

Gender, Law Enforcement, and Access to Justice:
Evidence from All-Women Police Stations in India

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Supplementary Material

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1 Additional Details on All-Women Police Stations

In 1992, the government of Tamil Nadu decided to roll-out a large scale policy of all-women police stations or AWPS across its state, i.e. autonomous segregated institutions run by and for women (Natarajan 2008). The institutions fused the notion of women being suited for tackling gendered crimes with the idea of physical separation in group-specific enclaves whereby female administrators would be under their own supervision and could work with female staff alone. Other states took a cue from Tamil Nadu and began implementing all-women police stations in their district headquarters during the 1990s-2000s.

Though Haryana had not initiated all-women police stations across the state until 2015, it had experimented with a variety of measures to address violence against women. These included a women’s help line, One Stop Rape Treatment Centers, and women’s cells. Cells were located in the superintendent’s (SP) office and staffed primarily by social service workers.³⁹ Two police personnel were also to be posted to these cells, only one of whom had to be female (TISS 2015).

39. In 2005, the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act was passed and laid out a provision for ‘protection officers’ in each district.

Haryana's all-women police stations, segregated units staffed by 30-40 policewomen, were opened on August 28, 2015, the Hindu festival of Raksha Bandhan. They were operationalized 24 days after an order or 'circular' was passed by the Haryana government. The state already had one all-women police station since 1995 in Sonipat district; there is another in the same district at Khanpur Kalan that largely caters to a local university.

1.1 Official Memos Ordering Creation of All-Women Stations

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HARYANA GOVT. GAZ. (EXTRA.), AUG. 4, 2015
(SRVN. 13, 1937 SAKA)

[Authorised English Translation]

HARYANA GOVERNMENT

HOME DEPARTMENT

Notification

The 4th August, 2015

No. S. O. 140/C.A. 2/1974/S. 2/2015.— In exercise of the powers conferred by clause(s) of section 2 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 (Act 2 of 1974), the Governor of Haryana hereby declares the creation of one Woman Police Station at each of the District Headquarters i.e. Karnal, Yamuna Nagar, Kaithal, Kurukshetra, Hisar, Jind, Sirsa, Bhiwani, Fatehabad, Rohtak, Panipat, Jhajjar, Narnaul, Rewari, Mewat(Nuh), Palwal, Faridabad, Ambala, Panchkula and Gurgaon having jurisdiction over the entire area of the respective District, in respect of offences contained in the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (Act No. 45 of 1860) and various Local and Special Laws, as mentioned hereunder:—

1. Section 294, 304-B, 313, 314, 315, 316, 318, 354, 366, 366-A, 366-B, 376, 376-A, 376-B, 376-C, 376-D, 376-E, 497, 498, 498-A, 509 of the Indian Penal Code, 1860.
2. Section 306, 317, 326-A, 326-B, 363, 377, 494, 495, 496 of Indian Penal Code, 1860, if any offence under these sections is committed against a woman.
3. The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, (Act No. 19 of 1929) if any offence under the Act is committed against a female child.
4. The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956 (Act No. 104 of 1956).
5. The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 (Act No. 28 of 1961).
6. The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987 (Act No. 3 of 1988).
7. Protection of Woman against Domestic Violence Act, 2005(Act No. 43 of 2005).
8. The Information Technology Act, 2000, (Act No. 32 of 2000) if any offence under the Act is committed against a woman.
9. The Indecent Representation of Woman (Prohibition) Act, 1986 (Act No. 60 of 1986).
10. Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012, (Act No. 32 of 2012) if any offence under the Act is committed against a female child.
11. Any other offence under the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (Act No. 45 of 1860) or any other Local and Special Law forming part of same transaction or incidental thereto, to the events which led to commission of above mentioned offences or any attempt/abetment/conspiracy thereof.

The Woman Police Stations shall have all the powers as per Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 (Act No. 2 of 1974) for the investigation of offences enlisted above. Jurisdictional Police Stations shall continue to have concurrent power of registration and investigation of aforesaid offences.

P. K. MAHAPATRA,
Additional Chief Secretary to Government Haryana,
Home Department.

Figure A1: Order implementing the all-women police stations reform in Haryana state.

*[Authorized English Translation]***HARYANA GOVERNMENT****HOME DEPARTMENT****Notification**

The 8th August, 2017

No. S.O. 59/C.A. 2/1974/S.2/2017.— In exercise of the powers conferred by clause(s) of section 2 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 (Central Act 2 of 1974), the Governor of Haryana hereby declares the creation of one Woman Police Station at each of Sub Divisions i.e. Assandh, Gohana, Manesar, Dabwali, Ballabgarh and Naraingarh having jurisdiction over the entire area of the respective Division, in respect of offences contained in the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (Act No. 45 of 1860) and various Local and Special Laws, as mentioned hereunder:-

1. Section 294, 304-B, 313, 314, 315, 316, 318, 354, 366, 366-A, 366-B, 376, 376-A, 376-B, 376-C, 376-D, 376-E, 497, 498, 498-A, 509 of the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (Act 45 of 1860).
2. Section 306, 317, 326-A, 326-B, 363, 377, 494, 495, 496 of the Indian Penal Code, 1860, (Act 45 of 1860) if any offence under these sections is committed against a woman.
3. The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929, (Act 19 of 1929) if any offence under the Act is committed against a female child.
4. The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956 (Act 104 of 1956).
5. The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 (Act 28 of 1961).
6. The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987 (Act 3 of 1988).
7. Protection of Woman against Domestic Violence Act, 2005 (Act 43 of 2005).
8. The Information Technology Act, 2000, (Act 32 of 2000) if any offence under the Act is committed against a woman.
9. The Indecent Representation of Woman (Prohibition) Act, 1986 (Act 60 of 1986).
10. The Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012, (Act 32 of 2012) if any offence under the Act is committed against a female child.
11. Any other offence under the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (Act 45 of 1860) or any other local and special law forming part of same transaction or incidental thereto, to the events which led to commission of above mentioned offences or any attempt/abetment/conspiracy thereof.

The Woman Police Stations shall have all the powers as per the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1973 (Act No. 2 of 1974) for the investigation of offences enlisted above. Jurisdictional Police Stations shall continue to have concurrent power of registration and investigation of aforesaid offences.

KESHNI ANAND ARORA,
Additional Chief Secretary to Government Haryana,
Home Department.

Figure A2: Order implementing extension of Haryana all-women police stations across the state's subdivisions.

1.2 Date of Opening / Registration, and Gendered Crime Description

Table A1: Haryana All-Women Police Station Locations & Date of First FIR Registration

	Station	District	Date
1	AWPS, Sonipat	SONIPAT	2015-01-02
2	AWPS, Khanpur Kalan	SONIPAT	2015-05-14
3	AWPS, Bhiwani	BHIWANI	2015-08-28
4	AWPS, Faridabad	FARIDABAD	2015-08-28
5	AWPS, Hissar	HISAR	2015-08-28
6	AWPS, Karnal	KARNAL	2015-08-28
7	AWPS, Fatehabad	FATEHABAD	2015-08-29
8	AWPS, Jind	JIND	2015-08-29
9	AWPS, Rohtak	ROHTAK	2015-08-29
10	AWPS, Sirsa	SIRSA	2015-08-29
11	AWPS, Yamuna Nagar	YAMUNA NAGAR	2015-08-29
12	AWPS, Ambala	AMBALA	2015-08-30
13	AWPS, Gurgaon	GURUGRAM	2015-08-30
14	AWPS, Panipat	PANIPAT	2015-08-30
15	AWPS, Jhajjar	JHAJJAR	2015-08-31
16	AWPS, Kaithal	KAITHAL	2015-08-31
17	AWPS, Mewat	NUH	2015-08-31
18	AWPS, Narnaul	MAHENDERGARH	2015-09-01
19	AWPS, Panchkula	PANCHKULA	2015-09-01
20	AWPS, Rewari	REWARI	2015-09-01
21	AWPS, Kurukshetra	KURUKSHETRA	2015-09-02
22	AWPS, Palwal	PALWAL	2015-09-03
23	AWPS, Charkhi Dadri	CHARKHI DADRI	2017-08-19
24	AWPS, Hansi	HANSI	2017-10-14
25	AWPS, Manesar	GURUGRAM	2018-03-24
26	AWPS, Ballabgarh	FARIDABAD	2018-02-28
27	AWPS, NIT	FARIDABAD	2018-05-22
28	AWPS, Assand	KARNAL	2018-05-31
29	AWPS West	GURUGRAM	2018-09-15
30	AWPS, Dabwali	SIRSA	2018-11-24
31	AWPS, Naraingarh	AMBALA	2018-12-11

Note: Police stations 1 and 2 are all-women police stations that existed in the state prior to the August 2015 reform. Police stations 3 to 22 were opened on the same day, covering the district headquarters of the entire state. The table reveals that the all-women stations of Haryana came fully equipped with the state-of-the-art Crime and Criminal Tracking Network System (CCTNS) infrastructure. Beginning in August 2017, the all-women police stations were unevenly rolled out across sub-divisions.

