Frames in a social movement for safe public spaces
Problems meeting new solutions

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Abstract

Safety in public spaces has become an issue of increased concern and attention in India, after incidents of sexual harassment and violence against women. The need for safe public spaces was formulated in the civil society in New Delhi and can be described as a social movement. Mobilization and mechanisms behind is studied in a theory-based analysis to learn more about social movements. Results can be of general importance in understanding the role social movements may play in work for safe public environments, not only in New Delhi, but elsewhere as well. The purpose of the thesis is to i) describe the work by social movement on safe public spaces among three central actors within the movement and ii) analyze the movement´s success in its mobilizing efforts and highlight mechanisms of importance. The study is a qualitative case study in New Delhi. The empiric material was collected through a document study and semi-structured interviews. Frame theory was used in study design and data analysis. The analysis showed common problems perceived by the actors as overall fear, patriarchy and urbanization, while working methods and solutions differed. The main difference was a result of digitalization and activities on social media in a cycle of protest. Motivational frames portrayed vulnerabilities, challenges and opportunities for women getting attention and motivated to engage. It has resulted in a diverse movement, shaping new ways to reach out taking advantage of new technology.
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1. Introduction
In the last two decades, safety has become a growing concern in India, getting increased attention after many incidents of sexual harassment, abuse and violence against women in public spaces in New Delhi. Some work has been done to make public environments safe and women has been pointed out as especially vulnerable. A household survey conducted in 2012 by the UN Women and the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) showed that 95 percent of women and girls in New Delhi rated public spaces as unsafe from sexual violence (UN Women 2013). In 2014, seventy percent of all crimes reported in Delhi were gender-based offenses (Jagori 2016, 13) and New Delhi was also ranked as the least liveable city in India in the 2016 Quality of Living Index and 161st in the international quality of life ranking (Jagori 2016, 3). Research also reported that fifty four percent of women felt unsafe, because of fear, in a crowded public transport and at bus stops (Jagori 2009, 2).

In this setting described above, the issue of and need for safe public spaces started to be formulated in the civil society in New Delhi, India. It got attention when the organization Jagori, with a background in the women´s movement in India, in 2004 launched a campaign called the Safe Delhi Campaign that lasted for several years. Later, a new actor called SafetiPin, which grew out of Jagori, in 2013 digitalized earlier working processes and reached new audiences. More recently, the collective IWillGoOut was created and achieved major mass mobilizing effects through social media for the cause of safe public spaces. In this regard, the work on safe public spaces in New Delhi should be able to be described as a social movement.
This study started out with the dilemma of experiencing a movement on global level for safe public spaces, but with no real case studies on local level. With this in mind, the work for safe public spaces is important to describe and investigate with a specific focus on women. By studying and understanding more about the mobilization that has taken place through social movements in the city and the mechanisms behind, both driving forces, obstacles and success factors can be highlighted in a theory based analysis. Such knowledge can be of general importance in understanding the role the study of social movements may play in the work for safe public environments, not only in New Delhi, India, but in other parts of the world as well.

1.1 Purpose and question formulations
This thesis work started from an interest in the issue of safe public spaces in New Delhi, India, having read about and experienced the situation on site. Investigating the work conducted on safe public spaces ended up in exploring collective action on local level in the city which is believed to have the characteristics of a social movement. Therefore, one purpose is to describe the work on safe public spaces as a social movement among three central actors within the movement, highlighting the differences. A second purpose is to, through the three actors, analyze the movement’s success in its mobilizing efforts and point out mechanisms of importance.

The question aimed to describe a social movement for safe public space in New Delhi, India is:

1. Based on the theoretical approach; how does the studied movement actor’s collective action frames look like?

The question formulated to analyze a social movement on safe public spaces is:

2. Which conditions do the collective action frames have to help mobilize support and to get supporters to take action?

1.2 Limitations
Much of the research on social movements in this study stems from a European and an American context. This is mainly because that this thesis is written in a University in Europe, with access to research and literature in English. If there is literature from research conducted
in Asia not included or used to understand the Indian context better, the reason for not doing so is explained by the language barrier.

