

PURSuing THIS THING CALLED 'JUSTICE'

A Survivor Centric Approach towards victims of Sexual Violence

Highlights of the Report (Provisional)



RAIIAT

Socio-legal Support for Victims-Survivors
of Sexual Violence by Majlis Legal Centre



RAHAT

Socio-legal Support for Victims-Survivors
of Sexual Violence by Majlis Legal Centre



5 POINT SUPPORT MODEL*

1 IMMEDIATE RESPONSE

- Meet the victim-survivor.
- Inform the survivor about the availability of services and schemes (public & private) which include counselling, shelter, education, vocational training, medical, legal aid, Manodharya etc.

2 HELP

- Help the survivor access services and schemes she needs as mentioned above

3 ENSURE PROTOCOLS AND SAFETY

- Ensure that protocols and guidelines are followed by the Police, Hospitals, Public Prosecutor, Judge, Child Welfare Committee etc.
- In the event, that these protocols and guidelines are not adhered to by the stakeholders, highlight these lapses to the appropriate senior officers.
- Convey to the concerned Police and Doctors any fears, apprehensions or safety concerns that the survivor may have.

4 EXPLAIN & INFORM

- Explain to the survivor and her family further procedures and how the case will unfold.
- Read and explain all documents to the survivor and her family.
- Inform the survivor about the status of the case as it progresses including arrest, bail, filing of charge sheet, financial assistance approved, outcome of the case, Judgment and sentence awarded

5 COURT

- Conduct a court orientation visit for the survivor to familiarize her with the court and the flow of events during the deposition.
- Meet the survivor prior to the recording of her evidence, to read over all documents to her.
- Be present in court with the survivor during the recording of her evidence.

* All intervention and support offered by RAHAT is based on the consent of the survivor.

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BACKGROUND

Majlis Legal Centre's team of women lawyers and social activists has been providing access to justice to women victims of domestic violence for the past three decades. Some of us were also involved with the anti-rape campaign of the eighties and had published several academic articles analyzing the campaign, the reforms and about both positive and adverse rulings of the Supreme Court and the various High Courts during the eighties and nineties. We had also followed up a few cases in trial courts sporadically as and when we were requested to do so.

However, in 2011, we started providing socio-legal support to victims of sexual violence on a regular basis. Our first experience was in supporting an illiterate, migrant mother, seeking justice for her four-year-old who had been raped by an elderly watchman in her school. Even though the mother had rushed to the police station soon after the incident, the police had refused to register the FIR for three days. It was only with the help of a doctor in a public hospital, where the mother had taken her child for treatment, that a complaint could finally be lodged. Reports had already started appearing in the media that in order to extract money from the school authorities, the mother had filed a false case.

The mother was determined to get 'justice' for her daughter, but had no clue what she was up against. At this moment we stepped in to support her, and pitched ourselves against the influential school authorities and assisted a disinterested public prosecutor. However, despite the odds, we managed to secure a conviction against a high-profile criminal lawyer. At this time, rape had not yet become a major issue for the media.

Following up this case for over two years helped us grasp the intricacies of the criminal justice system, identify the gaps within it and find avenues of intervention from the perspective of justice for the victim. At the end of the first year we had set up an entire new unit within Majlis - 'RAHAT' a survivor support project in Mumbai, a mobile model that would reach out to the victim and not wait for the victim to approach a stationary centre. Gradually, after a great deal of persuasion, we were able to transform it into a collaborative project between Majlis, the Department of Women and Child Development, Government of Maharashtra and the Mumbai Police. We appreciate the support received from some key government officials in this respect.

By December 2012, when the POCSO Act was enacted and rape became a national concern after the gruesome Delhi gang rape, we were well established within the criminal justice system, albeit with some difficulty. During various stakeholder consultations which were held in 2012 and 2013, we realized that the focus needed to shift from a conviction driven approach to a victim centric one and were able to identify **victim support and stakeholder accountability** as the critical gaps within the criminal justice system.

As the victim is compelled to go through the various legal processes and has to interact with various stakeholders, we realized that there was a crucial need of a support person who could clear her doubts, allay her fears, and be present with her while she faced the ordeal of cross examination in a trial court, a process which often serves to re-victimise her. She also requires assistance to access the various services and government

schemes. While the need for medical treatment, alongside evidence collection and trauma counseling, had been recognized to a certain extent, the need for a long term support had not received due attention. Our programme helped to fill this crucial gap within the system.

THE RAHAT SURVIVOR SUPPORT PROGRAMME

In order to understand the gaps within the criminal justice system, we initiated various studies. First, we followed the more conventional route of studying **landmark rulings of the Supreme Court and various high courts**, from the mid-nineties where the superior courts had laid down guidelines regarding some important aspects of a criminal trial such as the manner in which a victim can be cross examined, the need to maintain confidentiality and dignity, need to provide support, compensation and legal aid to the victim, that past sexual history of the victim cannot be used to discredit her during the trial, that delay in lodging the FIR shall not be used to negate its content as an afterthought, etc. We compiled these into a publication in 2013, titled *Defending Women and Children from Sexual Violence*, to be used for training and orienting trial court judges and public prosecutors in judicial academies. This study also helped us to identify the current trends within the higher judiciary.

The next important task was to **study the judgements of trial courts in Mumbai for the period 2011-12** to understand how a case unfolds in the lower courts. Most of these cases do not reach the higher courts as an overwhelming number end in an acquittal. In the **154** judgements that we studied, we analysed not only the patterns of conviction, acquittal and sentencing but also the factors which lead to these decisions, the role of the judge, prosecutor, defence lawyer, investigators, medical reports, other witnesses, the reasons for victims to turn hostile, etc. This helped us understand the various types of rape cases that reach the courts and how they are dealt with by our trial courts. At this time, there was no mandate to exclusively designate women judges and several male judges also presided over the courts adjudicating sexual crimes. This provided us an opportunity to analyse whether the gender of a judge makes a difference to the outcome of a case.

The most important part of the project was the **action based research while following 490 cases between August, 2012 and July, 2015**. This helped us to understand the entire system from the perspective of the victim, her requirements, fears, anxieties and to assess whether the recent law reforms have been able to meet her needs. This type of systematic study of following cases at the ground level, after the FIR has been filed, and at times, even before the FIR is filed, until the end of the trial to see the different shifts not just from the victim's perspective but also from the perspective of the various stake holders who interact with her, has never been done before. Most often our perspective evolves through following up a few high profile cases which the media focuses upon or a few cases followed by NGOs, but there are hardly any systematic studies, or of least a significant percentage of these, to understand trends or to refute the charge that most rape cases are 'false' or even to base our law reform on systematic, scientific and authentic analysis. We feel that our research has helped fill this lacuna and we consider it as the most significant part of our research.

As we began to work with the system, and started our interaction with the stake holders at various levels, we realised that one of the major stumbling blocks for effective redressal was the total lack of coordination between stake holders. This leads to each stake holder blaming the other for the lapses within the system hence sector-wise trainings and sensitisations do not yield the desired impact as each stake holder does not understand the challenges faced by the other. To remedy this, from 2012 onwards we started holding **inter-sectoral consultations among stakeholders** so that each stakeholder understands the constraints of the other and together move ahead to overcome hurdles from the perspective of securing justice, to gear the entire process towards the needs of the victim and to **evolve convergent models** among them. We are very happy that these consultations between the judiciary, prosecution, investigating officers, medical officers, forensic experts, child welfare committees, shelter homes, and officers from the department of women and child development, helped them to work towards evolving a victim centric approach in their functioning.

Having identified the gaps, we were able to design **skill trainings** as per the needs of each sector, particularly for those at the lower levels of implementing the law. We have been greatly benefitted by the reforms that were brought about within the rape law in the country, the POCSO Act of 2012 and the Criminal Laws Amendment Act of 2013, as the superiors within each sector realised that they needed skill training for junior officers and that we would be able to provide the same. The 24 hour helpline support that we provided at the end of the trainings helped the participants to seek timely assistance to clarify their doubts in the course of their work. An important aspect of the entire project has been the **interface between training of stake holders and providing socio-legal support to victims**. This helped us to gauge the impact of our training, identify the lacunae and bring in remedial measures in real time among the stake holders so that an end to end support to the victim is provided, which will help her to emerge as a survivor.

We believe that **transforming a victim into a survivor** is a long drawn process. It is not a matter of merely changing the vocabulary, while keeping intact an oppressive system which constantly re-victimises the victim, causes her extreme trauma and brings her down several notches in the social ladder than where she was, prior to the abuse. We believe that she becomes a survivor only when she emerges stronger for having passed through this intimidating system, with someone extending a helping hand as she walks through it, and in the process transforms the system itself rendering it more humane. It is important for us to know that of the victim, irrespective of class, was already suffering from several vulnerabilities which made her susceptible to sexual abuse in the first place. It is our hope that having responded to their needs, we helped each one of them to overcome these vulnerabilities, and attain their goals and aspirations. Towards this end we have systematically **documented their stories**, with the hope that by providing a glimpse of their struggles, we will be able to change the entire criminal justice system from a conviction driven one to a survivor centric one.

Based on our experience of interacting with victims and stakeholders and through the findings of our research and interventions, we were able to introduce the following changes into the system which will hopefully have a long term impact:

- We evolved a **5 Point Support Model** to ensure that the dignity of survivors is maintained throughout the investigation and trial. The survivor support programme of RAHAT provides continuous legal support and representation to the victim from the stage of filing the FIR (and in a few cases, even before the FIR is lodged), until the completion of the trial, and helps her to navigate the complex and adversarial legal process. The underlying motive is to ensure that the dignity of the victim is maintained so that she is not re-victimised in the process of seeking “justice”, emerges as a survivor and is able to rebuild her life beyond the legal case. While doing so, we needed to track best practices and victim friendly provisions in law and popularize them, and also identify areas which needed intervention and suggest policy level changes in respect of the same. Over the past three years, RAHAT has provided support to nearly 500 victims of sexual violence. We have also worked with all stakeholders within the criminal justice system to provide support and ensure their accountability.
- We evolved standard operating procedures and best practices for the Mumbai Police and Public Hospitals. We also drafted guidelines for “Functioning of Special Courts for Vulnerable Witnesses in Maharashtra” which have been approved by the High Court and sent to all district courts for implementation.
- Conducted a study on “Functioning of the Special POCSO Courts in the Sessions Courts in Mumbai” and submitted a report to the Chief Justice, Bombay High Court through the State Commission for Protection of Child Rights (SCPCR). We also submitted a study to the Mumbai Police, analysing the trends in rape cases recorded by the Mumbai Police over a period of one year.
- Collaborated with Child Welfare Committees, NGOs and CBOs to provide support.
- Conducted a number of multi-stakeholder consultations, in order to bring about a convergence, including the “Maharashtra State Consultation to Review the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012”
- Provided skill based training to over 1400 police officers on recording and investigating cases, 150 medical officers on legal procedures to be followed and 100 judges on best practices.
- Ensured that a pledge by the Police Commissioner “*to treat all women with respect and dignity*” is put up at the entrance of all police stations in Mumbai to ensure police accountability.
- Campaigned for “**Manodhairya**”, a scheme for financial support and rehabilitation of victims of sexual assault and acid attacks.
- Published a number of articles and documented detailed case histories of cases which have been concluded, to unravel the intricacies of the complex criminal legal system.