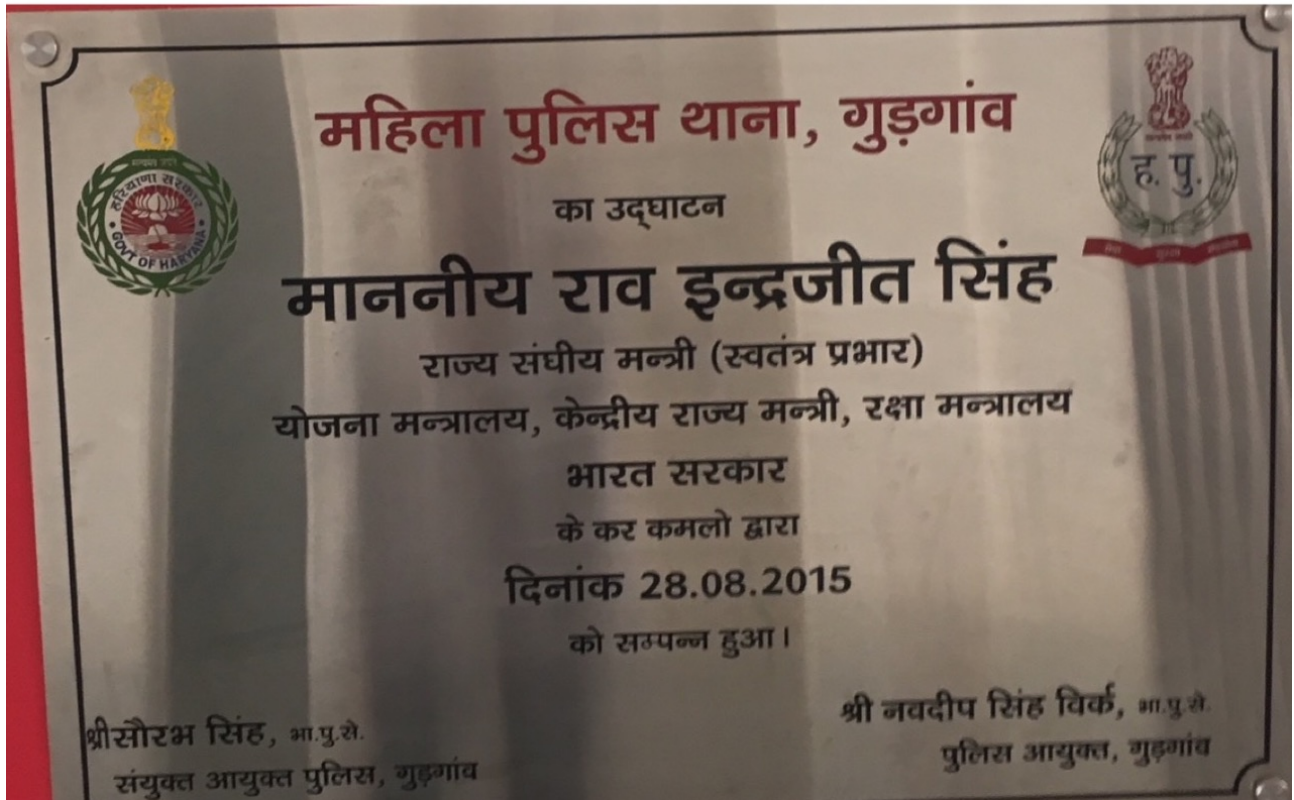


Figure A3: Foundation stones outside all-women police stations in the Haryana districts of Gurgaon and Faridabad. Stations were opened on 28 August 2015.

Table A2: Description of Sections & Special Acts Investigated by All-Women Police Stations

Section	Description
IPC 1860;294	obscene acts or songs
IPC 1860;304-B	dowry death
IPC 1860;313	causing miscarriage without woman's consent
IPC 1860;314	death caused by act done with intent to cause miscarriage
IPC 1860;315	act done to prevent child from being born alive
IPC 1860;316	death of unborn child
IPC 1860;318	concealment of birth by secret disposal of dead body
IPC 1860;354	sexual harassment
IPC 1860;366	kidnapping, abducting a woman to compel her to marriage
IPC 1860;366-A	procuration of minor girl
IPC 1860;366-B	importation of girl from foreign country
IPC 1860;376	rape
IPC 1860;376-B	intercourse by husband upon his wife during separation
IPC 1860;376-C	intercourse by person in authority
IPC 1860;376-D	gang rape
IPC 1860;376-E	punishment for repeat offenders
IPC 1860;497	adultery
IPC 1860;498	enticing or taking away a married woman
IPC 1860;498-A	husband or relative subjecting woman to cruelty
IPC 1860;509	word, gesture or act intended to insult modesty of a woman
IPC 1860;306	abetment of suicide
IPC 1860;317	exposure or abandonment of child
IPC 1860;326-A	acid throwing
IPC 1860;326-B	attempted acid throwing
IPC 1860;363	kidnapping from guardianship
IPC 1860;377	unnatural sex (anal sex/sodomy)
IPC 1860;494	marrying again during lifetime of husband or wife
IPC 1860;495	concealment of marriage
IPC 1860;496	ceremony gone through without lawful marriage
<hr/>	
The Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929	
The Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act, 1956	
The Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961	
The Commission of Sati (Prevention) Act, 1987	
Protection of Women Against Domestic Violence Act, 2005	
The Information Technology Act, 2000	
The Indecent Representation of Women (Prohibition) Act, 1986	
Protection of Children from Sexual Offenses Act, 2012	

Note: Description of gendered crimes listed in the Haryana circular (Figure A1). IPC refers to Indian Penal Code.

1.3 Resources and Staff

While the precise figures for how many policewomen were posted to all-women stations in 2015 are not available, interviews with officers confirm that because there was no quota or increase in policewomen when the institutions were created, most female investigators from standard stations had to be posted to the new institutions. Figure A11 reveals a sharp decline in the proportion of female investigators after the intervention, suggesting that a substantial number of policewomen “left” the dataset (i.e. sent to staff all-women stations which receive fewer cases than standard stations). Personnel data from the Haryana police reveal that, as of 2019 or four years after the intervention, the state’s desired (sanctioned) female staff to serve in its all-women stations are 33 inspectors, 181 sub-inspectors, and 356 assistant sub-inspectors. Yet, data from the Bureau of Police Research & Development—which calculates the *total* policewomen in Haryana—reveals that there are 54 inspectors, 150 sub-inspectors, and 328 assistant sub-inspectors working in the state (BPRD 2016). In other words, because the sanctioned number of policewomen at all-women stations roughly correspond to the total number of serving female investigators, as of 2019 most policewomen work in enclaves.



Figure A4: *Left:* All-women station in Rohtak, Haryana. *Right:* All-women station in Sonipat, Haryana.

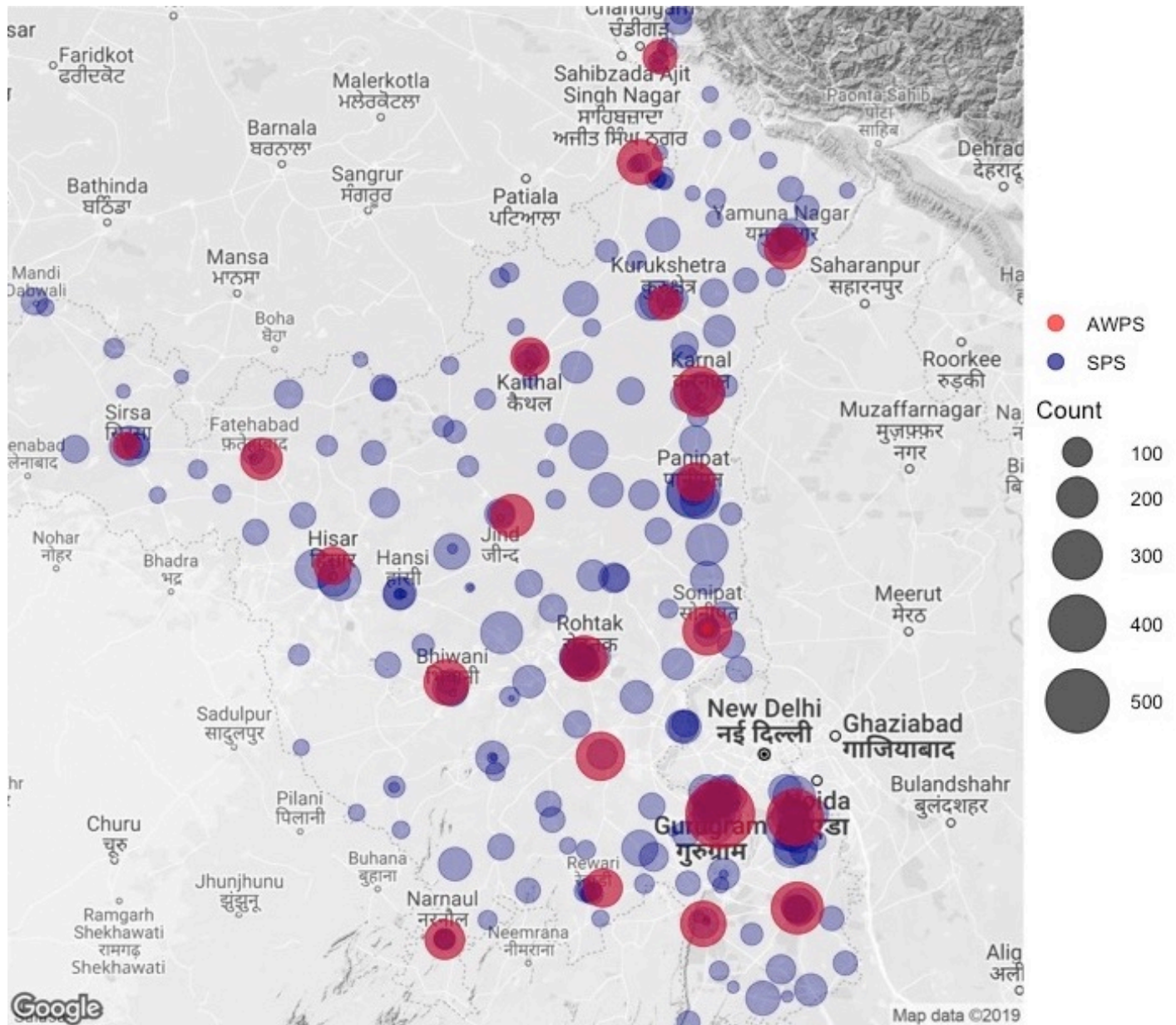


Figure A5: *Left:* Policewomen inside all-women station. *Right:* Policewomen inputting crime to the CCTNS.