The study of social movements is a vast field and therefore some choices had to be made in what to include, given the time frames of a master thesis. This thesis is not all-inclusive in its attempt to describe and analyze safe public spaces. In future studies some concepts that could be used to further understand a social movement for safe public spaces could for example be aspects of the shifting boundaries between the public and the private, cultures and counter cultures role, and the relation between the global and the local levels (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 47-52). It could also include the duplicity of structure vs. agency, which is especially meaningful in research of culture (Della Porta 2006, 66-67).

This study also represents three actors, out of the many, involved in the movement for safe public spaces in New Delhi, India. Even if being central actors the sample in this study is a small part of a bigger setting.

1.3 Disposition
From here on, chapter 2 will present earlier research and theoretical approaches where safe public spaces as a concept, the study of social movements and the theoretical framework will be introduced. Chapter 3 will describe the material and methods used in the study. In chapter 4, the empirical material and the result is presented. This is where the first question formulation from chapter 1.2 is answered. In the end of the chapter empirical results are presented in a table. This descriptive part consists of the data material which forms a basis for the analysis in the following chapter. Chapter 5 consists of the analysis of the empirical chapter and this is where the second question formulation from chapter 1.2 is answered. In chapter 6, concluding remarks are made.

2. Earlier research and theoretical approaches

2.1 The study of social movements and collective action

Historical background
The studies of social movements have a long and broad history from research and empirical work in the western world that have developed over the years. The perception of what a movement is has changed particularly since the mid-20th century. Historically, there was a
tradition for social movements to represent issues of labor and nations. But after the 1960s, other movements such as women’s liberation, environmental protection and other issues formed something expressed as “new social movements” (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 6). These new movements meant leaving some of a Marxist background and conflict among the industrial classes introducing new form and content. In this process an innovative approach was shaped by scientists in the study of social movements (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 8).

These new kinds of movements were tried to be understood. Some of the expressed views considered them to have decentralized and participatory organizational structures, a defense of interpersonal solidarity against the great bureaucracies, and the reclamation of autonomous space, instead of material gains. Another scholar meant the “new movements also tried to oppose the intrusion of the state and the market into social life, reclaiming individual rights to define their identities and to determine their private and affective lives against the omnipresent and comprehensive manipulation of the system” and “resisting the expansion of political-administrative intervention in daily life and defend personal autonomy”. Two things that made new social movements distinct from earlier versions was that they put the actor in the center of the stage. (Della Porta 2006, 9-10)

Definition of social movements
There is not any single definition agreed upon of what a social movement is. However, there may be a greater consistency and agreement of the meaning as often used concepts in definitions include informal interactions between several or many individuals, groups and or organizations, being engaged in cultural or political conflicts sharing a collective identity (Diani 1992, 1-25). Social movements as a study object is well established and in the heart lies the focus on ideas, individuals, organizations and events and the interdependence between them (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 1-2). The linkage between these entities forms the broader term of collective action (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 5). Also, in focus is the co-existence of contrasting value systems and of groups in conflict with each other. This can lead to nonconformity and the individual challenging the social order with a feeling of dissatisfaction facing nonresponding institutions (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 13). Individuals and organizations in social movements see themselves as being part of a larger collective action, instead as discrete singularities, where the actors within them feel linked to each other, in phases of both intense and latent periods (Della Port and Diani 2006, 23-24).
In this thesis, collective action is central. It is something not differential from social movements, but a central part of. Collective action means an individual sharing resources in pursuit of collective goals. This is done within movements but may also be done in other settings. But the two; social movements and collective action, are indissolubly linked (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 19). Three characteristics in different combinations are what can differentiate social movements from other collective action and is in the end what social movement analysis is about (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 22). Firstly, Conflictual collective actions is a special characteristic for social movements. It occurs when actors have a tendency to be involved in political and/or cultural conflicts meant to promote or oppose social change, meaning involvement in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents. In this, there is an oppositional relationship between actors who seek control of the same stake while making negative claims on the other. A second characteristic is Linkage by dense informal networks. These mean networks that go beyond the boundaries of what can be established on collective action in organizations. Instead, a common goal drives individual and organized actors while at the same time keeping their autonomy and independence. Social movements also Share a distinct collective identity with a common purpose and shared commitment for a cause with a feeling of individuals and organized actors as being linked to other actors. (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 21-22)

Yet, there is a range of social and political contexts in which movements grow and where the local conditions can mean different possibilities for action. The lack of a homogenous language for concepts and theories is in the end regarded as a challenge for the bigger scientific community, which has to be overcome (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 32).