PURSUING THIS THING CALLED 'JUSTICE'

A Survivor Centric Approach towards victims of Sexual Violence Content of the Report (Provisional)

Foreword by Justice (Retd.) Prabha Sridevan (Madras High Court)

Part I Providing the Context

- Chapter – 1 History of the Anti-rape Movement
- Chapter – 2 Amendments to rape laws since 1983
- Chapter – 3 NCRB, MCRB & Mumbai Statistics
- Chapter – 4 Role of each stake holder
- Chapter – 5 About the Project

Part II Issues and Concerns

- Chapter – 6 The victim, the accused and the crime
- Chapter – 7 Fathers Raping Daughters
- Chapter – 8 Concerns of Public Health Policy
- Chapter – 9 Promise of Marriage cases
- Chapter – 10 Other Issues
 - Time lag after incident – Police, Medical and Courts
 - Mandatory reporting
 - The new divide between women and children and the problems it has created
 - Trauma caused to victims when they have to depose twice
 - Bail to accused and its impact on the trial
 - Support models – stationary versus mobile models
 - Gender of the officers and its impact on cases

Part III Towards Evolving A Holistic Approach

- Chapter – 11 Indicators of Success
 - The RAHAT 5 point model
 - Move from a conviction driven framework to one of survivor support among stake holders
 - Changing mindsets of police through skill training and monitoring
 - Ensuring victims donot have to go to police station for recording statement, filing of Zero FIRs

- Challenging the myth of false cases
- Shifting medical examination from Nagpada to other BMC Hospitals
- Working with Child Welfare Committee and NGOs.
- Making courts victim centric
- Standard Operating Procedures for Police and Medical. Guidelines for functioning of Special Courts
- Evolving a convergence model among stake holders
- Launching Manodhairya – a financial and rehabilitation DTT

Chapter - 12 Conclusions and Way Forward

APPENDIX

The RAHAT 5 Point Program

A LIST OF REPORTS, CIRCULARS / GRS / SOP DRAFTED BY MAJLIS

THE POLICE:

1. Circular on First 24 hour response in cases under POCSO and CLA issued by Mumbai Police
2. Circular containing list of public hospitals that police can take victims of sexual violence for forensic evidence and treatment.
3. Circular granting permission to women constables to record statements under POCSO in case of unavailability of women officers
4. Booklet on Standard Operating Procedures to be followed by Mumbai Police in cases of Sexual Violence
5. Letters to CP / Jt. CP / DCP regarding lapses by Police while recording and investigation cases

THE DEPARTMENT OF WOMEN AND CHILD DEVELOPMENT:

1. GR on Manodhariya Scheme. A restorative scheme for financial support and rehabilitation to victims of sexual violence in Maharashtra
2. Standard Operating Procedures for implementation of the Manodhariya Scheme
3. GR on District Trauma Team (DTT) in every district of Maharashtra to respond to cases of sexual violence. RAHAT to conduct training of all stakeholders
4. Letters to WCD regarding problems in implementation of Manodhariya Scheme. A report on the functioning of the Manodhairya board.
5. Report on Stakeholder Consultation to Review POCSO Act held at State Guest House on 8th and 9th August, 2014. The consultation was attended by judges, prosecutors, public hospital doctors, police, CWC members and NGOs. Chief Justice, Bombay High Court inaugurated the consultation

6. Report of Stakeholders Convergence Meeting held at State Guest House on 12th September, 2013. The consultation was attended by prosecutors, public hospital doctors, and police. Minister WCD, Maharashtra inaugurated the consultation and was present throughout the meeting.

THE JUDICIARY:

1. A study of functioning of POCSO Court in Mumbai on completion of one year of POCSO and a further report submitted to Chief Justice, Bombay High Court
2. Communication with Judiciary regarding problems in the functioning of Special Courts
3. Guidelines for Functioning of Special Courts for Women and Children which have been approved by the Bombay High Court

THE PROSECUTION:

1. Guidelines to be followed by Public Prosecutors while conducting trials in cases of sexual offences
2. Letters to L&J related to the functioning of Special Courts

PUBLIC HEALTH:

1. Standard Operating Procedures to be followed by Medical Officers in MCGM hospitals in Mumbai while responding to victims of sexual violence
2. Letters to MCGM regarding functioning of OSHC

LIST OF IMPORTANT TRAINING REPORTS:

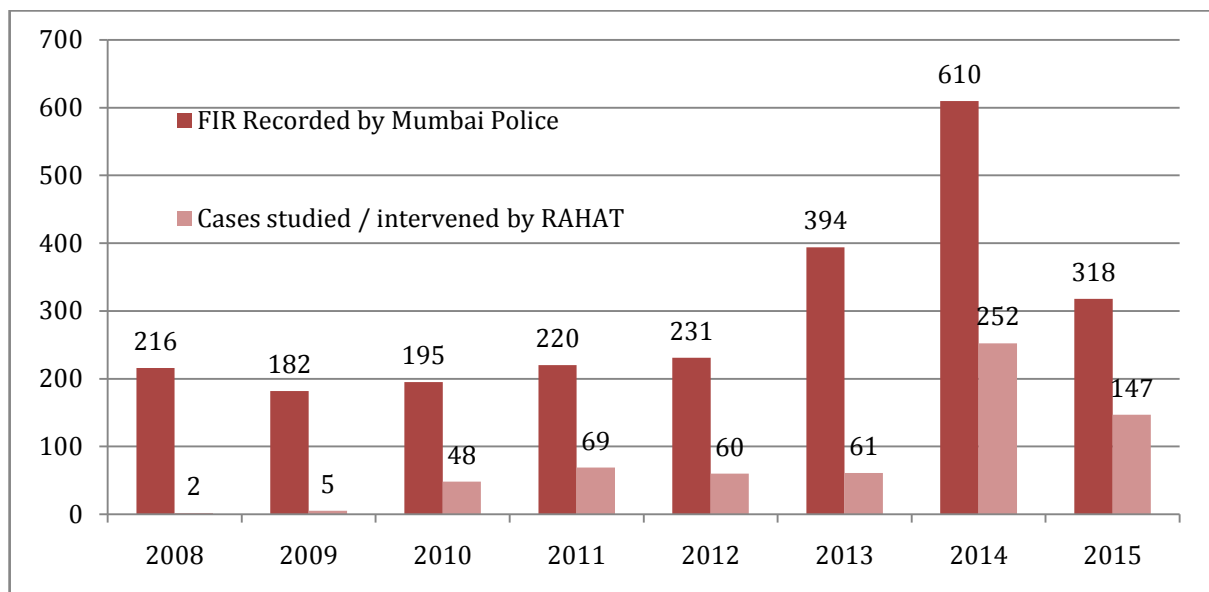
1. Report of Zone wise trainings to 750 police officers on POCSO and CLA
2. Report of training for 100 women police officers on “How to record Victim Statement”
3. Report of Region wise training to 250 police officers on Sexual Violence and Domestic Violence
4. Report of training to women police officers in 2014 and 2015 to conduct women's day program at their police stations
5. Report of training conducted for 100 officers of Navi Mumbai Police
6. Report of training to CWC Members in Maharashtra on POCSO Act conducted at YASHADA
7. Report of training of 100 Medical Officers for FOGSI and MOGS
8. Report of trainings to NGOs, schools, colleges on POCSO and CLA
9. Report of Interaction between CWC, Suburbs and Mumbai Police
10. Report of Consultation with NGOs on Mandatory Reporting
11. Report of training to 100 Judicial officers on ‘A Victim Centric Approach to victims of sexual violence’ conducted at Maharashtra Judicial Academy.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

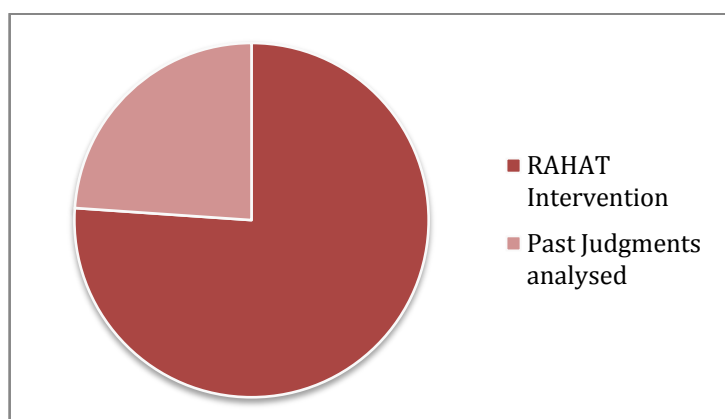
Data Universe

The data sample for the purpose of this research are **644** FIRs registered between 2008-2012 by Mumbai Police under Section 376 of the Indian Penal Code, 1860 (**IPC**) and/or under Sections 4 & 6 of the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012 ("**POCSO**") that were studied / intervened in by RAHAT.

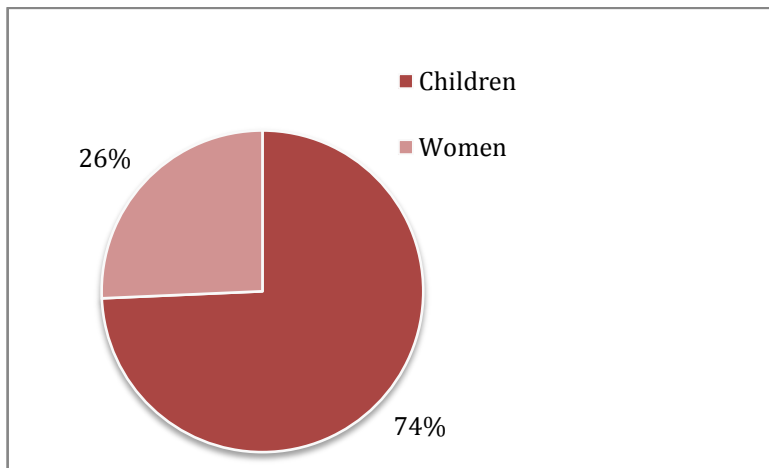
Total Number of FIRs Registered by Mumbai Police between 2008-15 and the number of cases studied / Intervened in by RAHAT



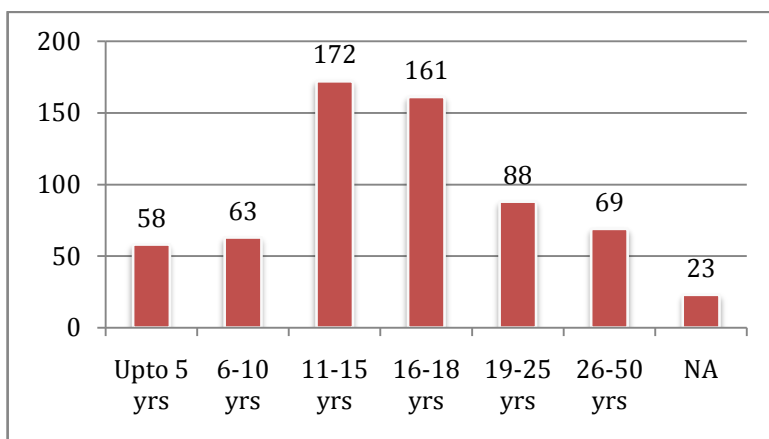
Type of intervention / judgement analysis: RAHAT Intervention (2011-15) - **490** cases. These were referred to us at different stages of investigation and trial. Of these 60 are concluded and we have the judgements. Judgments of trial courts of cases admitted to sessions courts in Mumbai during 2011-12 - **154** cases



Age Of Victim: In 74% cases, the victims were minors.