2 First-Information-Report Dataset

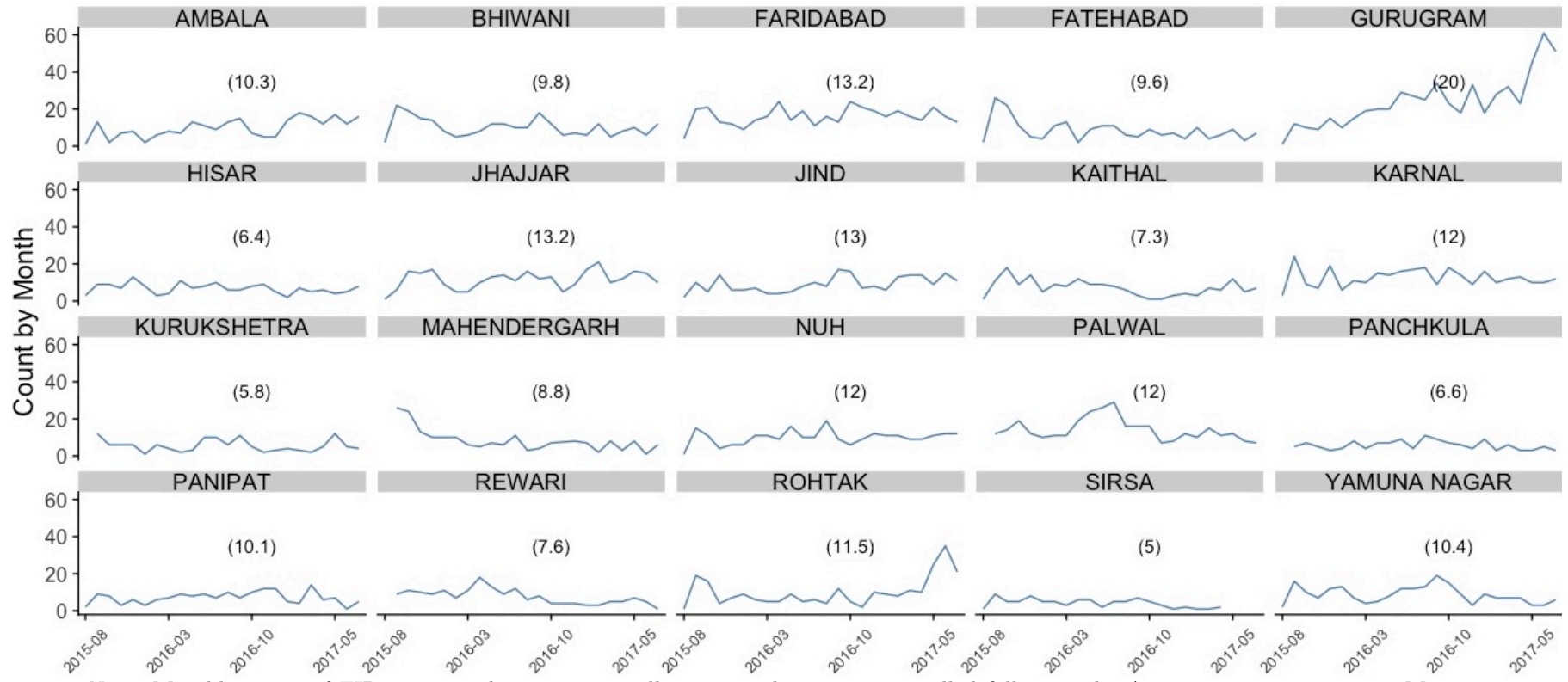
2.1 Additional Analyses

Figure A6: Total Gendered Crime Reports: Haryana 2015-2017



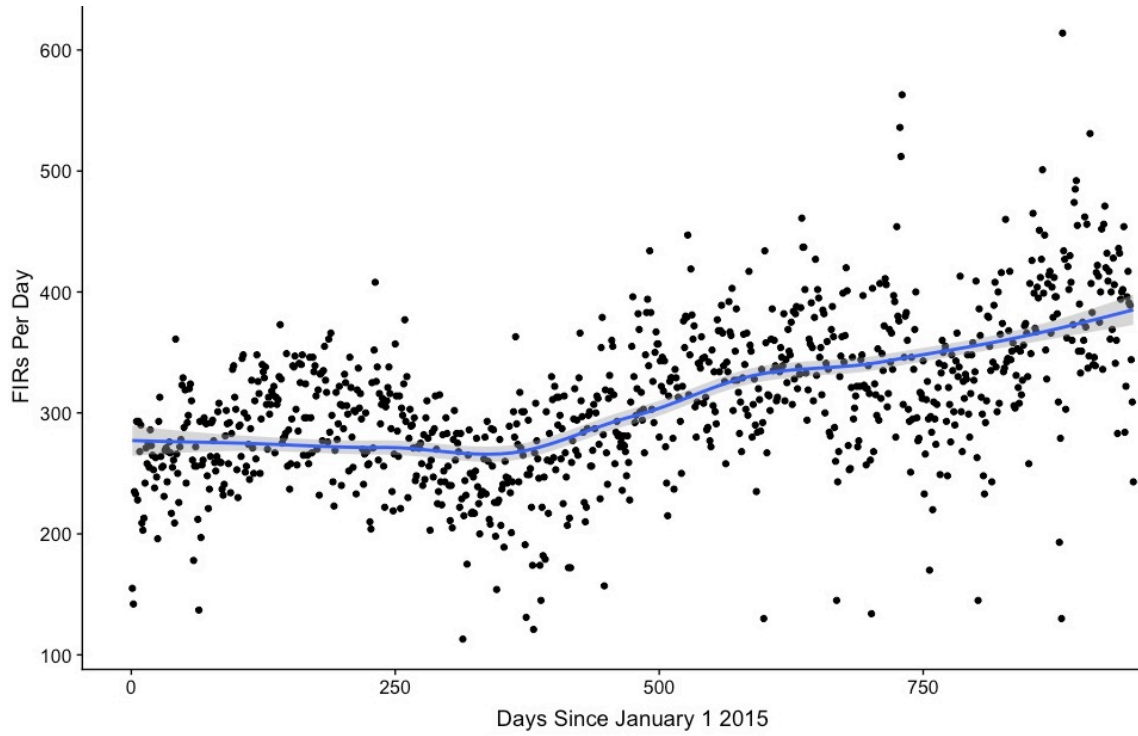
Note: Gendered crime reports geocoded to registering stations across the state of Haryana in standard police stations and all-women police stations. SPS = 19339, AWPS = 5006.

Figure A7: Monthly Count of FIRs in AWPS



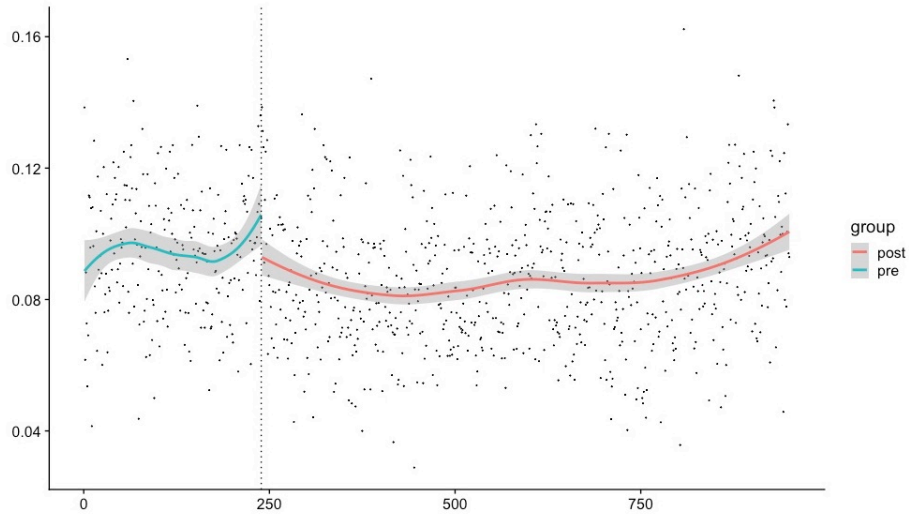
Note: Monthly count of FIRs registered across every all-women police station installed following the August 2015 intervention. Mean in brackets.