2.2 Safe public spaces

Definition of safe public spaces
Safe public spaces has been a research issue in different scientific disciplines and in the private and public sphere, for purposes such as urban design and planning, crime, construction of masculinity and women’s fear and the importance for leisure in public spaces.

There are mentioning’s of a global movement for safe public spaces regarding the transfer of movement activity from the local to the global level and/or vice versa. It is difficult to find a complete and full definition of what safe public spaces are. They may be context dependent. Looking at broad research and investigations from the UN Women from 20 major cities on a
global level, safe public space could be defined as when “women and girls are socially, economically and politically empowered in public spaces that are free from sexual harassment and other forms of sexual violence” (UN Women 2017, 3). This definition is broad and very general, to fit many circumstances and settings targeting safety for women. It is expected that a case study on safe public spaces brings up a certain problem or solution in its environment and therefore may depart from earlier understandings of safe public spaces. This global level should not be understood as the only influencer or driving force behind safe public spaces on local levels in the world.

2.3 Theoretical approaches

Histologically, social movements have been approached with different theoretical frameworks. One of the theories that has its supporters is the Resource mobilization theory. It sees social movements as conscious actors making rational choices. But it has been criticized for being too lose on the conflict dimension and the mobilizing potential, without acknowledging the importance of the concept of emotions in movements (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 15-16). On the contrary, Benford and Snow reemphasized emotions in social movements with Frame theory, where movements produce symbols and rhetoric to rise emotions among potential participants in the movement (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 13-14). Frame theory is the theoretical framework used in this study.

2.3.1 Frame theory

In this study, an empirical problem, or case, is the focus. To describe and explain this, the frame theory is applied. Frame theory was brought forward in 1988 by David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford. According to them, ideas have earlier been described rather than analyzed, and the analyses perspective is what the framing theory is bringing fourth when approaching social movements. The aim of the framing theory is “explaining the emergence and operation of social movements” (Benford and Snow 1988, 197). Framing theory puts the ideas, or the term “ideology” that many scholars use as well, within an analytical structure. Social movements are active in the process of shaping and structuring these ideas, producing meanings for participants in the movement, antagonists, and observers (Benford and Snow 1988, 198). According to Benford and Snow (1988, 198) social movements
“...frame or assign meaning to and interpret, relevant events and conditions in ways that are intended to mobilize potential adherents and constituents, to garner bystanders support, and to demobilize antagonists”.

When using the theory in this study, the ambition is to lie close to the original framework. A task is to suggest an analyzing scheme that works to understand the issue of safe public spaces. The analyzing scheme is flexible and should be used as an example which can be further developed and remodified to understand the same or other issues better, depending on its different contexts. It can enhance and further develop the practical use of the frame theory in research, as one of the criticisms has been that the theory lack from empirical material and that it is a theory not applicable in research (Benford 1997, 411). With help of the different categories, the questions are formulated according to the focus of the study. In framing theory, three things can explain the success of social movements, where success means the degree of participant mobilization reached (Benford and Snow 1988, 199). The three main sections described below, together with constraining features, are together creating collective action frames to describe the mobilizing potential of the studied actors. In the in-depth interviews, the concepts of collective action frames are used to structure the interviews. It helps to sort the gathered interview material, together with collected material from reports and documents online, following the key concepts of the collective action frames in the empirical section – the case study. In the analysis and discussion at the end the different concepts of a collective action frames are used to give understanding of the mobilizing impact that the three actors have had in their work, following the question formulations stated in the beginning of the thesis.