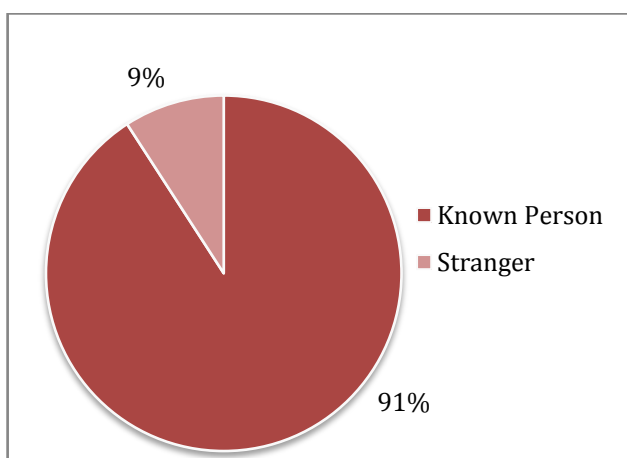


Age Group Of Victims: Young girls between 11-18 years form 51% of total cases. This age group appears to be the most vulnerable.

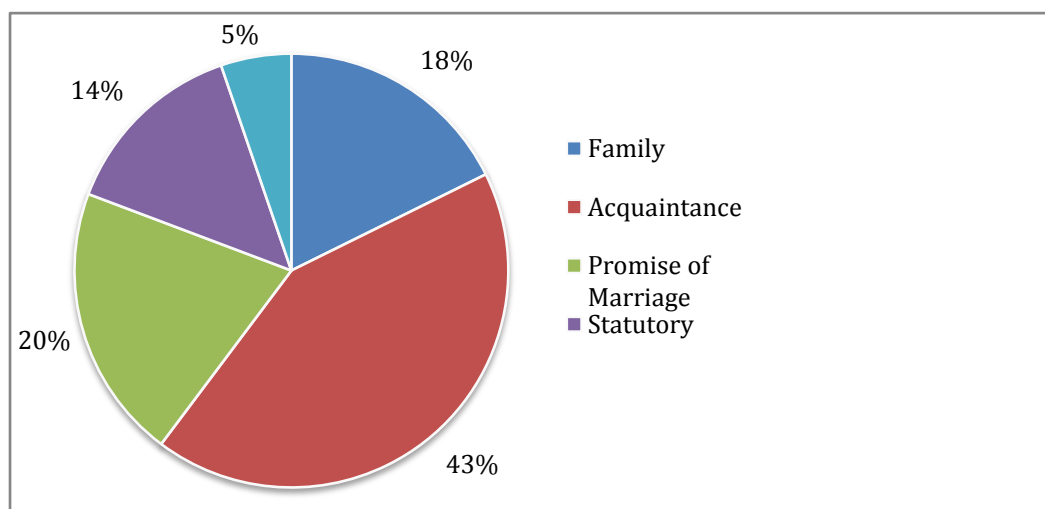


Type Of Cases – Stranger versus Known Person:

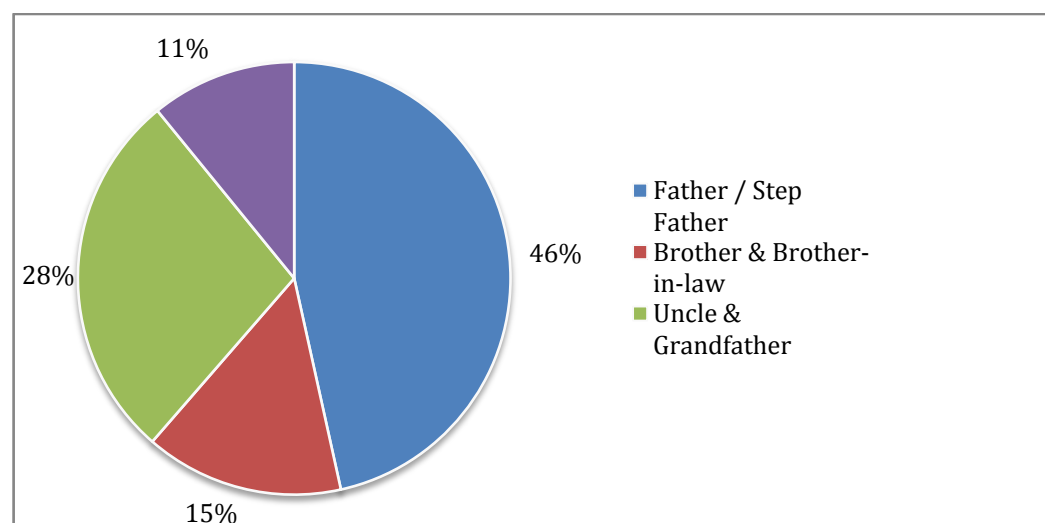
In 9% of cases the accused were strangers. In the remaining 91% the accused were known persons. This breaks the myth that most rapes are committed by strangers in secluded and dark public places



Type Of Cases – Categories of Known Persons: Within the ‘known persons’ category 43% of the accused were acquaintances i.e. neighbour, boys from the locality, boyfriends, etc. Rapes by close family members were 18% and rape under a promise of marriage were 20%.

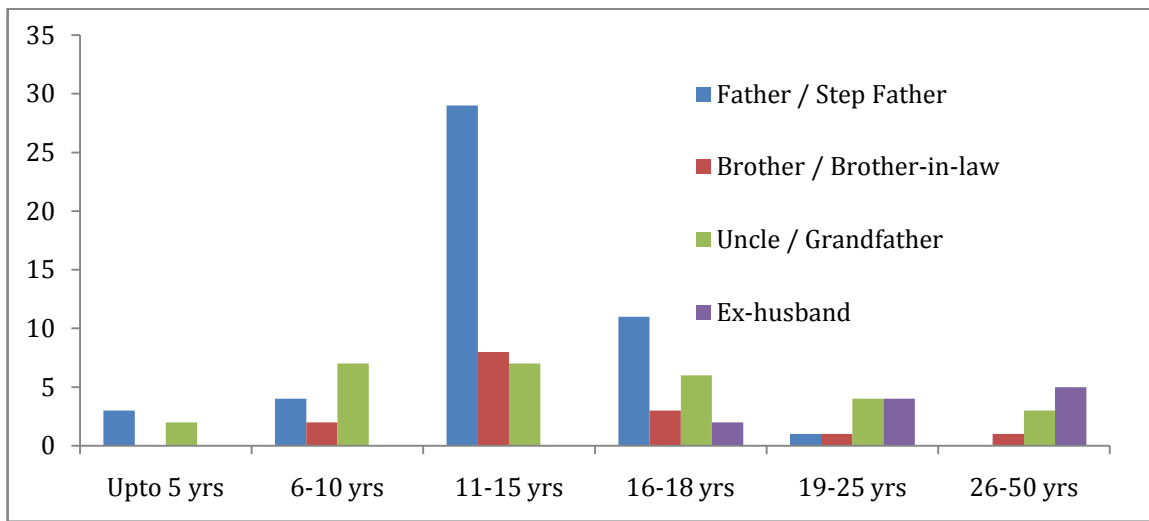


Type Of Case – Family: Rapes by fathers / step fathers constituted 46% of family rapes. **THEY FORM 7.2% OF TOTAL RAPE CASES - ALMOST AS HIGH AS RAPES BY STRANGERS (9%).**



Rape By Close Family Member- Categorized as per age group of victims

Age Group of Victims	Father / Step Father	Brother / Brother-in-law	Uncle / Grandfather	Ex-husband
Upto 5 yrs	3	-	2	-
6-10 yrs	4	2	7	-
11-15 yrs	29	8	7	-
16-18 yrs	11	3	6	2
19-25 yrs	1	1	4	4
26-50 yrs	-	1	3	5

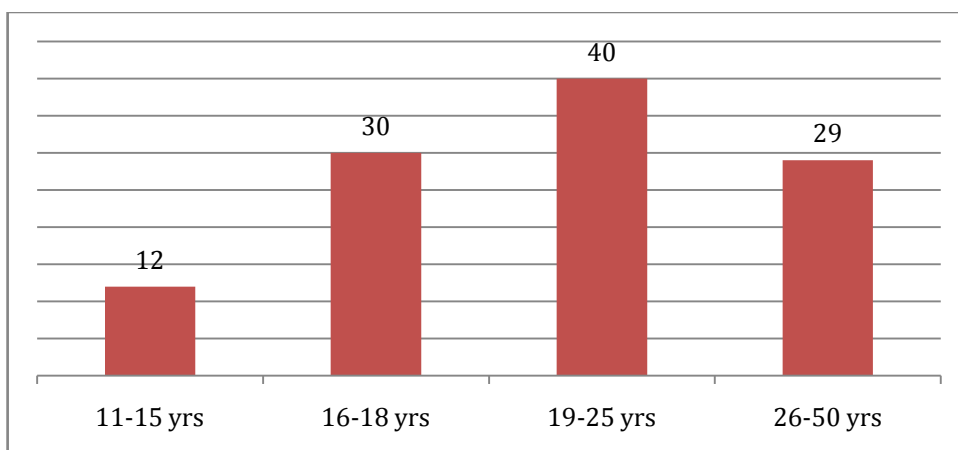


The vulnerability of young girls at the hands of older men within the family is starkly visible. This is a clear indication of the abuse of patriarchal power in fiduciary relationships. It breaks the myth that family is a safe space for young girls and that rape occurs outside the home. The sexual abuse within the family is, in fact, far more rampant than these figures reveal. In most cases, the abuse is hushed up, especially the abuse by fathers, who in most cases are also bread winners of the family. Few cases accidentally get reported, and in these cases the victim or her mother face great stigma and are under tremendous pressure to retract. The ones who withstand this pressure and pursue the case do so at great cost to themselves, in terms of financial security and social ostracisation.

Type Of Case - Promise of Marriage (PoM):

When a girl consents to sexual intercourse under an assurance from a boy that he would marry her, and subsequently, the boy retracts and refuses to marry her, and she complains to the police, a case of rape is filed. This is because under S.90 of IPC a consent given under a misconception of fact is tainted consent and cannot be deemed as “free and voluntary”. These cases are categorized as “promise of marriage” (‘PoM’) cases. It is important for us to understand the complexity of this type of case as 20% of cases fall in this category.