Figure A8: Total Crime (Gendered and Non-Gendered) Per Day



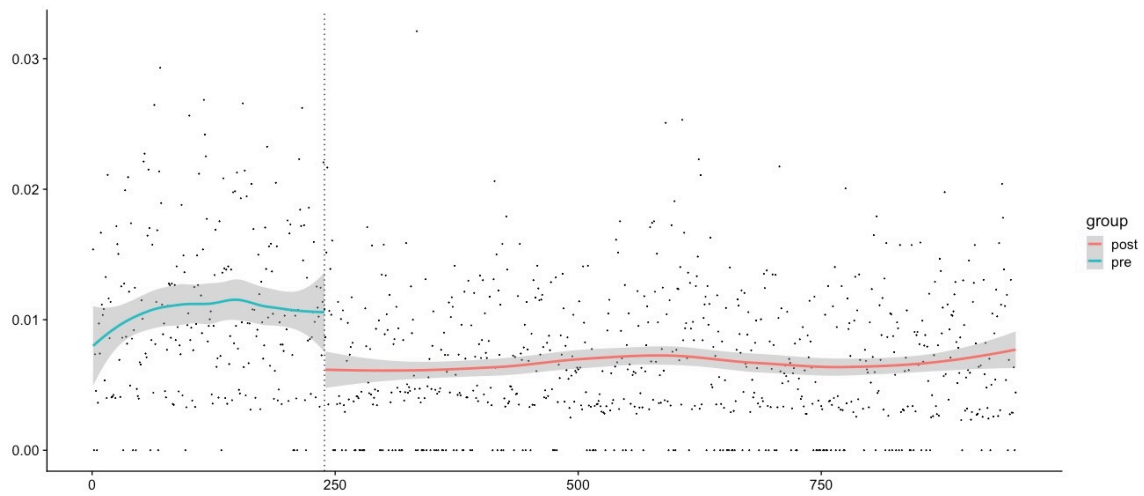
Note: Total crime registered in Haryana (gendered and non-gendered) per day. The curved line is the predicted value generated by locally weighted (LOESS) regression on sequential day numbers.

Figure A9: Crimes With Women Complainants



Note: LOESS estimations of the proportion of crimes brought by women victims per day.

Figure A10: Proportion of Crimes (Female Investigator and Complainant)



Note: LOESS estimations of the proportion of crimes investigated by a policewomen (with a female complainant) in the FIR dataset, excluding ‘sensitive crimes.’ The proportion of cases with both a female investigator and complainant declines after the intervention.

2.2 Placebo Test

The table below reports results from a placebo test in which the dependent variable is the gendered crime rate at standard police stations with the date August 28, **2016** as the day of intervention. As evident, there is no reduction in crime registration in standard stations during this time.

Table A3

<i>Dependent variable: Gendered Crime Rate</i>						
	200-Day SPS			100-Day SPS		
	(linear)	(quadratic)	(cubic)	(linear)	(quadratic)	(cubic)
$\hat{\beta}$	0.008 (0.006)	0.012 (0.010)	0.010 (0.011)	0.015** (0.007)	0.0001 (0.005)	0.006 (0.008)
Observations	199	199	199	99	99	99

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Placebo test for gendered crime rate with August 28, 2016 as the date of “intervention” with a 200- and 100-day bandwidth. HAC standard errors (Newey-West) in parentheses. All models control for the day of the week.

2.3 Heterogeneous Treatment Effects

The following tables examine the effect of the intervention on the specific gendered crimes of dowry, rape, and child sexual assault. These crimes, in addition to being the most commonly registered at all-women stations, are less likely to have overlap between them. When a person files a crime report, there are a number of sections of the penal code that may be invoked, and some such as IPC 313 (causing miscarriage) and 314 (death caused by miscarriage) may be registered in the same report. Rape (IPC 376), however, cannot officially go with dowry because marital rape is not a crime in India. Similarly, the Prevention of Child Sexual Offenses (POCSO) deals with offenses against children and is dissimilar from IPC 498-A. Analysis of additional crimes are available upon request.

Table A4: Standard Police Stations (SPS) + All-Women Police Stations (AWPS)

		<i>Dependent Variable: Crime Rate</i>								
		Dowry			Rape			POCSO		
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
$\hat{\beta}$		-0.001 (0.003)	-0.005 (0.004)	-0.012** (0.006)	0.004*** (0.001)	0.002 (0.001)	0.0005 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.001)	0.001 (0.002)	-0.004 (0.002)
Observations		949	949	949	949	949	949	949	949	949
$\hat{\beta}$		-0.004 (0.004)	-0.003 (0.007)	0.003 (0.009)	0.003 (0.002)	0.004* (0.002)	0.002 (0.001)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.003)	-0.003 (0.004)
Observations		199	199	199	199	199	199	199	199	199
$\hat{\beta}$		0.001 (0.006)	-0.0005 (0.008)	-0.007 (0.012)	0.003 (0.003)	0.002 (0.002)	-0.001 (0.005)	-0.001 (0.002)	-0.005 (0.005)	-0.012*** (0.003)
Observations		99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Individual crimes registered. HAC standard errors (Newey-West) in parentheses. Models in the top row control for year, month, and day of the week. All other models control for day of the week.

Table A5: Standard Police Stations (SPS) Only

		<i>Dependent Variable: Crime Rate</i>								
		Rape		Dowry			POCSO			
		(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
A1X	$\hat{\beta}$	-0.005*** (0.001)	-0.007*** (0.002)	-0.009*** (0.003)	-0.013*** (0.003)	-0.015*** (0.003)	-0.020*** (0.004)	-0.007*** (0.001)	-0.004* (0.002)	-0.008*** (0.002)
	Observations	949	949	949	949	949	949	949	949	949
	$\hat{\beta}$	-0.008*** (0.002)	-0.009*** (0.002)	-0.012*** (0.002)	-0.015*** (0.004)	-0.010 (0.007)	-0.003 (0.009)	-0.007*** (0.002)	-0.007*** (0.002)	-0.008** (0.003)
	Observations	199	199	199	199	199	199	199	199	199
	$\hat{\beta}$	-0.010*** (0.002)	-0.012*** (0.003)	-0.012*** (0.002)	-0.006 (0.004)	-0.007* (0.004)	-0.012*** (0.004)	-0.006** (0.002)	-0.010** (0.004)	-0.016*** (0.004)
	Observations	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99	99

*p<0.1; **p<0.05; ***p<0.01

Note: Individual crimes registered. HAC standard errors (Newey-West) in parentheses. Models in the top row control for year, month, and day of the week. All other models control for day of the week.

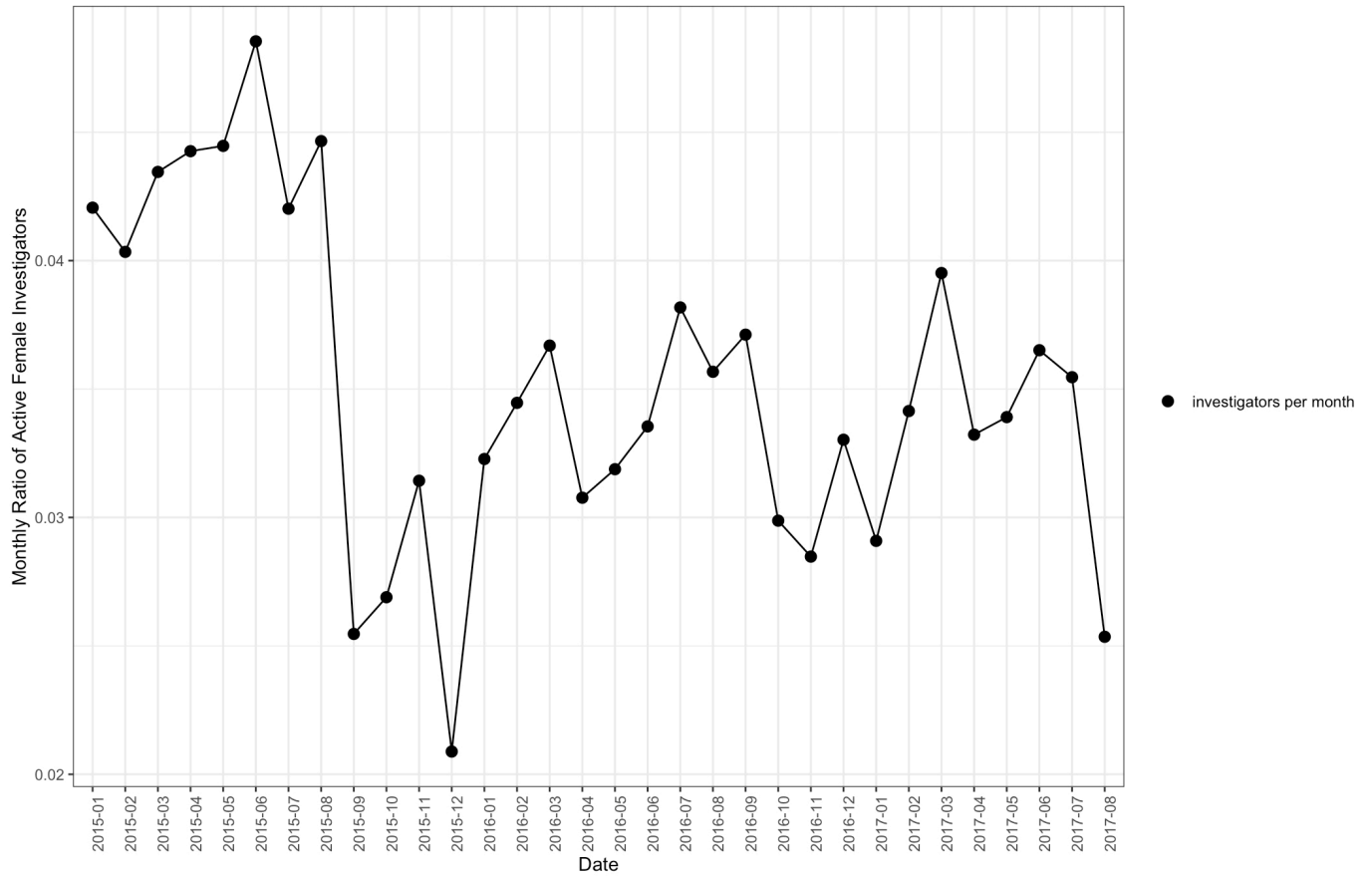


Figure A11: Monthly proportion of female investigators in the FIR dataset (unique names of women investigators divided by all the names of officers that appeared in that month). (These officials are “State” officials in Figure A19.) From August to September 2015, there is a large decline in the proportion of female investigators in the dataset. Yet, based on personnel data from the Bureau of Police Research and Development, there was no decline in the total number of female investigators from 2015-2016. Most policewomen were moved to all-women stations where they counseled complainants but did not necessarily have formal cases attached to their names in the Crime and Criminal Tracking Network (CCTNS) system. Total investigators = 4440; female investigators = 319. (Not including constables.)