**Collective action frames**

Every actor will in a collective work for safe public spaces be engaging in framing activities which will produce collective action frames. Within these frames, there are a number of action-oriented beliefs and meanings that inspires and legitimizes the work and campaigns. (Benford and Snow, 2000, 614) The collective action frames consists of diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framing.

**Diagnostic framing**: In framing an idea for political or economic change, the diagnostic frame wants to identify the problem and attributions. Along this problem, there may exist a frame of injustice or collective non- compliance, protest or rebellion (Benford and Snow 2000, 616).
Prognostic framing: A prognostic frame puts out a proposed solution to a diagnostic problem, which becomes a goal, with strategies and targets on what should be done to reach that state. Sometimes there exists a direct correspondence between a diagnostic and a prognostic frame (Benford and Snow 2000, 616).

Motivational framing: This activity of framing introduces a call to arms and a reason for why someone should participate and engage for a specific cause. Then what the cause of engagement and why people should take part in the movement tries to be understood which forms a rationale for engaging (Benford and Snow 2000, 617).

Constraints
The robustness, level of development and interconnectedness further increases or decreases the chances of success (Benford and Snow 1988, 199). Three things can constrain a framing in its mobilizing efforts; those are infrastructural and phenomenological constraints and cycles of protest.

Infrastructural constraints
Some elements are important to consider to be able to explain mobilising and they function to constrain or affect the efficiency of a movement’s framing efforts, or mobilization campaigns. The substance of a frame can be affected by a number of constraints externally.

Centrality – If values brought forward by a movement correspond to and resonate with the values by potential constituents, then the chance for success of mobilization is high (Benford and Snow 1988, 205). But there can be many values that are held by individuals and they can be hierarchically structured or differ in intensity.

Range and Interrelatedness – There can be framing dilemmas for the movement that has to do with dealing with values and hierarchical salience. Because of this, movements can extend the boundaries of their frames and bring in values that were not central at first. This can lead to a problem of frame overextension which can affect movements, when they try to expand their issue to reach mobilizing efforts. The risk is also to be too limited and too small of a movement to be acknowledged as important which ends in with a movement not taking off (Benford and Snow 1988, 206-207).
Phenomenological constraints

Three things are bringing up the importance of the targeted individuals responding to the mobilizing efforts of the frame, the understanding of the constituent’s world view and life situations. It is argued that one of these should be necessary for achieving a consensus mobilization that is a successful diagnostic and prognostic framing and which results in action mobilization through the motivational frame.

Empirical credibility – This constrain asks the question if there is any empirical substance to the idea that the movement is bringing fourth? Substance can be events and occurrences in relation to the diagnostic, prognostic and motivational framings. Is the framing testable and can be verified? Or is it just speculative behaviour? (Benford and Snow 2000, 620-621)

Experimental commensurability – For the mobilizing effort to have effect, the idea should “harmonize” with answers and solutions to the experienced problem. It can be a problem if the framing of the idea is abstract and distant for the audience that the movement is targeting for support (Benford and Snow 2000, 621).

Narrative fidelity – In this area, cultural narrations can play a role in the mobilizing effort of a frame. If the idea connects to “stories, myths and folk tales” that can cling to the present moment and the framing that the movement puts forward, then there is higher chance of success (Benford and Snow 2000, 622).

Cycles of protest

Movements are often embedded in a general conception of protesting and movement activity. This is called a cycle of protest. This can work as a constraint, as to add new features to a frame which increases the chance for success and adding to the repertoire of protests and tactics. In general, in what point of time on a frame scale a new frame enters, could potentially explain its success or down fall.
3. Material and methods

This study is a qualitative case study (Bryman 2011, 414) in New Delhi, India where the empiric material was collected through a document study and semi-structured interviews. These parts together make up the material analyzed and discussed in the thesis. In this theory driven thesis which takes it starting point in “Framing theory” two types of data sources and methods for data collection was used and analysed mainly using a thematic analysis. The first data set was collected through a document study to describe the issue of safe public spaces for women in New Delhi, India; to describe the problem, understand more about how the problem was perceived and what was done to improve the situation. The document study was complemented with semi structured in-depth interviews based upon open-ended questions, to further understand more about the different activities chosen, the thinking behind the development of strategies, on what basis collaborators were chosen, the roles of the different actors and how the progress of the women’s movement for safe public spaces were perceived. The document study and in-depth interviews were chosen as the most suitable methods to fulfil the aim of this thesis as it would describe the problem and give an in-depth understanding both in theory and practice to be used in the analysis. In the following, the material and methods are described more in detail.