Age-wise categorisation of PoM Cases



In 75% of PoM cases the victims were in the age group of 11 – 25 years. This is an indication of the manner in which young girls are either lured into a sexual relationship with a false promise of marriage, or are indulging in pre-marital sex with consent. However, a society which invisibilises the normal sexual attractions among the young stigmatizes the girls for indulging in such pre-marital relationship. The girls are left with no choice but to approach the police and file a complaint to seek redress. The police response has been to file a case of rape. In most cases of PoM, the victims have reported that the offence was of a continuous nature – occurring over months/years while in the rest of the cases the offence occurred repeatedly over a few days.

In 24% of cases of PoM, the victims were pregnant at the time of reporting.

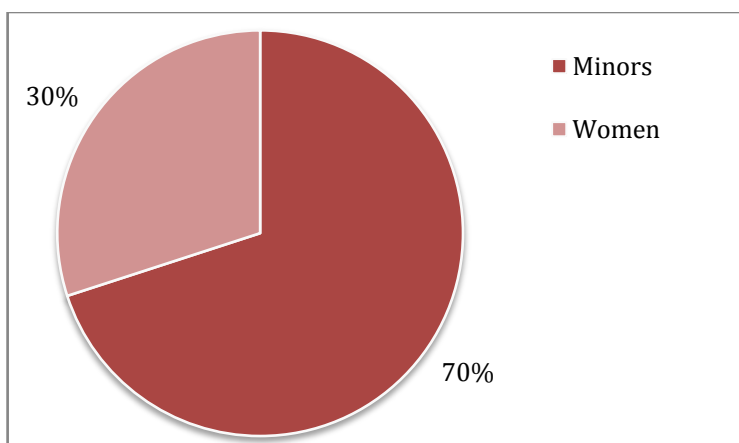
Brutality Of Assault:

- 5 victims died due to the incident. 3 victims (5 and 12 year old girls and a 12 year old boy) were raped by strangers. The other two murders were a 35 year old raped by her ex husband and a 16 year old raped by her neighbour.
- 3 victims contracted HIV due to the rape.
- In 31 cases weapons were used. These include acid, kerosene, blade, knife, plastic bags, rope, stones, beer bottles, etc.
- In 35 cases victims were brutally raped resulting in severe injuries. These include cuts, bleeding, injury to private parts, burning from acid, pesticide, etc. In one case the victim was made to drink acid.
- 94 cases were cases of gang rapes with 2 or more accused.

Pregnancy Due To Rape:

88 victims were pregnant at the time of reporting. Of these 70% were minors. There were many others who reported they were pregnant at an earlier point during the continuous abuse but were forced to abort. In 30 of these cases the minor girl came with complaints of stomach ache to a public hospital where the pregnancy and rape was detected.

Pregnancy due to Rape: Adult women versus minors



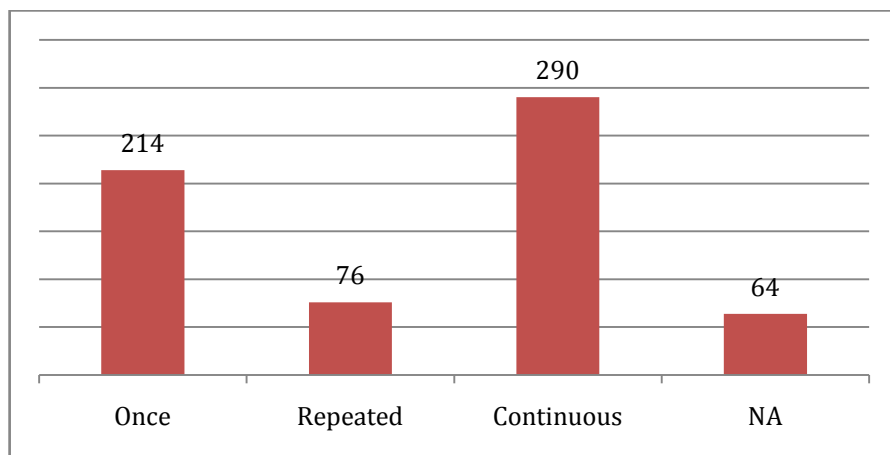
Other Vulnerabilities faced by the victim:

It is distressing to note that most victims of sexual abuse also suffer from other vulnerabilities and social disadvantages such as poverty, illiteracy, neglect, orphanhood, homeless family living on the street, a child of a single mother or an ailing bedridden mother or where the mother had expired, abusive home environment where the mother is a victim of domestic violence herself, suffering from a disability (physical / mental), giving birth to a child as a result of rape and so on. The fact that most victims come from daily wage earning families and have no steady and fixed source of income, pursuing the case causes them severe financial hardship.

Adverse Impact Of Rape on the Victim

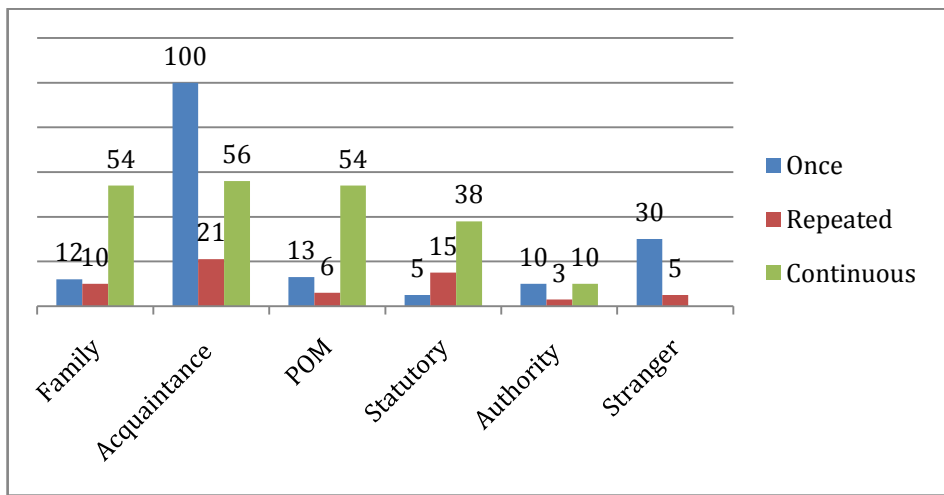
- A most common outcome is that the victim is compelled to relocate her home after filing the FIR
- Dropped out of school because of the incident or relocation
- Victim was pregnant and faced stigma of being an unwed mother
- Where the accused is a family member or lives in the same locality, family / community, pressurised not to file / pursue the case
- Family had abandoned the victim and she became homeless.
- Stress, anxiety and trauma caused due to the incident
- A constant fear that the fact that she is a rape victim will be detected
- Constant pressure from the family that due to the rape, she will not be able to get married.

Long Term Abuse: In 45% cases the abuse was continuous (over months and years) and 12% abuse was repeated (over days). Only in 38% of cases, it was a single incident.

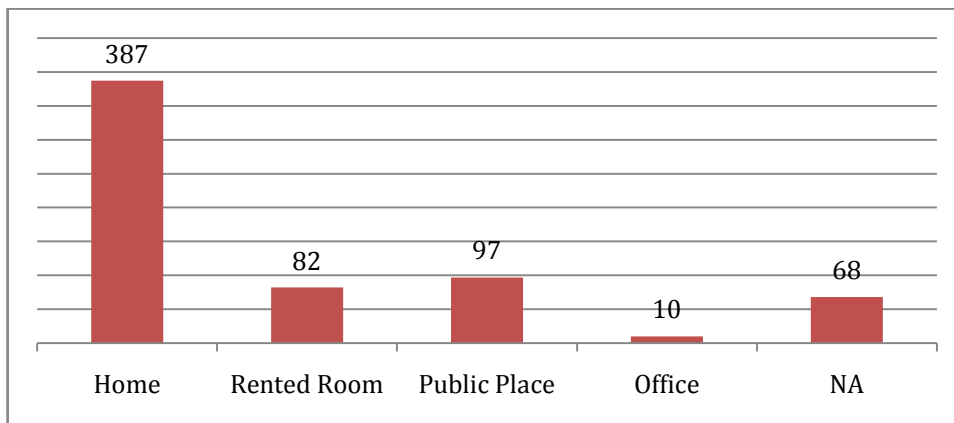


Long Term Abuse And Type Of Cases:

- 26% rapes were by an acquaintance such as a neighbour or a friend. 26% cases of PoM were of continuous abuse
- In 56% cases of rape by acquaintance and 20% stranger rapes, the offence occurred once.



Place Of Offence

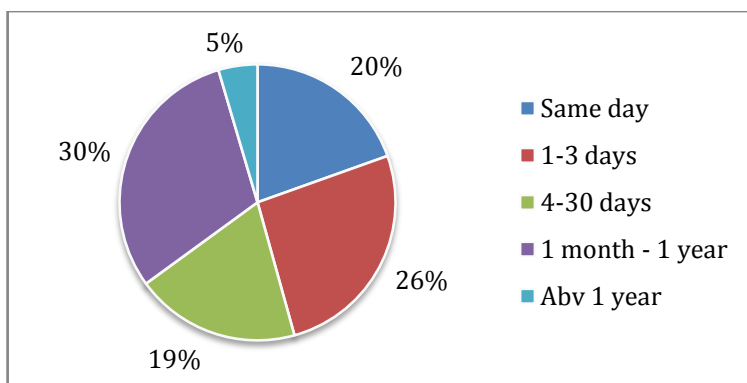


- In 60% cases, the place of offence was the home of the victim or accused or someone known to them.
- In 14% cases it was in a rented room or office.
- In 15% of cases the abuse was in a public place.

These statistics break the myth that most rapes occur in lonely places.

These figures highlight the disproportionate policy response to rape cases such as marking of unsafe public places, etc. Measures such as increase in street lighting, though important in the context of general safety and security, will not help in bringing down the incidence of rapes because the overwhelming number of reported cases take place within our homes, institutions (such as a school, etc.) and in lodges or hotel rooms.

Time Lapse Between Incident & FIR



Though it appears that 46% of cases are reported within three days of the offence this figure appears to be misleading. In most cases of long term abuse the last date of offence is incorrectly recorded as the date on which the victim approaches the police station. Since the abuse has been going on for long the victim does not remember the exact date, so the police recorder day of complaint as the last date of the offence.