Table A6: Descriptive Statistics By Day

	N	Mean	SD
Nongendered Crimes	949	283.80	58.87
Gendered Crimes	949	25.65	8.02
→ Rape	949	3.53	2.05
→ Dowry Harassment	949	9.64	4.28
→ Child Sexual Assault	949	3.02	2.00
→ Sexual Harassment	949	6.49	3.19

Note: Descriptive statistics on crime registered in Haryana from January 1, 2015-August 8, 2017 by day [N=949 days]. “Nongendered” and “Gendered” refers to the forms of crime registered. The table shows the mean number of cases per day for rape (Indian Penal Code Section 376), dowry harassment (Indian Penal Code Section 498-A), child sexual assault (Prevention of Child Sexual Offenses Act or POCSO), and sexual harassment (Indian Penal Code Section 354 and sub-sections).

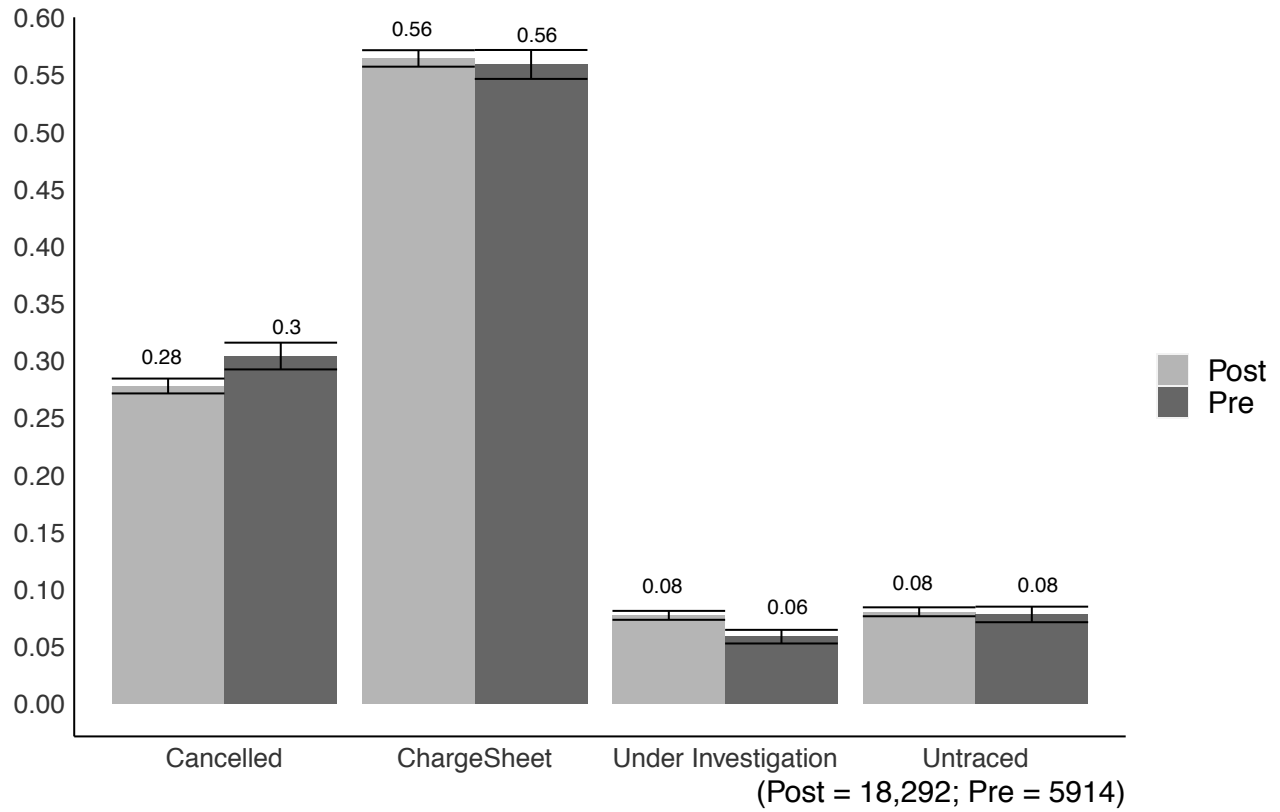
Table A7: Descriptive Statistics By Case

	N	Mean	SD
Distance to PS (Km)	257025	5.66	44.33
Sections	269955	2.16	1.42
Male Suspects	150190	1.82	2.13
Female Suspects	150190	0.17	0.65
Female Investigator	269933	0.01	0.12
Female Primary Suspect	147004	0.03	0.16
Female Complainant	269955	0.09	0.28
Sub-Inspector (SI)	269955	0.11	0.31
Assistant Sub-Inspector (ASI)	269955	0.43	0.50
Head Constable (HC)	269955	0.39	0.49
Inspector (I)	269955	0.04	0.19

Note: Descriptive statistics on select variables in the FIR dataset (Haryana); crimes registered from January 1, 2015-August 8, 2017, excluding “sensitive” cases [N=269,955]. “Distance” refers to how far the crime took place from the station; “Sections” are the total number of sections of the penal code (or special laws) outlined in the case; “Male Suspects” and “Female Suspects” refer to the number of male or female suspects in the crime report, respectively. “Female Primary Suspect” refers to whether the primary accused in the report is a woman, while “Female Complainant” is whether the case was brought forward by a woman. SI, ASI, HC, and I are the ranks of the investigators.

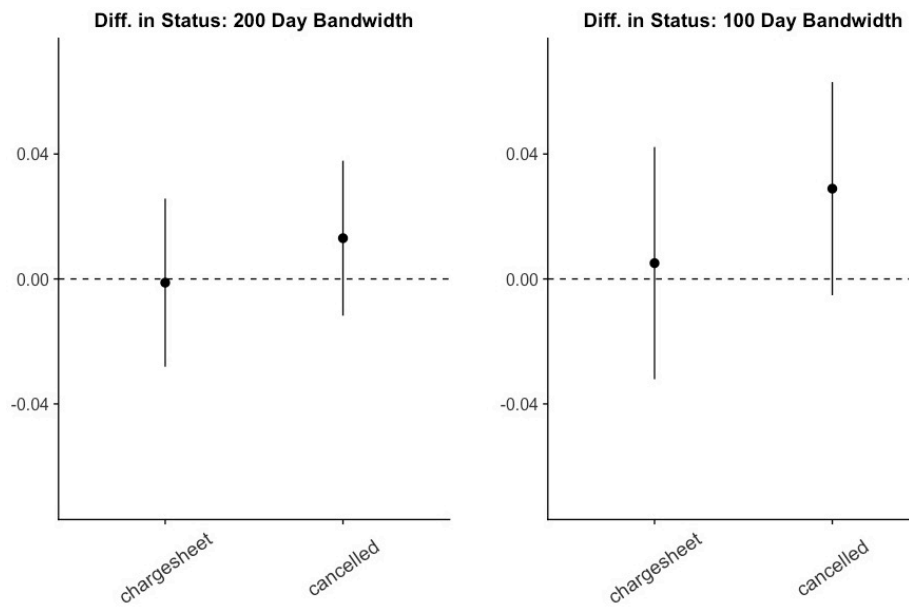
3 First-Information-Reports (Merged with Case Statuses)

Figure A12: Gendered Case Statuses in Haryana



Note: Distribution of case statuses recorded by the Haryana police for all gendered crimes (January 2015 - August 2017). There is no meaningful difference in the statuses of gendered crimes before and after the intervention in the police files.

Figure A13: Status of Gendered Crimes (Diff. in Means)



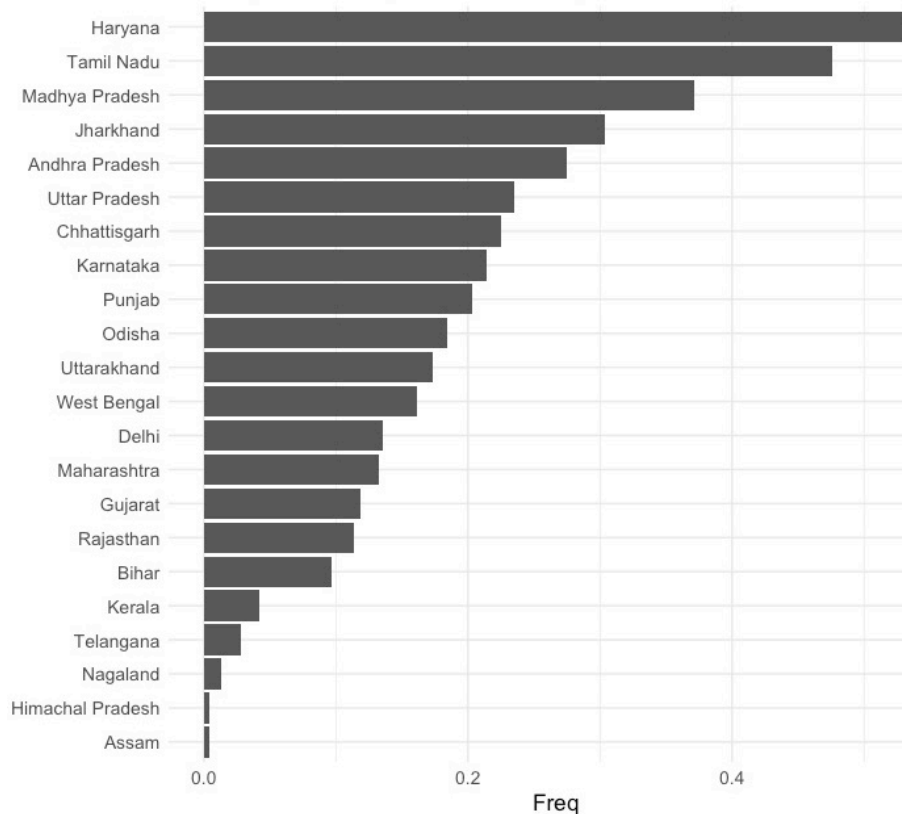
Note: Difference in case statuses of gendered crimes in the police system before and after the intervention.