The empiric is structured in relation to the organizations that are studied. It follows a timeline, from the organization that approached safe public spaces in a big manner in the end of the 20th century/beginning of the 21st. It then proceeds with an organization that was a spin-off from Jagori, SafetiPin. The study ends with IWillGoOut, which just very recently was praised for their initiatives.

The presentation following the time line can give some further understanding of how the movement has shaped over time and what the direction may be for newer initiatives.

3.1 Document study

The document study was a collection and review of written material with a specific focus on collective action such as events and campaigns and decisions which had brought forward the issue of safe public spaces for women in New Delhi, India. The material was found through the use of internet searches conducted by the author of this thesis, performed during five weeks in time. The search terms used were: women’s movement, safe public spaces for women and Delhi. Only a few central search terms were used as a way to focus on the most
important lines in the data. If the data found had been limited more search terms had been introduced, but the searches gave a good basis for describing the problem, the key actors and collaborations, activities and potential solutions. The documents as well as information from websites of three identified key actors, the NGO Jagori, social enterprise SafetiPin and the collective IWillGoOut were chosen as the main target in the study. The identified documents and texts of interest described activities, events, actions, collaborators and collaborations, decisions, work at different levels and policies.

The NGO Jagori has worked extensively on safe public spaces in Delhi. In the documents and texts published presenting their work, many challenges within the women’s movement were described. But the documents also opened up to a greater network of actors working for safe public spaces, in which Jagori has played an essential role. Through reading about Jagori it was possible to learn a lot about different types of actions and mobilization.

SafetiPin can be described as a spin-off from Jagori, and they focus on one aspect of work for safe public spaces. The published texts about them gave a good contribution in understanding the challenges and the opportunities that the women’s movement is facing when working for safety and safe public spaces.

IWillGoOut is a new actor and the material primarily came from the in-depth interviews and some parts from social media and their website.

3.2 In-depth interviews
Qualitative in-depth interviews were carried out and a purposeful sampling was used. In depth interviews were chosen as they are an effective method to get individuals information on experiences, opinions and feelings (Mack et. al. 2005). In a purposeful sampling the selection of informants is based on their potential ability to clarify and give information on the themes, concepts or phenomenons under study (Robinson R.S, 2014). The informants in this study were purposively selected with the aim of representing key civil society stakeholders in Delhi actively working with events and campaigns regarding safe public spaces in order to increase safety. The informants came from the non-governmental organization Jagori, the social enterprise SafetiPin and the collective IWillGoOut.
A thematic and flexible interview guide (see attachment) was developed by the author of this thesis to be used during the interviews. The flexibility was considered important to allow for probing during the interviews to make sure that the data really was based in the informants’ reality them being the experts. The themes selected were considered to be key themes relevant based on the theoretical framework and to answer the overall purpose and specific questions of the study. The interview guide followed on the analysis scheme proposed under the framing theory. It consisted of the following themes: i) the problem – unsafe public spaces, ii) the organizational work and visions, and iii) the motivation and resources. Under each theme there were key questions prepared on beforehand. During the interviews the interviewer used probing to really get an in-depth understanding of the problem and potential solutions coming from the informant’s perspective and cultural context. The interview guide was revised during the process of interviewing, based upon reflections and answers emerging, as the method and the guide allowed for flexibility and elaboration. The guide was developed with the aim to fill gaps and lacks of knowledge, reinforce important concepts but also be used to let the interviewee freely share information that had not been recognized in the document study and hereby contribute with new knowledge.

Five key representatives from the three selected civil society stakeholders were interviewed, making up the five informants in this study. The three interviews were conducted with active persons with many years of experience and essential functions in the three selected actors, Jagori, SafetiPin and IWillGoOut. The author of this thesis performed the data collection over a period of three weeks. The interviews were recorded digitally, and the length varied between 65 to 80 minutes.