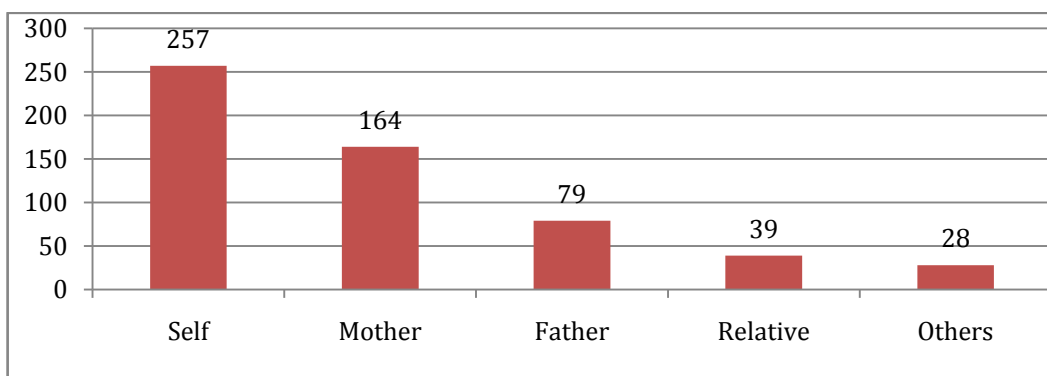
Of the 394 cases where the time of the incident was recorded, only 20% were filed on the same date or on the last date of the incident. 26% cases were reported within 1-3 days and 19% were reported within 4-30 days. 35% cases were reported after a month of delay which extended to a year or more in some cases.

These figures reveal that most women / children do not approach a police station as soon as they are raped. The decision to report is a long drawn process. Here, family support is the most critical factor in reporting the crime. If the abuser is a family member, there is greater reluctance to report the crime.

Usually crucial medical evidence is lost after 72 hours of the incident. Hence medical and forensic evidence is not available in most rape cases, which would strengthen the case of the prosecution. This gives scope for defense lawyers to argue that it is a false case.

Even in cases which are reported within 72 hours, usually the victim bathes and washes the clothes worn at the time of assault, losing relevant medical evidence. This indicates that we need to rethink our approach regarding the proposed high investment in forensic medicine and focus more on treatment and social support to victims

Complainant



In 40% cases the complainant is the victim herself, in 38% cases the complainant was either the mother or father of the victim. The other complainants were relatives, social workers, friends even authorities like police, schools, doctors etc.

Complainant & Type Of Case

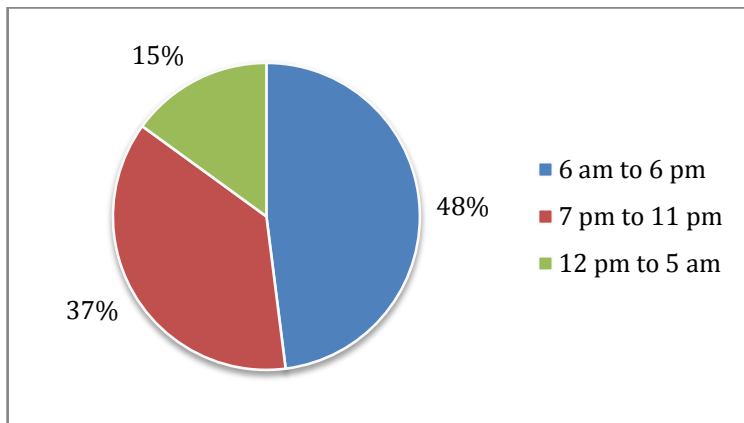
- Family Abuse –In 56% cases, the complaint is registered by the victim herself followed by her mother at 24%.

- In father / step father abuse, 48% cases were reported by the victim herself followed by her mother at 23%.
- PoM – In 86% of cases, the complaint is registered by the victim herself.
- Acquaintance Rape – In 64% cases the complainant is either the victim or her mother.

It is apparent from this data that young girls make the decision to file a case after continuous abuse. Most often there is no support from family members to register the complaint. In many cases we have observed that while the mother may have supported the girl to register the case, later due to family pressure the mother withdraws her support or the girl is asked to withdraw the case.

Time Of Recording The FIR:

Of the 370 cases where we had the recorded time available we see that only in 48% cases the FIR was recorded between dawn and dusk. In 52% cases the FIR was recorded into the evening, extending to late night.



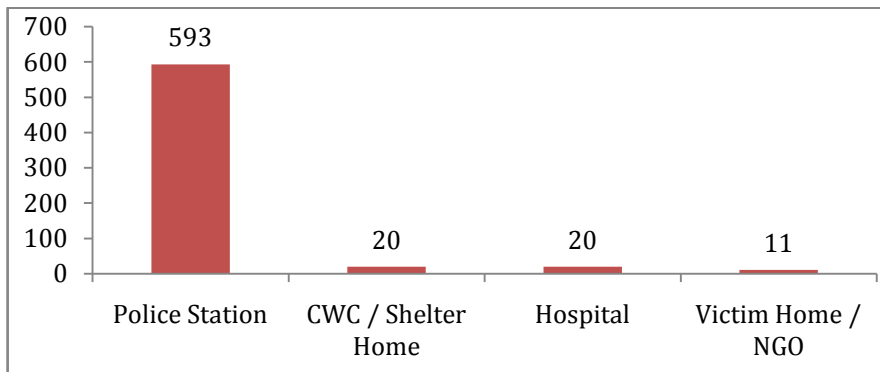
This is a clear violation of the directive that women should not be detained in police stations from sunset to sunrise (6 pm to 6 am). Since most cases involve young adolescent girls, the practice of recording FIR during the night should be avoided as it is neither convenient nor safe for these young girls to be present in the police station at such late hours.

A major concern is that victims are made to wait in police stations for long hours and are being questioned a number of times before the FIR is recorded. Whenever this was brought to our attention, through our victim support programme, we have brought this to the attention of the Commissioner of Police and strict action has been initiated against the errant officers.

Place Of Recording the FIR and Victim Statement:

92% cases were recorded at the police station. 3% were recorded at the hospital and CWC/Shelter Home respectively. Few cases were recorded at the victims’ home or at an NGO. In one case, it was recorded in a public garden.

Despite the statutory provision, as well as a circular issued by the Commissioner of Police, Mumbai that FIRs and statements of victims in cases of sexual assault must be recorded at their residence or at any place convenient to them, one can clearly see that this is not the norm and the message from the Commissioner of Police has not yet percolated down to the police stations.



Problems Faced By Victim During Recording And Investigations:

1. The Police do not record the FIR if the case is outside their jurisdiction. (Refusal to record zero FIR)
2. Police insist that the victim should be brought to the police station to lodge the FIR, though this is not a requirement of law. A victim need not go to a police station to lodge the complaint. The same can be done by anyone who is aware of it, such as a parent, support person etc. Taking a victim to the police station to lodge the FIR causes undue stress and trauma. The statement of the victim should be recorded at a place where she feels comfortable.
3. Police make the victim wait for long hours at the police station.
4. Police take the victim to the place of offence prior to recording the FIR and medical examination.
5. Police pass derogatory comments against the victim's character.
6. The victim is made to repeat the details of the incident several times to different officers.
7. The victim and accused are taken for medical examination in the same vehicle, giving ample opportunity for the accused to intimidate the victim.
8. A copy of the FIR is not provided to the Complainant.
9. Police do not file the charge sheet within the stipulated period. Due to this, the accused is released on bail.
10. Police do not send a copy of the FIR to District Officer of the Women & Child Development Department for availing the financial assistance for the victim under the Manodhairya Scheme.
11. Police do not serve the summons for the victim's deposition in court in time. In some cases, the summons was served on the stipulated court date itself, despite the directions issued by sessions courts that the summons should be served well in time.
12. Police do not inform the Child Welfare Committee about cases registered under the POCSO Act as mandated under Section 19(6) of the Act.

Judge's Comments On Investigations

1. Victim's statement not recorded and hence the case could not be proved beyond reasonable doubt.
2. No documentary evidence of the victim's age produced by the prosecution and benefit had to be given to the accused.
3. The IO was not able to trace the victim and hence the case could not proceed and had to be closed.
4. The IO did not collect evidence properly and the same could not be used.
5. The IO did not appreciate the nature and seriousness of the case.
6. The IO did not take any precaution to separate the child from the accused and did not place her in a shelter home.
7. The Police should have sent the child to hospital instead of trying to settle the matter.
8. Case was filed only due to insistence of the Shelter Home.
9. The IO did not execute the panchnama
10. Shoddy investigation

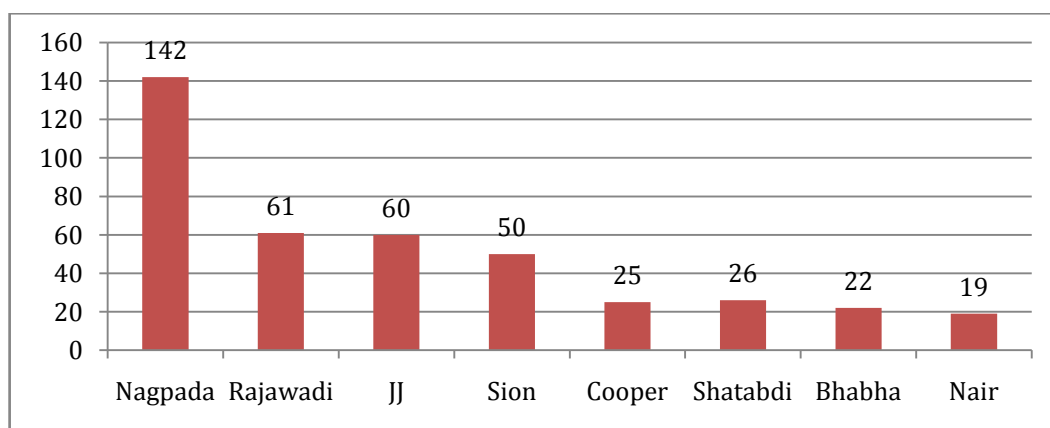
Arrest of the Accused

In 437 cases the accused was arrested. In 68 cases no arrest was made. No information available in 139 cases.

Bail

Bail was granted in 162 cases and was not granted in 164 cases. In 7 cases Anticipatory Bail was sought by the accused. In 7 cases the accused is absconding and in 1 case the accused is dead. Information on bail was not available in 274 cases.

Referral Hospital



We have information in 453 cases about the hospital to which the victims were taken for medical examination and treatment. In 31% cases the victim was taken to the Nagpada police hospital, followed by Rajawadi and JJ at 13% each. Other public and private hospitals together dealt with 20% cases. In 11 cases medical examination was not done.

A Clear Shift Away From Nagpada To The Nearest Public Hospital

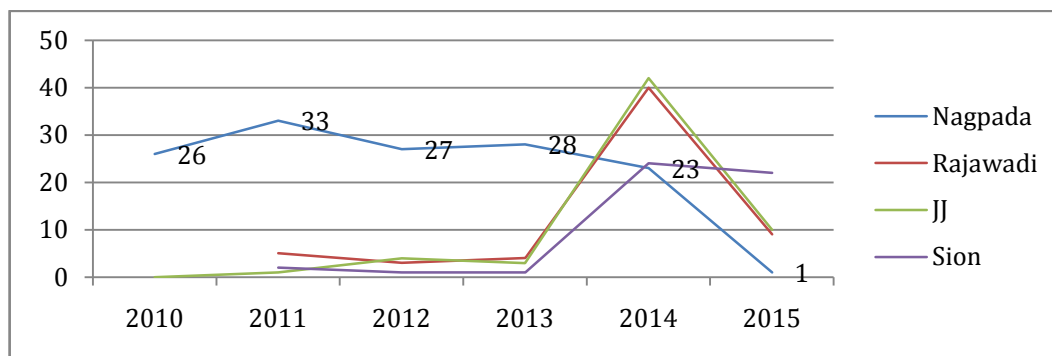
We consider this as a major outcome of our intervention. When we started our project, it was routine for all police stations across the length and breadth of the city to take the victim to the Nagpada Police Hospital despite the fact that it has no amenities to provide treatment to victims. This norm was followed because the police were comfortable in this space as it is a “police hospital” and it was relatively easy to contact the concerned medical officer during the trial for deposition in court.