4 Center for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS)- Common Cause Survey 2017

The survey was carried out across 22 Indian states. It employed a three-stage sampling method where 188 assembly constituencies were randomly selected, followed by selection of four polling stations within each constituency from a list, and then randomly selecting respondents from the electoral rolls of that polling station in order to arrive at a representative sample of voters across the country. The Haryana module was carried out in June-July 2017, two years after the implementation of all-women police stations. A sample of 478 respondents were interviewed across Haryana state.

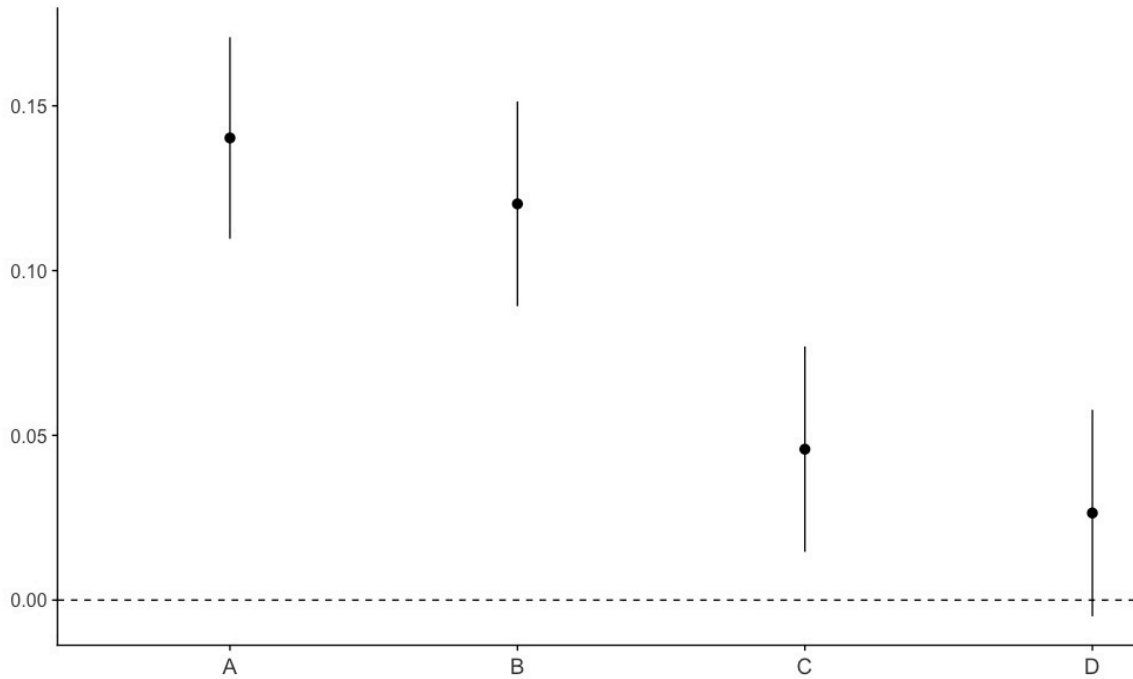
4.1 Additional Analyses

Figure A14: % Respondents By State Who Say AWPS Introduced



Note: Respondents who say an all-women police station has opened in their locality across Indian states [N=15,563]. Analysis based on CSDS-Common Cause Survey 2017.

Figure A15: Diff. in ‘Justified’ Responses to Negative Stereotypes



Note: Difference in means among female respondents who say negative stereotypes about policewomen are justified, in those settings an AWPS has opened [N=1240] and has not been opened [N=4566]. *Analysis of CSDS-Common Cause Survey.*

The figure above shows that the share of those who believe negative statements about policewomen are justified is higher among the female sample with an all-women station in their locality compared to those without one (individual shares and confidence intervals are shown in the main text in Figure 9). Statement A is: “Being in the police requires physical strength and aggressive behavior which women lack.” Statement B is: “A woman should prioritize managing the home instead of joining the police.” Statement C is: “Women police are incapable of handling high intensity crimes and cases. Statement D is: “Because of inflexible working hours it is difficult for women to work in the police.” Female respondents who say an all-women station is not in their locality would not go to such an institution, and the sample who *do* have such institutions in their area do not appear have positive perceptions of policewomen.

Attitudes About Women in the Police (Male Respondents: CSDS-Common Cause Survey 2017)

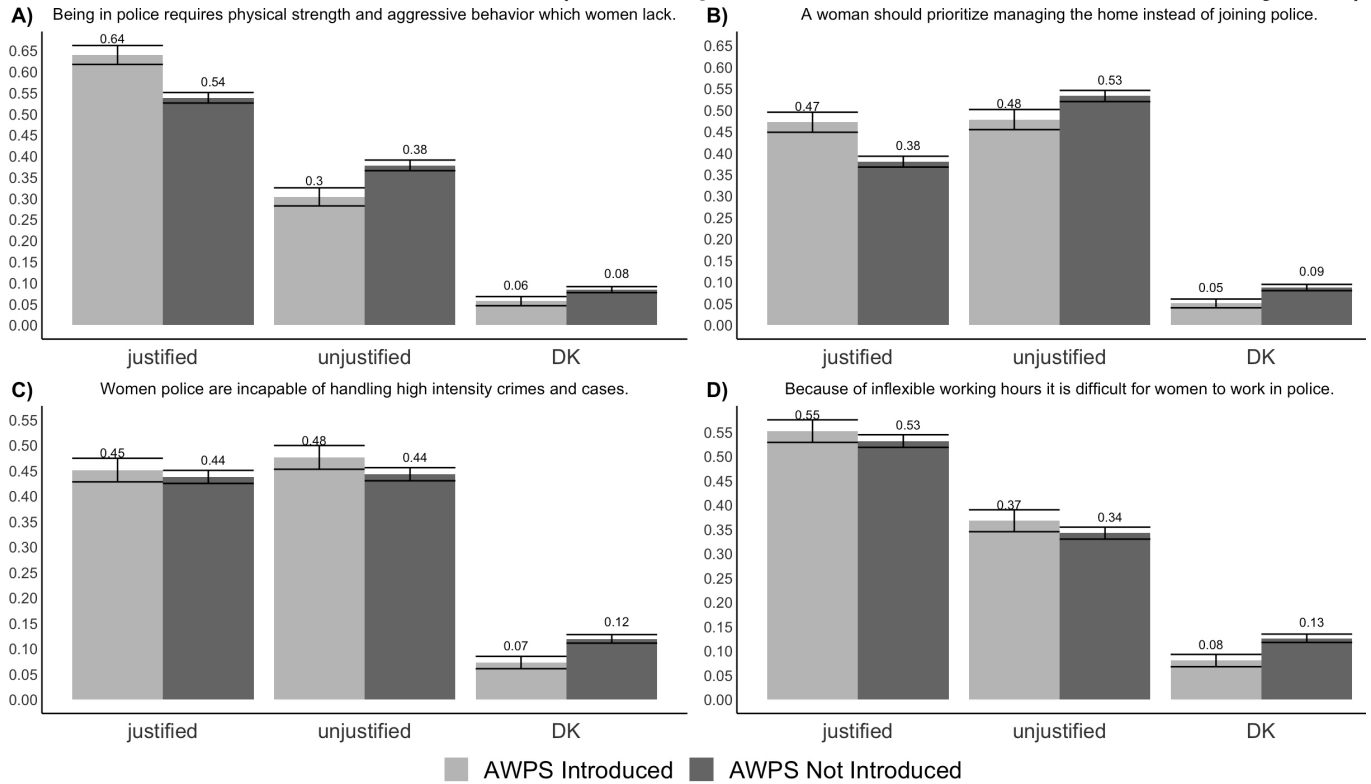


Figure A16: Attitudes of women in the police among those who said they have and do not an all-women station in their locality. AWPS Introduced = 1762, Not Introduced = 5711.