As the in-depth interviews performed had an explorative nature and were very rich in data they were considered giving data enough within the time frames for the thesis work. The informants were contacted and recruited by e-mail and Facebook. The interviews were conducted in English using Skype. The line was very clear, and the interviews could be carried out without any problems. Of course, a face-to-face live interview would have been preferred but since this was not possible Skype was chosen as the means for data collection. The informants were in their own offices when the interviews were conducted. The interview guide had been shared with them on beforehand together with information on the purpose of the interview. The main reason for this was to create a good atmosphere of trust since the topic can be regarded as sensitive and given that a man from Europe that they did not know
was to perform the interviews. It would have been so easy for them to say no to being interviewed unless they were given information enough to base their decision on to participate. Recruitment was “the eye of a needle” to pass in the thesis work.

Before it was finally decided to conduct Skype interviews a brief literature search was conducted to weigh pros and cons using Skype and to foresee avoidable mistakes. In the literature both positive and negative aspects were found. Seitz (2016, 229-235) found that technical difficulties such as loss of connection can create an abrupt feeling that is hard to move away from, whereas Iacono et al (2016, 12) found the opposite that technical difficulties did not present a problem to rapport or resuming the conversation where it was left off. Loss of ’direct’ eye contact due to position of camera and looking at the screen can be seen as a barrier to establishing rapport, however Iacono et al (2016) did not find it to be a big issue as they found the respondents and researcher quickly adapted to that specific mode of interaction – they even said that not looking the respondent directly in the eye all the time might have been an advantage in terms of allowing the person to open up more. They also stressed that the access and availability could greatly improve and give a flexibility making it easier to adapt to people with busy schedules. As recruitment was considered as being one of the difficulties those arguments added weight to the pros of using Skype.

Ethical issues
Both written and verbal information were given to informants about the aims of the study, its methodology, data handling, terms for volunteering and information that they could resign from participating in the interview at any point, assurance of privacy, confidentiality in presentation of results, and the contact details of the interviewer. This was considered very important as the subject under study can be considered sensitive and it is therefore very important to show respect for the organization, its values and the situation. The informants had a position within the NGO so that they could make an independent decision about their participation or not in the interview. An informed consent was obtained from participants and digitally recorded before the interview started.
3.3 Processing and data analysis

The analysis carried out was based on a theoretical thematic analysis of the two data sets (from documents and in-depth interviews). Thematic analysis is used in many disciplines. It is described as a basic tool in different qualitative analysis methods, but Braun and Clarke (2006, 77-101) argue that it in its own right should be considered a method. The work with data processing and analysis in this thesis was also conducted with inspiration from the method described by Jämte who included narrative structures, deductive thematic analysis, and methods of mapping (Jämte 2013).

In the following the processing and analysis of the two data sets are described:

1) At first the in-depth interviews were transcribed verbatim by the author of this thesis, and this was done in close connection to performing the interviews. Transcribing is a time-consuming exercise but worthwhile as the analysis can be said to start already while transcribing getting to know the data in-depth. Notes were made during transcription when something particularly interesting was said leading to reflections of relevance or when ideas for themes emerged. The interview transcripts had time codes so it was easy to go back and listen to what was said by the informants during the interviews and hereby get an understanding of nuances and of what was stressed as important.

2) Thereafter the documents and interviews were read through several times, and by doing this the analytical process took another step. In this process, the person performing the analysis uses him or herself as an “instrument” getting to know the data really well. The work in this thesis was theory driven with the starting point in the Framing theory. This brought a pre-understanding that fed a parallel theoretically based analytical data processing. Only the manifest content in the in-depth interviews, consisting of what was actually said by the informants, was used in the analysis with the idea to complement the document study by adding a deeper understanding and richness to the written material by giving concrete examples of ideas, experiences and practices.