We identified this problem during our research of past trial court judgments and brought it up at our stakeholder consultations between the police, medical and forensic experts and public prosecutors, held in September, 2013, where challenges faced by each agency in providing support to the victim were discussed. The five major public hospitals run by BMC assured the police that they would provide all support and timely treatment to a victim brought to them for medical examination by setting up a “one window support”.

We followed this up with a circular by the Commissioner of Police and reiterated this during our police trainings. During the first year there were many hiccups as the process was new but we acted as the via-media between the police and the hospitals and helped to iron out the obstacles. Now, two years after taking up this issue, we can clearly see a change in the trend as the police are getting used to the pattern of taking victims to the nearest public hospital. In 2015, so far in our data, only one case has been referred to the Nagpada police hospital as the following table reveals.

Hospitals	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Nagpada	26	33	27	28	23	1
Rajawadi		5	3	4	40	9
JJ	0	1	4	3	42	10
Sion		2	1	1	24	22
Cooper	0	0	2	0	12	11
Shatabdi			1	1	11	13
Bhabha		1	1	1	11	8
Nair	1		1	1	7	9

The Emerging Pattern Of Hospital Reference



Problems Faced By The Victim During Medical Examination:

1. The victim is made to wait for a long time before the medical examination commences.
2. Doctors are rude and impatient with the victim and her family.
3. Most victims do not recall giving consent and/or being explained about the procedure, prior to the commencement of the examination.
4. The medical examination is generally conducted in the labour ward and there is no victim friendly space created for conducting the examination.
5. In several cases, the victim was admitted into the hospital for 2 -3 days only for conducting the regular medical examination.
6. When a victim directly approaches the hospital some doctors do not report the offence as mandated under the law.

Judge's Comments On Medical Examination:

1. There is clearly sexual assault, torn hymen but it cannot be attributed to the accused
2. Report does not show use of force. Had she resisted there would be injury marks and the report would show that.
3. Tears are old and this nullifies the prosecution case.
4. In some cases, the Judge did not comment on the report
5. In some cases, the Judge did not comment on why medical exam was not conducted.
6. When the prosecutrix was used to sexual relations, there was no possibility of her sustaining any fresh injuries on her private parts, especially considering that her hymen was torn completely.
7. In cases where injuries were not expected to be found, Judges have held that no injuries did not mean that there was no sexual assault.
8. Victim is habituated to sex as she is married, hence medical report cannot help much

THE TRIAL COURT

In Camera Depositions: Since the Supreme Court rulings since 1996 (the *Gurmeet Singh* case) most depositions are being held in camera in all cases.

Cross Examination of Child Victim: Minors continue to be cross examined in court. Only in very few cases, the judges come to the rescue of the child witness and control the manner of cross examination. The guidelines issued in the *Sakshi* case (2004) that the defence lawyers must submit the questions in writing to the judge in advance are not followed. This was done in only one case, the first case in which we had intervened and the judge asked the defence lawyer to submit the questions in writing while cross examining a four year old child.

Victim turning hostile: In 76% statutory rape cases and 68% PoM cases, victims turned hostile. In 28% family rapes and 23% acquaintance rapes also the victims turned hostile.

Case Type	No	Yes	NA
Acquaintance	50	20	16
Authority	2	4	
Family	20	9	3
POM	9	15	3
Statutory	7	36	4
Stranger	15	1	5

Adverse Remarks By Defence Lawyers

1. Delay in filing - She went about her daily routine and did not tell anyone hence this indicates false case
2. Medical - No fresh injuries on private part, no signs of rape on her, no signs of struggle. She injured herself
3. Place - Sex can't happen in a place like an overcrowded neighbourhood, in a public place like a park, in a slum
5. Character - She is habituated to sex/ loose moral character/ roams around with boys/ habituated to sodomy
6. Promise of marriage is not rape

Adverse Comments By Presiding Judges

1. Parents should be asked before complaining about rape
2. Victim did not protest, shout
3. Victim should have jumped off the bike when she had the chance.
4. Victim had no injuries on her body
5. No proof of penetration means there was no rape
6. Victim disclosed only when she was found to be pregnant
7. Victims were enjoying themselves
8. Victim had a bad habit, had sex out of curiosity
9. Victim bunked classes, roamed around with boys, was taken over by infatuation

10. Despite knowing consequences of keeping relations, she became pregnant
11. Its victim's promiscuity not misconception of fact
12. Case is at most breach of promise and not false promise as she knew the consequences
13. Victim did not say rape she just said 'ganda kaam'
14. Rape destroys the very soul and personality of a woman

Positive Remarks By Presiding Judges

1. Prosecutrix's sole testimony is sufficient to convict, corroboration is not required.
2. Insisting on corroboration would add insult to the injury.
3. Victim's conduct is natural.
4. Delay in filing an FIR in cases of father raping daughter is understandable.
5. When a case is reported after a long gap, we cannot look for fresh injuries. This does not render the case false.
6. The evidence is clear, cogent and convincing. It is sufficient to convict.
7. No major inconsistencies in the story, the minor discrepancies must be overlooked.
8. When the victim is child of tender age and the case is reported after a long gap, there are bound to be inconsistencies, which must be overlooked.
9. The FIR is not an encyclopaedia. The victim is bound to offer more details during deposition. It cannot be termed as an "improvement".
10. There are bound to be inconsistencies between the evidence of the victim and other witnesses.
11. Gesture of a child who does not understand sex are important and must be taken into account.

Victim's hired a lawyer: In 3% cases the victim had an advocate. In 28% of cases with judgements, RAHAT provided support to the victim and was with her during her deposition.

Victim name in Judgement: In 36% cases the victim name appears in the judgement despite the several directions issued by the Supreme Court that confidentiality of the victim should be maintained and her name should not be revealed in the judgement. We have also noticed that most bail applications have the name of the victim and judges seldom take any precaution regarding this. We have noticed this even in the High Court. The charge sheet given to the lawyer of the accused also has all the details about the victim and in some cases, especially high profile cases, copies of the charge sheet are given to the reporters present in trial courts. The judges do not insist that victim's name and personal details should not be revealed and a truncated chargesheet should be given to the defence lawyers.

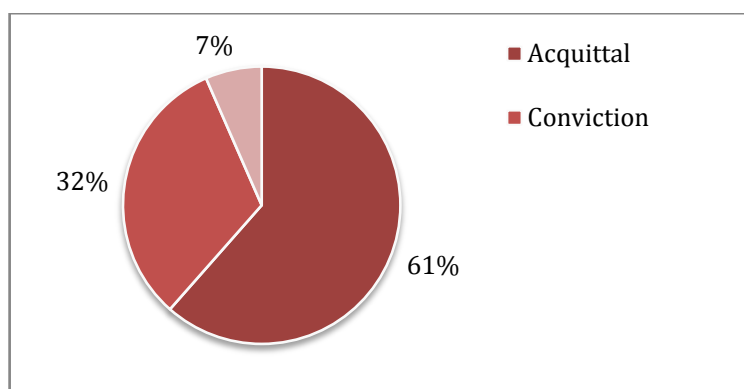
Accused used Legal Aid Lawyer: Only in 2% cases the accused avail of a legal aid lawyer. In 98% cases the accused hired a lawyer

Problems Faced By Victims In Court:

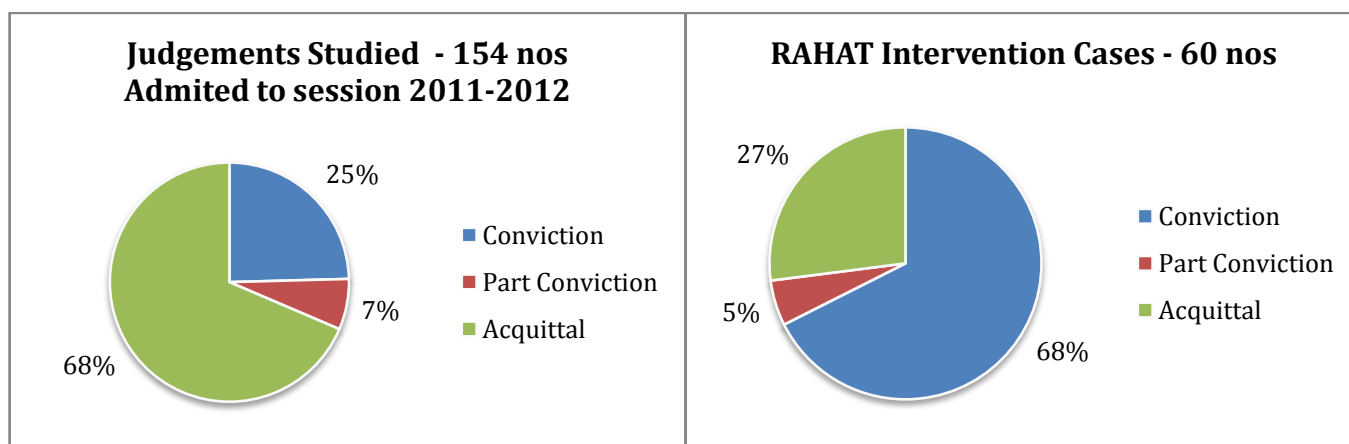
1. Recording of evidence in the presence of the accused.
2. Aggressive and prolonged cross examination by the defence.
3. The police serve the summons to appear in court at the very last minute, many times on the eve of the court date, not providing sufficient time for the victim to get used to the idea of appearing in court.
4. Complete ignorance about the court procedure, how her evidence will be recorded, what is expected from her in Court.
5. The prosecutors do not meet the victim in advance to give her guidance or to explain to the victim the contents of her FIR in case she and her family members are illiterate.
6. If the accused is granted bail, the victim feels that the case has been decided in his favour and feels extremely depressed. No one explains to her that this is only the interim stage.
7. A delayed trial further victimizes her, as she is unable to move ahead with her life, until the recording of her evidence is completed.

Final Outcome Of The Case:

Of the 212 judgements that were analysed 61% resulted in acquittal, 32% resulted in conviction and 7% were part conviction i.e. convicted on a lesser charge.



