Jorabagan	B	46854	1	42492	687	0.75	11056	1.29	18228	2.11
Burtolla	C	104608	16	60418	2006	2.21	26395	3.09	30954	3.58
Amherst St.	F	109344	NA				-	-	41216	4.77
Cossipore	M	128275	10	79316	3621	3.99	37818	4.44	32930	3.81
Chitpur	N	100178	10	82748	3297	3.63	41602	4.88	42714	4.94

Central Division

Burrabazar	D	99974	4	62154	685	0.75	24189	2.84	25162	2.91
Jorasanko	E	61044	NA	-	-		-	-	32301	3.74
Hare St.	G	13146	4	24112	1016	1.12	6509	0.76	6313	0.73
Bowbazar	H	42968	3	35288	1416	1.56	12620	1.48	11694	1.35
Muchipara	I	39333.2	8	61291	1572	1.73	22605	2.65	25874	2.99
Taltolla	J	33049	NA	-	-		-	-	11473	1.32

South Division

Park St.	K	40745	NA	-	-		-	-	14576	1.68
Hastings	L	14462	5	22986	386	0.42	7549	0.88	9522	1.10
Ballygunge	S ₁	34756		29884	381	0.42	13297	1.56	13511	1.56
Gariahat	S ₂	69963	NA	-	-		-	-	28529	3.30
Bhowanipur	T	109879	7	94632	4178	4.60	41350	4.85	49818	5.77

Tollygunge	U ₁	59804	NA	-	-	-	-	-	31223	3.61
Lake	U ₂	66115	5	69438	5109	5.63	34603	4.06	42125	4.88
Alipur	V ₁	57312	5	51976	2924	3.22	22197	2.60	23895	2.76
New Alipur	V ₂	25038	6	24142	2405	2.65	12600	1.48	10565	1.22
Karaya	Y	46892	9	53143	97	0.21	25311	2.97	29343	3.40

Eastern Suburban

Division

Manicktolla	O ₁	47692	4	51797	2007	2.21	26837	3.15	29089	3.37
Ultadanga	O ₂	27660	5	31960	1066	1.17	13298	1.56	13732	1.59
Beliaghata	P ₁	60516	14	65308	4919	5.42	33564	3.94	37902	4.39
Phulbagan	P ₂	28359	NA	-	-	-	-	-	8022	0.92
Markeldanga	P ₃	40982	8	63076	3941	4.34	26679	3.13	21407	2.48
Entally	Q ₁	32478	20	112909	12675	13.97	52590	6.17	43649	5.05
Beniapukur	R	13984	11	50470	1737	1.91	24592	2.88	19056	2.20

 Total for Eastern Sub-Division 251671 62 375520 26345 29.04 177560 20.85 172857

Port Division

Watgunge	W	38892	4	37435	616	0.67	16253	1.90	11680	1.35
Garden Reach	X	76442	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ekbalpur	Z	38216	5	63275	1003	1.10	32343	3.79	23863	2.76
South Port	SPPS	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
North Port	NPPS	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	:Calcutta	3305006	196	1918822	90699		851455		862992	

 Source: Compiled from [FIR] Police Headquarters: Calcutta

[NA - Data not Available]

APPENDIX IX

A Comparative Study of Types and the Number of Crimes
Over the Decade in the Police Stations in Calcutta

Area/ Police Station	1981								1991							
	Rape	Murder	Har- ass- ment	Eve Teas- ing	Moles- tation	Dowry Death	Kid- napp- ing	Sna- tch- ing	Rape	Murder	Har- ass- ment	Eve teas- ing	Moles- tation	Dowry Death	Kidnap- napp- ing	Sna- tch- ing
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Shyaepukur					6		3		3		6		4		2	
Jorabagan	1	1								2	2		1		4	
Burtolla		1		1	3		11		3	1	2				1	
Amherst St.									1		6		1		1	
Cossipore	1	1			4		5		3	2	2				2	
Chitpur		1			6		2				3		2		2	
Burrabazar					3		1		1	1	3		1		4	
Jorasanko									1		3		3	2	2	
Hare St.					2		2		1	1			4		3	
Bowbazar					1		2		1	3	4				2	
Muchipara		1			4		3			2	6				2	
Taltolla									1		5		8		4	
Park St.									2		3		3		2	
Hastings		2			2				1				1			
Ballygunge					5		6				2		2			
Gariahat													2		2	
Bhowanipur		2			3		2		1	5	1		4	1	3	
Tollygunge									1	1	5				2	
Lake					4		1		5		7		3		3	
Alipur		1		1	1		2			2			3		2	