Attitudes About Women in the Police (Haryana: CSDS-Common Cause Survey 2017)

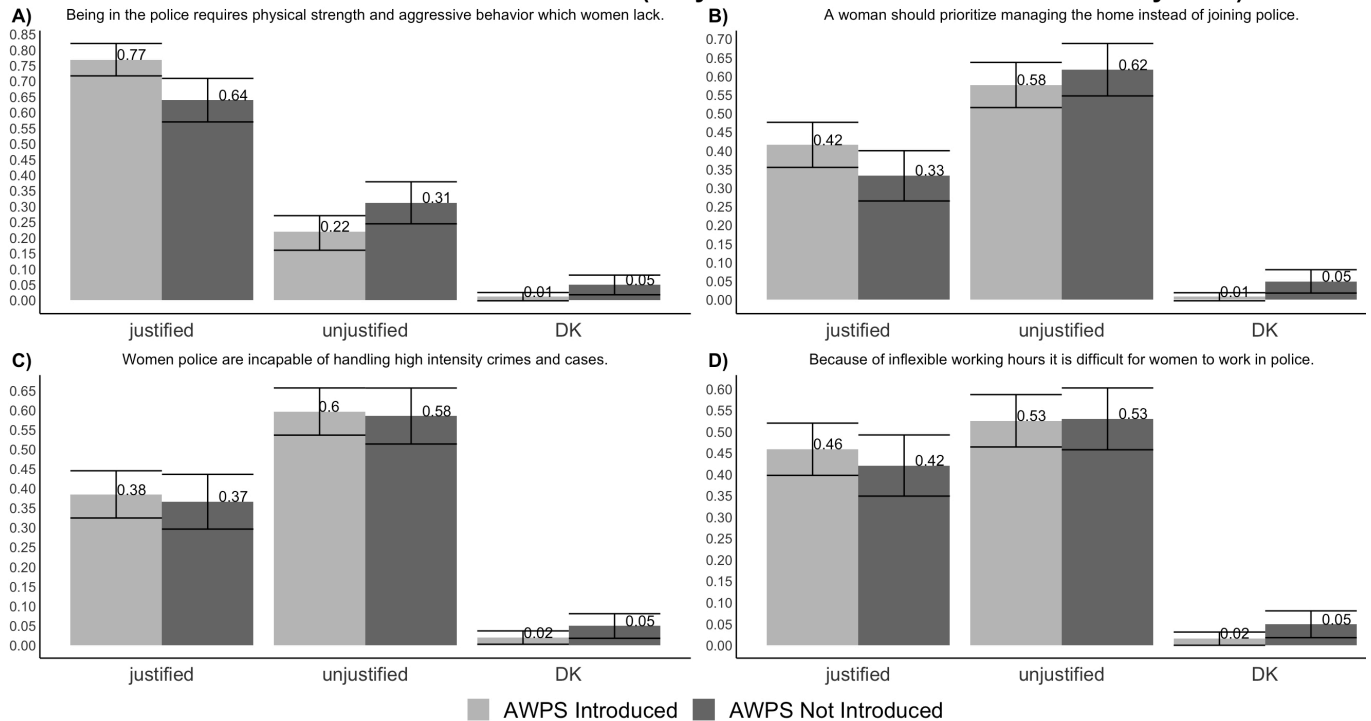


Figure A17: Attitudes of women in the police among those who said they have and do not an all-women station in their locality. AWPS Introduced = 255, Not Introduced = 183.

5 Supplementary Information

The National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), India's body that compiles official crime statistics, publishes annual reports on levels of crime at the district level. The last report was released in 2016. Most analyses of crime in the news media and other outlets rely on these statistics. Aside from the fact that the NCRB's reports are not always released annually, the reports are often difficult to interpret because certain crimes may be classified in different ways from year to year. In 2015, Section 377 was not coded as a crime against women, but in 2016 it was. Similar discrepancies and changes with coding occur with laws like the Information Technology Act (2000), human trafficking, the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences (POCSO) Act, 2012, as well as Indian Penal Code 313 and 314.

Table A8: Crimes Against Women in Haryana 2015/2016 (NCRB)

Crime	Section	2015	%	2016	%	Diff
subjecting woman to cruelty (dowry)	498A	3525	36.47	3313	33.63	-212.00
kidnapping	363A, 365*, 366A, 366B, 367*, 368*, 369*	1255	12.98	1770	17.97	515.00
kidnapping for marriage	366	970	10.04	818	8.30	-152.00
rape	376	866	8.96	996	10.11	130
sexual harassment	354A	688	7.12	699	7.10	11.00
intent to outrage woman's modesty	354	583	6.03	545	5.53	-38
stalking	354D	338	3.50	321	3.26	-17
intent to disrobe woman	354B	249	2.58	273	2.77	24
dowry death	304B	243	2.51	260	2.64	17
gang rape	376D	204	2.11	191	1.94	-13
procurement of minor girls (children)	366A	190	1.97	56	0.57	-134
abetment of suicide (female victim)	306C	122	1.26	123	1.25	1
kidnapping & abduction	363	107	1.11	100	1.02	-7
attempt to rape	376/511	105	1.09	137	1.39	32
insulting the modesty of a woman	509	90	0.93	124	1.26	34
voyeurism	354C	28	0.29	22	0.22	-6
prostitution	Immoral Traffic Act 1956	26	0.27	23	0.23	-3
Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961		14	0.14	8	0.08	-6
foeticide	316	14	0.14	4	0.04	-10
acid attack & attempt to	326A,B	11	0.11	11	0.11	0
Protection from Domestic Violence, 2005		11	0.11	10	0.10	-1
procuring for prostitution	Immoral Traffic Act 1956, 5	9	0.09	19	0.19	10
detaining a person	Immoral Traffic Act 1956, 6	5	0.05	7	0.07	2
infanticide	315	5	0.05	1	0.01	-4
kidnapping for ransom	364A	4	0.04	4	0.04	0
prostitution in the vicinity of public places	Immoral Traffic Act 1956, 7	4	0.04	10	0.10	6
kidnapping & abduction for murder	364*	0	0	5	0.05	5
TOTAL		9666		9850		184

Note: Count of crimes against women as well as their percentage based on the total crimes against women in 2015 and 2016. Data from NCRB annual reports. Crimes that are starred (*) are not registered at all-women police stations.

Table A9: National Family Health Survey (NFHS) 4 (2015-16)

	All India (N = 79729)	Haryana (N = 2273)
Physical Violence 1	28	31
Physical Violence 2	8	6
Sexual Violence	7	9
Afraid of Spouse	78	88
Non-Spousal Violence	8	11

Percentage of women age 15-49 who have ever experienced physical or sexual violence. Physical Violence 1 includes being pushed, slapped, or punched. Physical Violence 2 includes being kicked, strangled, threatened with a weapon. Sexual violence includes forced sexual acts. The variable 'Afraid of Spouse' includes those who say they are sometimes or most of the time afraid of their spouse.

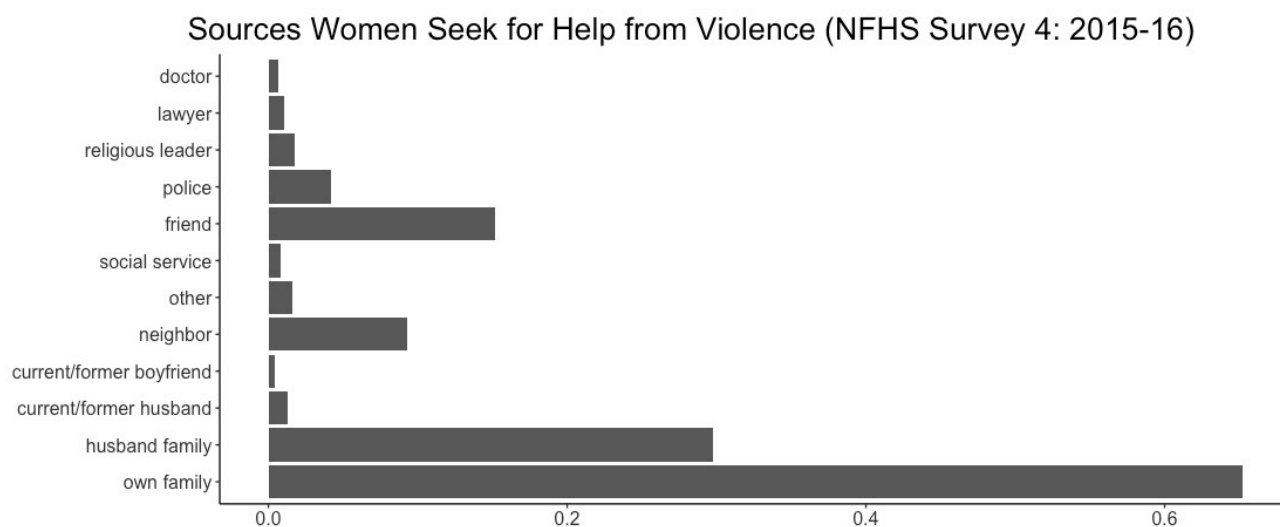


Figure A18: Percentage of women from age 15-49 who have experienced violence (physical or sexual), and have sought help (N = 3330). Most women that have been victims of violence or assault would approach family members over the police.