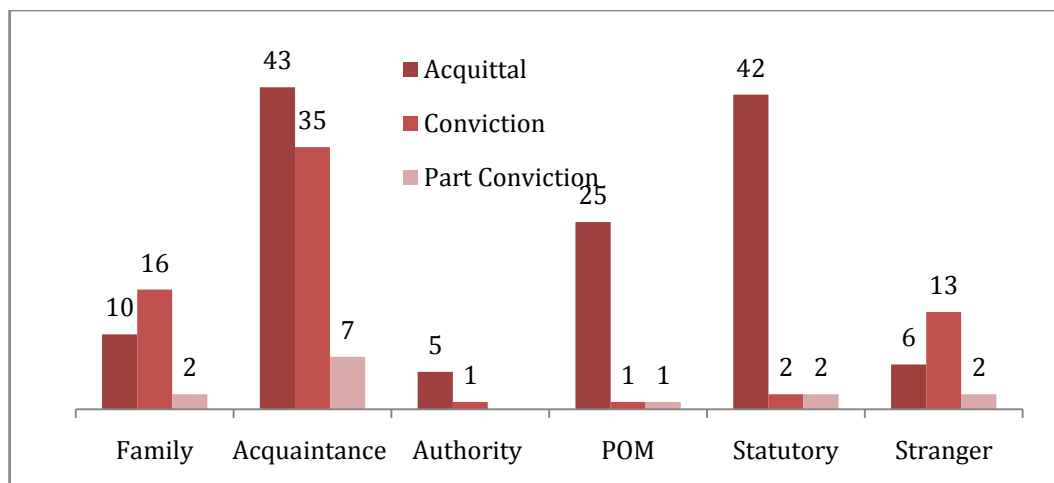
Conviction patterns between 2008-12 and 2013-15



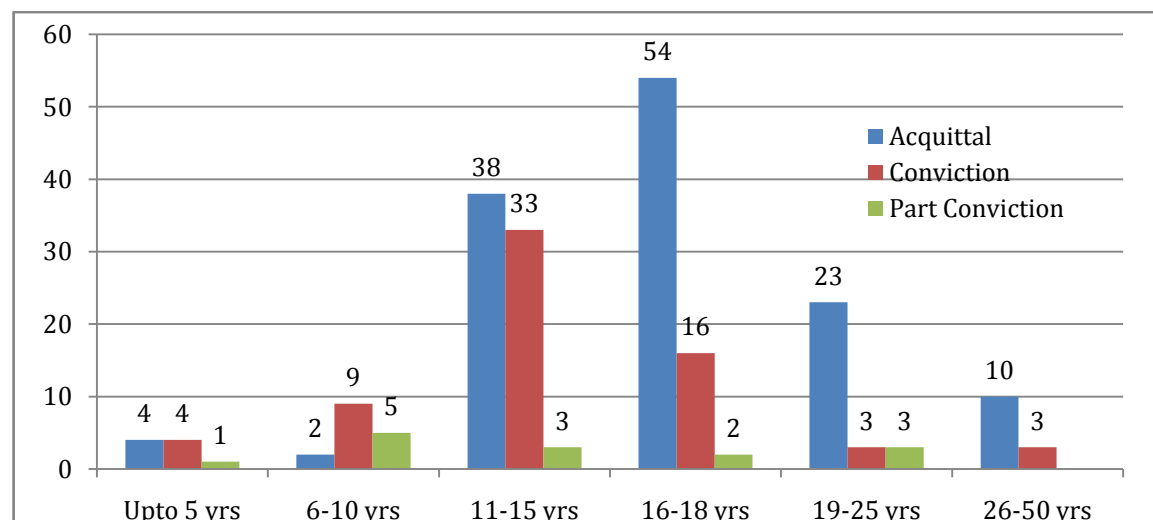
This is an interesting graph which helps us to assess the impact of RAHAT intervention upon conviction rates. While our own intervention is a significant factor, other contributory factors are a tilt in the approach of trial court judges during the post December, 2012 campaign towards victims in rape cases and the statutory changes

which were brought about, specially the POCSO Act, 2012. While there is a shift in the burden of proof under POCSO and a wider definition of rape, we do not see the impact of these in the judgements analysed by us.

Case Type And Final Outcome



Age Of Victim and final outcome



For victims in the age group of 0-10 years, the conviction rate appears to be favourable, as the above graph indicates. The ratio between conviction and acquittal begins to change when the victim is in the age group of 11-15 years in favour of the accused and becomes adverse in the age group of 16-18 years. This trend continues as the victim's age progresses.

Victim turning hostile and outcome of the case: 62% cases resulted in acquittal. In 59% of these the victim turned hostile. 30% cases resulted in conviction and in 80% of these the victim did not turn hostile.

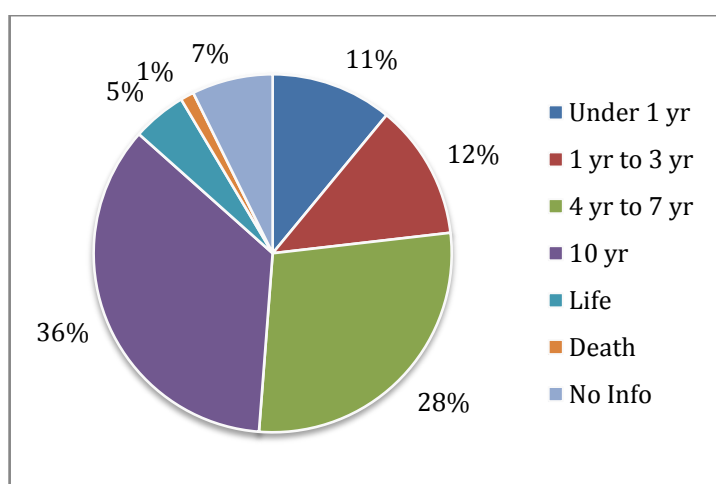
Outcome	No	Yes
Acquittal	36	78
Conviction	52	5
Part Conviction	10	1

Gender of Judge and outcome of the case

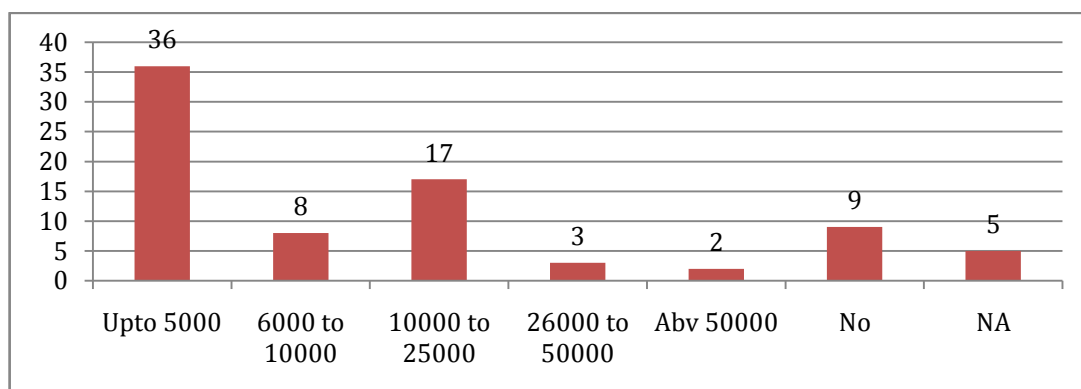
Gender of the Judge	Acquittal	Conviction
Female	86	59
Male	45	23

There are no clear patterns emerging to indicate that the conviction rates are better if the judge is a female. We find both male and female judges can be sensitive or insensitive towards the victims. We believe that it is not the physiology or biology that governs sensitivity but it depends upon social situations of the judge and the exposure to social issues as well as the sensitization programmes that the judges are exposed to which will determine sensitivity towards a victim when she comes before the court to depose.

Sentencing pattern



Fine Imposed by Court

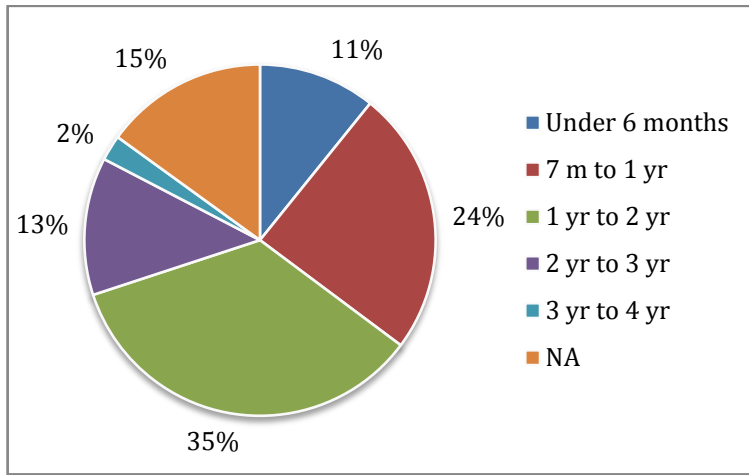


Compensation granted by the court to the victim

As per information available, in 28 cases compensation was granted to the victim by the court. The amounts ranged from Rs. 2500 to 1 Lakh. In 46% cases where compensation was granted the amount was either Rs. 5000 or Rs. 10000

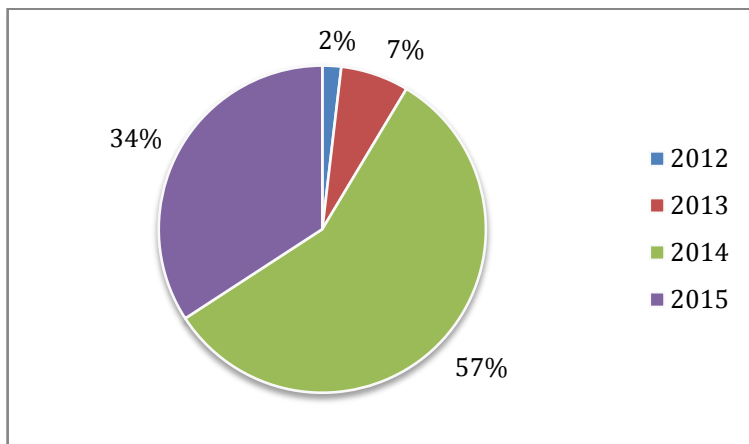
In 2 cases the judged ordered the application for compensation be sent to District Legal Services Authority

Time lapse Between FIR and Judgement



72% cases decided in less than 6 months resulted in acquittal. Also 32% of the cases decided in less than 6 months were soon after POCSO Special Court was designated. 70% of cases are decided within 2 years.

Pendency of cases



As reporting of cases has increased, the rate of disposal of cases has decreased. Of the 252 FIRs registered in 2014 only 2% cases have been disposed and 98% cases are pending.

RAHAT INTERVENTION

Where we met the victim

In 56% of the cases we met the victim at her home. The other common places to meet the victim are shelter home-10%, Police Station-7%, Hospital-3%, Majlis Office-5%, CWC-6%, Court-3% , Outside-3%. In only 1% cases the victim was not ready to meet.

Common support required by most victims

1. Understanding the legal process, time frame, procedures and possible outcome
2. Understanding the FIR, statements, medical reports and other documents and their relevance
3. Need shelter, medical treatment, education / vocational training and other services to move on in life
4. Accessing the Manodhariya scheme for financial support
5. Organising a court orientation visit prior to the deposition

6. Going over the documents prior to the deposition
7. Need services of the support person in court during deposition and cross examination
8. Need timely updates of the progress of the case
9. Need someone to talk to, to allay their fears and apprehensions, someone they can talk to when they feel low.