New Alipur	1			2		3		1	1	5		3		1
Karaya	1			6		2				5		4	1	1
Manicktolla						5		5		4				1
Ultadanga				3		2		2		5		1		
Beliaghata				6		8				2		2	1	1
Phulbagan	‡							1		2		3		
Markeldanga				5		3				3		2		
Entally			1	13		6				4		3		2
Tangra	‡							1		2		4		
Beniapukur				7		4	5	2		6		3		3
Matgunge	1	1		1		1				3		5		3
Garden Reach	1	1	1	1	1	4	1			6		2		3
Ekbalpur				4		1	1			4		6		5
South Port	1			1			2							4
North Port		1					1					1		
Taratolla														

Total	5	14	2	3	93		79	38	30	114		81	5	67

Source: Compiled from Police Records, Calcutta

‡ FIR Not Available

‡‡ Records Not Available And Incomplete

APPENDIX X

TOTAL NUMBER OF CRIMES REPORTED UNDER EACH CRIME HEAD IN 1993

Police Station	1 Rape Rank	2 Mur- Rank der	3 Haras Rank sment	4 Eve- Rank Tea- sing	5 Mole- Rank esta tion	6 Dowry Rank Death	7 Kid- Rank napp ing	8 Sna- Rank tch ing	Total No. of Crimes	Area of Highest Crime With Lowest Rank No.			
Shyampukur	0		2	9	1	8	1	7	4	18			
Jorabagan	1	5	4	7	2	7	2	6	9	14			
Burtolla		1	2.0	1	10	4	5	9	1	16	7		
Amherst St.			4	7	6	3	2	7	12	11			
Cossipore	1	5	5	6	1	8	1	2	6	3	14	9	
Chitpur		1	2.0	4	7	1	8	4	4	10	13		
Burrabazar			2	9	1	8			3	19			
Jorasanko	4	2	8	3	1	8	3	5	16	7			
Hare St.					2	7	2	6	4	18			
Bowbazar		1	2.0	3	8	1	8	1	2	1	7	7	16
Muchipara			2	9	4	5	3	5	9	14			
Taltolla	1	5	1	2.0	6	5	9	1	3	5	19	5	
Park St.		1	2.0	2	9	5	4	2	6	10	13		
Hastings			1	10			1	7	3	19			
Ballygunge	1	5							1	20	[Lowest Crime Area for Women]		
Gariahat	1	5	4	7	2	7	2	6	8	15			
Bhowanipur			8	3	5	4	2	6	15	8			
Tollygunge	1	5	2	1.0	4	7	1	7	8	15			
Lake	2	4.0	4	7			1	2	7	16			

Alipur				3	8			3	6				6	17	
New Alipur	2	4.0	1	2.0	5	6		1	8	1	2	1	7	11	12
Karaya	1	5	1	2.0	10	1		4	5			6	3	22	3
Manicktolla	2	4.0			9	2		5	4			3	5	19	5
Ultadanga	2	4.0			4	7		1	8			2	6	9	14
Beliaghata	1	5			8	3		3	6			2	6	14	9
Phulbagan	1	5			8	3		2	7			2	6	13	10
Markeldanga	1	5			6	5		9	1			7	2	23	2
Entally	5	1			7	4		7	2			6	3	25	1
															[Highest Area of Crime Against Women]
Tangra					10	1		6	3	2	1	1	7	19	6
Beniapukur		2	1.0		10	1		5	4			6	3	23	2
Watgunge					7	4		5	4			3	5	15	8
Garden Reach	1	0.5			6	5		4	5			3	5	14	9
Ektalpur	3	3	1	2.0	2	9		5	4			9	1	20	4
South Port	1	0.5			1	10		2	7			2	6	6	17
North Port								1	8					1	20
Taratolla	[PS Formed in 1994 From Garden Reach PS]														
Total	32		12		160			108		6		97		415	