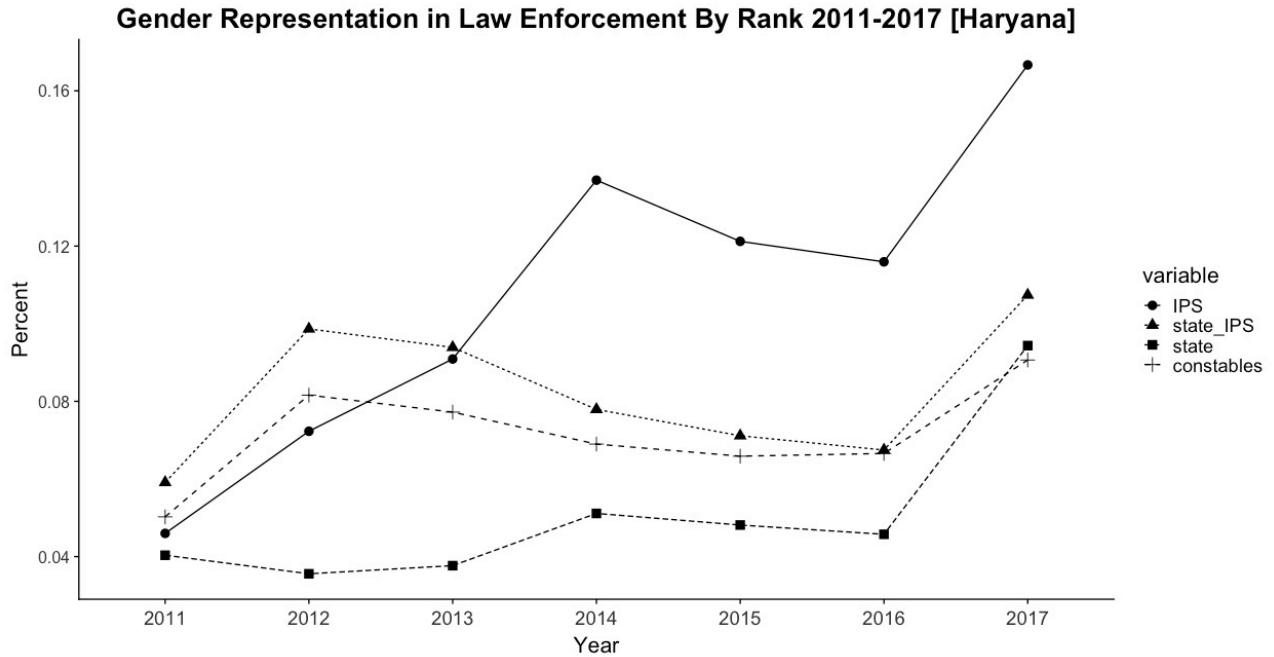


Figure A19: IPS officers are of the rank Director General to Superintendent (SP). IPS/State officers are of the rank Additional SP to Deputy SP. State police include inspectors to assistant sub-inspectors. Figures represent police officers in service, and not those sanctioned. *Analysis based on Bureau of Police Research & Development annual reports.*

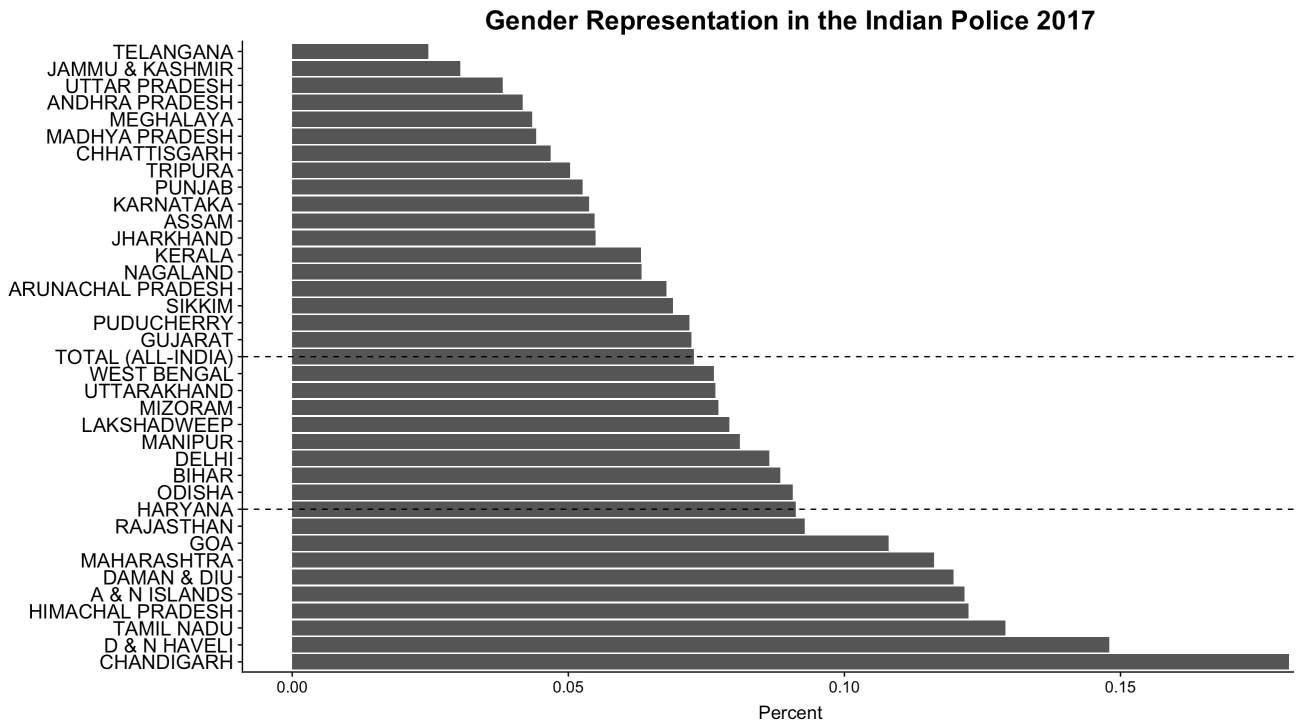


Figure A20: Percentage of women police officers by state as well as the total. The representation of women in 2017 was approximately 9 percent, slightly higher than the national average (7.2 percent). *Analysis based on the Bureau of Police Research & Development 2017 report.*

6 Qualitative Research

The qualitative component of the research consisted of visiting 100-120 police stations in north India (Bihar, Haryana, and Uttar Pradesh) over the course of eight months. At each police station, I interviewed on-duty police officers (approximately three officers per police station). For the all-women police stations in Haryana, I visited the institutions which are located in the administrative headquarters of each district. I also interviewed experts on policing in India, as well as senior police officers both in New Delhi and those stationed in district headquarters.

Upon arriving at an all-women police station, I typically asked to speak to the Station House Officer (SHO) and then introduced myself and the research agenda. I introduced myself as a university student conducting research on the functioning of police stations in India. If provided consent to ask questions (which was always granted), I spent 30 minutes interviewing the SHO in their office. I also asked the SHO to speak to other officers in the station. The SHO did not have a role in identifying or selecting other police officers to be approached. I always took written notes.

After interviews with the police officer/s, the SHO sometimes gave me a tour of the police station, including the holding cells. I typically spent a maximum of 3-4 hours at each police station. The meetings/observations occurred at any time of day but usually in the afternoon (because the SHO usually arrives in the office later in the day) or in the evenings (prior to 8 pm). During this period, I was able to observe the on-goings at the station in terms of the complaints made by citizens and the reactions of police officers to demands for justice.

While travelling from one station to another by car, I also stopped at random villages and interviewed four-five villagers. The purpose of interviewing villagers in small-towns outside the administrative headquarters (where the special police stations are located) was to understand whether those living in the peripheries have knowledge about specialized police stations and gauge their perceptions of such institutions. A recurring theme over the course of field research was the emphasis on counseling female victims of gender violence rather than formal arrest of suspects.

Policewomen at all-women stations consistently believed that victims of violence, especially domestic violence, should be reconciled with their abusers. One officer at an all-women station in Haryana said:

Counseling and mediation is what sets us apart from normal police stations. First, a complaint comes to us. We then typically conduct three rounds of counselling with both parties. For example, if a woman complains about something and tries to register a case, we will send an officer to bring the other party to the police station and have a round of counselling, thereby giving them an opportunity to resolve the issue in front of us. If it's not resolved, we give them another date where both parties have to appear at the police station. Once again, if it's not resolved we make them come here at another date. If it's *still* not resolved, we send them to the mediation center, where there is counselling there too. If after all that the issue is still not resolved, then only then do we lodge an FIR.⁴⁰

In the above quote, the policewoman describes how she believes repeatedly trying to counsel a victim of gender violence with her abuser is preferable than registration. I asked another officer if emphasizing mediation might enable the violence to continue, and she said:

40. Personal interview, AWPS Sonipat, 11/22/17.

Look, when we patch up the girl with her relatives, we have the relatives over here. We give them the girl and the relatives two separate dates to appear here, 15 days apart. We ask the girl, ‘look, are you still having any problems? Your relatives didn’t punish you or anything for going to the police, did they?’ Then we actually meet everyone again after a month, then three months, and then six months. During those meetings we ask the girl how she is being treated. We also ask the husband separately what’s going on in the house. If an issue persists, then we do focus on counselling. We tell the girl sometimes, ‘child, those are your in-laws, and they are like your parents. You should listen to them.’ That becomes a routine where after six months, the sourness between everybody recedes.⁴¹

Senior police officers (from the Indian Police Service) in charge of districts often acknowledged that all-women stations were not popular among either policewomen or female victims. One officer said:

As district chief of Pauri in Gharwal, I had a *mahila thana* under my jurisdiction. My sense was that the women themselves—barring those who wanted to be in a comfortable day job with not much stress or they just had a baby—wanted to be posted at mainstream *thanas*. Unlike a *mahila thana*, a regular *thana* is a 24/7 hub of activity.⁴²

Relatedly, an officer said:

I didn’t see a discernible difference among the victims between all-women stations and standard stations. You think you would expect more women to come forward and say they want their crimes investigated by a *mahila thana*. I did not see any such preference on the ground. I might as a policymaker feel very good about such a reform, but if the people manning the *thanas*, and the people who would go there, don’t feel particularly enthused, then I need to ask myself what ‘effectiveness’ means.⁴³

41. Personal interview, AWPS Faridabad, 11/11/17.

42. Personal interview, IPS Officer, 7/28/17.

43. Personal interview, IPS Officer, 7/28/17.