Specific support required by victims as per the case type

Sexual Abuse within the family: In such cases, the child may need shelter especially if her family does not support her. She needs to be visited regularly at her home / children’s home. She has to be reminded of the benefits of pursuing a case. As she faces immense pressure from her family, this has to be managed with utmost care and sensitivity. She requires continuous hand holding to reassure her as she often feels guilty about filing the FIR and wants to withdraw.

Acquaintance rape: If the accused lives in the same locality or is from the same community, the victim is under immense pressure not to pursue the case. Moreover, she may require assistance in re locating. If the accused is granted bail, the pressure faced by the victim from the community increases.

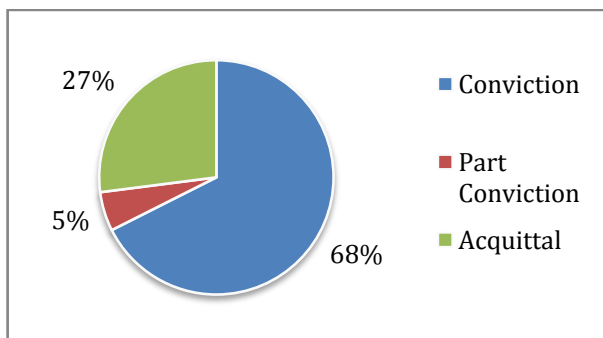
Stranger rapes: In such cases, usually the victim wishes to pursue the case and chances of her turning hostile are rare. She is more involved in the legal follow up as she is more likely to have family support.

Rapes by Persons in Authority: In such cases, the accused may be a teacher in school or an employer. Therefore, the victim needs assistance in changing her school or seeking new employment.

Promise of Marriage and Statutory Rape: These are the cases where the victim may wish to marry the accused and / or settle the matter as she does not wish to pursue the case. Her family may have married her off to another person. In such situations, she seeks legal assistance on how to proceed with the same and needs to be advices accordingly so that her interests are protected at all times and even if there is an out of court settlement, she is not browbeaten to accept terms which are adverse to her interests.

RAHAT Cases Outcome

Of the 490 cases that we intervened, we have outcomes in 60 cases. The purpose of the programme has been to ensure the comfort and dignity of the victim throughout the process. Hence, even though our programme has not been conviction driven, we have realized that with adequate socio legal support, the victim is able to depose confidently and this results in convictions.



In addition to securing convictions, we have been able to adequately rehabilitate victims by ensuring that they return to school, pursue higher education, complete vocational training courses, access shelter homes, and secure employment.

Standard Operating Procedures and Guidelines drafted by RAHAT

Based on our intervention and learning we have helped evolve:

1. Guidelines for “Functioning of Special Courts for Vulnerable Witnesses in Maharashtra”-Women and Children. Approved by the Bombay High Court
2. Booklet on Standard Operating Procedures to be followed by Mumbai Police in cases of Sexual Violence
3. Standard Operating Procedures to be followed by Medical Officers in public hospitals in Mumbai while responding to victims of sexual violence

Conclusions

We would like to end on a positive note that if we understand the different categories of sexual assault, and factors such as age of the victim, category of offence, etc. we will be in a better position to evolve a survivor centric approach in dealing with sexual crimes and will be in a better position to take the full advantage of the reformed rape laws for securing better outcomes in rape cases. If a support is carefully designed we are convinced that most victims will become survivors at the end of their trial and in addition, because of the support that is extended, they will be able to depose without fear in a clear and cogent manner and will not be cowed down by intimidating cross examinations by defense lawyers and the formality of a court room.

We hope this innovative action based research comprising of a systematic study of following nearly 500 cases at the ground level, from the time of the FIR until the end of the trial will help us to evolve policies and programmes keeping in view the needs of actual victims rather than a few random cases that get highlighted in the media. This will also help the stake holders to get a better understanding of the victims and will restrain them from making casual comments that most rape cases are “false”, which often get reported in the media in an exaggerated manner and affect public opinion on the issue of rape.



INTENSIVE TRAINING Mumbai police now have an SOP to handle cases of sexual offence

Arvina Haas

arvina@indianexpress.com

MUMBAI Two years after the gruesome Shakti Mills gang-rape case shook the city, the Mumbai police have come out with a Standard Operating Procedure (SOP) for sexual offences against women and children.

The process which culminated in the SOP started in 2011, started in a circular drafted by Rajat, a socio-legal support group for survivors of sexual violence, which works under Rights legal centre. This said what the police should do in the first 30 hours after a case of sexual offence against women or children is lodged. The commissioner issued this draft to all the police stations in Mumbai.

"We felt as one would read the circular properly and offer our help in training the officers about the amendments in the law after the Delhi gang-rape," said Anshu D'Mello, programme director, Rights legal centre.

In August 2013, almost 700 police officers were trained across 12 zones in the city. About 300 of them were men and 200 were

SOME OF THE GUIDELINES

- Any person having information of an offence can lodge an FIR, the police shall not wait for the appearance of the survivor.
- If a survivor cannot come to the police station, the police officer shall go to a place of her choice to record the FIR.
- If a survivor gives information herself then the FIR shall be registered by a woman police officer in plain clothes.
- The statement shall be recorded by a woman police officer in plain clothes.
- The statement shall be recorded at a place of the survivor's choice in the presence of a person whom she trusts.

women officers. After March 2014, more women officers were recruited in the police force, after which 100 more women officers were trained.

On Women's Day last year, the newly-trained women officers trained their fellow officers at their respective police stations. The motive was to empower women police officers.

"In reality during the training, we faced many problems as many male officers would suggest counselling instead of filing cases, saying the survivors would do something. We told them not to act like moral police and to obey by their

superiors. Eventually they realised the importance of registering complaints," said D'Mello.

"During training, police personnel raised many questions, and the Institute also started getting many questions," said D'Mello. "We discussed all of them and based our SOP on that."

Rakesh Maru, Mumbai police commissioner said, "The training has covered almost all officers in the city. The officers now should not face problems while handling such cases and would not need his superiors to tell him the do's and don'ts."

RAIIAT
Socio-legal Support for Victims-Survivors of Sexual Violence by Majlis Legal Centre

For assistance while recording a case of Sexual Offences Against Women and Children contact

24 hour helpline
9930262833
(P.N. Para 23/14 dated 8.2.14)

मजलिस
Legal Centre for Women

महिला व बालकांविरुद्ध लैंगिक अत्याचार
मुंबई पोलीसांकरिता आदर्श कार्यप्रणाली

Travel Safe Alone
9969777888

MTNL





Mumbai Police Pledge to Women

8th March, 2014

- ★ Do not be afraid to approach a Police Station, if you face any violence
- ★ A woman Police Officer will attend to you immediately and record your complaint
- ★ We will read out your complaint and give you a copy free of cost
- ★ Do not worry about the place of the crime. Come to any Police Station, we will record the complaint and transfer the same to the concerned Police Station
- ★ A person who you trust can be present when you record your complaint
- ★ If you are a victim of domestic violence we will record your complaint and also inform you about the reliefs and services available under the Domestic Violence Act, 2005
- ★ If you are a victim of sexual violence, anyone can come to the Police Station to record the complaint on your behalf.
- ★ In case you do not wish to come to the Police Station, call the Police Helpline '103'. A woman Police Officer will come in plain clothes to a place of your choice to record your statement.
- ★ If you do not speak our language or suffer from any disability we will call a translator or special educator to help us record your complaint
- ★ We will never ask you come to the Police Station at night
- ★ We will ensure that the accused does not come in contact with you at the police station
- ★ We will send you to a hospital for medical treatment and examination
- ★ We will assist you to find a shelter, if you require

On the occasion of Women's Day, Mumbai Police take a pledge to treat all women with respect and dignity

RAIAT

Socio-Legal Support to Victims Services of Sexual Violence
Collaborative between Department of Women and CHM

majlis

Legal Centre for Women

Since 2012 RAHAT has provided **support to over 400 survivors of violence**. The RAHAT team reaches out to the victim to assist her to access services and schemes which include counselling, shelter, education, vocational training, medical, legal aid, etc. We also assist her in her interactions with the Judiciary, CWC, Police and Public Prosecutor, prepare her for her evidence in Court and are present with her in Court during her deposition. The purpose of the program is to ensure that her dignity and respect are maintained throughout the investigation and trial. RAHAT has evolved a **5 Point Support Model**, a mobile model of support.

POLICE TRAINING: RAHAT has trained over 1350 police officers on Criminal Law Amendment Act and Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act in 2013 the new laws relating to sexual violence.



POLICE CIRCULARS AND SOPS: RAHAT has drafted a number of circulars for the Mumbai Police. “Role of Police within the first 24 hours in cases of sexual violence”. A circular asking police to take victims to nearby hospitals, record 164 statement with designated Magistrates, mention atrocities act where relevant. A pledge by the Mumbai Police “To treat all Women with Respect and Dignity” has been placed at the entrance of all Police Stations in Mumbai. RAHAT conceptualized and drafted a booklet that contains provisions of law, a Checklist and Standard Operating Procedures to be followed by Mumbai Police in cases of sexual assault.



JUDICIARY: On the completion of one year of POCSO Act, RAHAT conducted a study on “Functioning of the Special POCSO Courts in the Sessions Courts in Mumbai” The study was presented to Chief Justice, Bombay High Court. Several changes in the functioning of the Courts were initiated after this study. In 2015 another report on the Functioning of Special Courts for Women and Children was submitted by RAHAT. “Guidelines for functioning of Special Courts in Maharashtra” are pending approval from Bombay High Court.

STAKEHOLDER CONSULTATIONS: RAHAT organized the Maharashtra State Consultation to Review the Protection of Children from Sexual Offences Act, 2012. Judiciary, Prosecution, Medical, Police and NGOs participated. A Consultation was also organized to discuss Mandatory Reporting under the POCSO Act.



MEDICAL RAHAT assisted MCGM in drafting Standard Operating Procedures for doctors to respond to victims of sexual violence. This SOP is in practice in the 5 teaching Hospitals in Mumbai.

“MANODHAIRYA: RAHAT was able to provide the Maharashtra government with evidence based research on the urgent need for financial support to survivors. After much effort, the Manodhairya Scheme was launched on 2nd October, 2013. RAHAT has been involved in monitoring of the scheme, evolving Standard Operating Procedures and Reporting Formats.

NGO COLLABORATION: RAHAT works in close collaboration with NGOs Childline, Arpan, Aangan, etc to provide social support to survivors of sexual violence.

RAIIAT

Socio-legal Support for Victims-Survivors of Sexual Violence by Majlis Legal Centre

The title of the report is adopted from the title of an article by Naqvi Farah (2010), “This Thing Called Justice” in Datta Bishakha (ed) *Nine Degrees of Justice*, New Delhi: ZUBAAN (2010).

For copies of the final report kindly write to us at majlislaw@gmail.com



With support from



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