Source: Compiled from Police Records, Calcutta

APPENDIX XI

Crime Headwise Incidence According to the Seasons

	Month	1993	1991	1981	Total for 3 years [Monthly Crime]
Rape	Jan	4	2	1	7
	Feb	3	2	1	6
	Mar	3	2	-	5
	Apr	3	3	1	7
	May	2	-	1	3
	June	6	2	-	8
	July	2	3	-	5
	Aug	5	2	1	8
	Sept	3	12	1	16
	Oct	4	-	-	4
	Nov	2	-	1	3
	Dec	3	2	1	6
	Total	40	30	8	78
Dowry Death*	Jan	2	-	-	2
	Feb	2	5	-	7
	Mar	4	1	-	5
	Apr	6	4	-	10
	May	2	1	-	3
	June	6	1	-	7
	July	1	1	-	2
	Aug	3	-	-	6
	Sept	3	1	-	4
	Oct	1	-	-	1
	Nov	1	1	-	2
	Dec	4	2	-	6
	Total	35	20		55

Murder	Jan	-	2	2	4
	Feb	-	1	3	4
	Mar	-	3	1	4
	Apr	-	6	2	8
	May	-	2	5	7
	June	2	4	4	10
	July	4	-		4
	Aug	2	3	4	9
	Sept	3	1	2	6
	Oct	3	2		5
	Nov	2	1	3	6
	Dec	1	1	2	4

	Total	17	26	28	71

Molestation	Jan	1	2	5	8
	Feb	9	3	9	21
	Mar	4	11	11	26
	Apr	12	13	8	33
	May	8	10	7	25
	June	14	6	9	29
	July	14	7	8	29
	Aug	10	5	12	27
	Sept	10	8	9	27
	Oct	9	8	3	20
	Nov	5	11	3	19
	Dec	6	5	8	19

	Total	102	89	92	283

Kidnapping	Jan	14	3	3	20
	Feb	8	11	5	24
	Mar	6	10	6	22
	Apr	11	3	11	25
	May	12	5	3	20
	June	13	9	6	28
	July	8	8	2	18
	Aug	7	3	8	18
	Sept	7	1	6	14
	Oct	8	8	4	18
	Nov	6	5	7	18
	Dec	8	6	5	19

	Total	108	70	66	244
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Eve-Teasing**	Jan	-	-	-	-
	Feb	-	1	-	1
	Mar	-	-	-	-
	Apr	2	-	-	2
	May	-	-	1	1
	June	-	-	-	-
	July	-	-	-	-
	Aug	-	-	1	1
	Sept	1	-	1	2
	Oct	-	-	-	-
	Nov	-	-	1	1
	Dec	-	-	-	-

	Total	3	1	4	8
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Harrassment	Jan	8	6	-	14
	Feb	11	6	-	17
	Mar	12	9	-	21
	Apr	15	10	-	25
	May	10	8	2	20
	June	11	16	1	28
	July	11	7	-	18
	Aug	4	12	-	16
	Sept	12	7	-	19
	Oct	9	15	-	24
	Nov	15	10	-	26
	Dec	14	8	1	23

	Total	132	115	4	251

*No Law made before 1986.
**Usually not recorded in the FIR.
Cases of Snatching are not mentioned
in Police Records or Newspapers.

Source: Compiled from Police Records
and Statesmen, Calcutta.

APPENDIX XII

CRIMES REPORTED IN THE NEWSPAPER

Police Station	1981	1991	1993
Shyampukur	-	1	-
Jorabagan	1		
Burtolla	-	-	2
Amherst St.	-	1	-
Cossipore	-	1	-
Chitpur	1	-	-
Burrabazar	1	1	1
Jorasanko	1		2
Hare St.	-	1	-
Bowbazar	2		3
Muchipara	1	-	1
Taltolla	1	-	1
Park St.	1	-	1
Hastings	1	-	-
Ballygunge	1	2	-
Gariahat	-	-	1
Bhawanipur	2	-	2
Tollygunge	-	1	-
Lake	1	1	1
Alipur	1	-	2
New Alipur	-	-	1
Karaya	1	2	-

Manicktolla	1	2	-
Ultadanga	1	4	1
Beliaghata	-	1	-
Phulbagan	-	-	1
Narkeldanga	2	-	-
Entally	2	1	-
Tangra	-	-	-
Beniapukur	-	2	2
Watgunge	1	-	-
Garden Reach	2	-	-
Ekbalpur	-	1	-
South Port	-	-	-
North Port	-	1	-
Taratolla	-	-	-
Total	25	23	22

Source: Compiled from content analysis of
 newspapers Statesman, Calcutta.
 Statesman House

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