3) The data (both the document and interview data) was then “thematised” by meaning units in the text being coded, summarized and organized under themes identified through the reading of the Framing theory, which was used constructing the interview guide. This step gave a basic structure of content grounded in the data with relevance to the theoretical framework. The content is described as a case study in a later section of the thesis.
The last step was the final analysis where the points generated during the review of the Framing theory continued to guide the work when the data was categorized and sorted. Through this process, it became possible to understand and discuss content, connections, motivations, strengths, weaknesses, limitations, and possibilities with the use of the collected data. In the analysis the results from the empirical material is discussed and aims to fulfill the purpose and answer the questions set up for this thesis.

4. Empirical chapter – a case study on the movement for safe public spaces
This chapter is formed after the theoretical framework of the framing theory. Safe public spaces have been targeted by multiple actors in New Delhi, and in this thesis three of these were studied, from which the collective action frames was built. Those were the non-governmental organization Jagori with the Safe Delhi campaign, the social enterprise SafetiPin and the collective IWillGoOut. The actors have differences and Jagori represents an actor which has been active for decades while the other two actors have a shorter history, with IWillGoOut becoming active in 2016-17. In defining the social movement on safe public spaces in New Delhi, the differences on problem definition, working methods and motivations between these actors, as outlined earlier as a purpose, became important. The different segments of the theoretical framework: the diagnostic, prognostic and motivational frames made up the collective action frames that was analyzed and discussed in the last chapter. The next part consists of introductions to the social movement actors which were investigated according to the theoretical framework.

Jagori and the Safe Delhi Campaign
The non-governmental organisation Jagori have worked for women´s issues for a long time with a vision to help build a just society through feministic values. They were established in 1984 and started out in a post-independence era, in the 70ies and 80ies, when the Indian women´s movement was exploring and defining feministic issues (Feminism in India 2004, Gail Omvedt). Jagori was at this time involved in a learning process (Living feminisms 2004, 11, 14). Since then, they have worked on multiple women´s issues such as violence against women, sexual harassment and rape, staring and stalking. They aim at deepening a feminist consciousness from local to national levels through research, strengthening women´s leadership, capacity development on feministic principles and strategies, support women
survivors of violence and networking to build the feminist movement (Jagori.org, Vision). Jagori early on targeted violence and harassment in public spaces. In the 90ies they were carrying out concrete awareness raising campaigns joining hands with the global event Take back the night. Each year on the night before 8th of March, the International women’s day, women gathered to Take back the night (Living feminism 2004, 41). They held poster workshops with drawing, colouring and coming up with slogans and practicing songs to sing for the International women’s day. It could go on the whole night for the celebration while getting in the mood of protest the next day. On one specific year, in 1993, they organized a play and a protest march in a marketplace in Delhi against sexual violence and “for a brief moment, they had taken back the night”. A few years later, in 1998, work on freedom from fear in public places was part of another campaign; the Railway Campaign. On the International women’s day, the Railway Campaign “demanded the right of women to travel in the railways free of fear of sexual harassment”. In the railway station of New Delhi, Jagori had put up 2500 posters and in the end of the day they had handed out about 4000 pamphlets on the platforms of the railway station and in trains. (Living feminism 2004, 42)

In 2004, the issue of safe public spaces was targeted by Jagori as their next big initiative called the Safe Delhi Campaign. In the campaign Jagori wanted to create conditions for safety and formulate the issue of safe public spaces in New Delhi. They started exploring the issue and organise to reach out to people and raise awareness. The activities were dialogues with stakeholders, safety audits, partnership with various citizens groups, public awareness campaigns, interventions and experience sharing (Safe Delhi Campaign activities) (Safe Delhi Campaign). Safety was created as a clear target as it was something crucial for women and girls, but also for other marginalised groups in society and people in general. The Safe Delhi Campaign worked through many different initiatives and activities and on different levels. A few activities were selected for the purpose of describing the Safe Delhi Campaign in this thesis.

SafetiPin
In 2013, a long-time member of Jagori, Kalpana Viswanath, started the social enterprise SafetiPin. It created a mobile app and an online platform where anybody can share data on or get information about the safety in public spaces in the area where the person is or is planning to go. The app is free and can be downloaded from the App store or Google play. In their work, the safety audits are essential, measuring nine parameters as they assess public spaces
that they consider unsafe. Those are lighting, openness, visibility, people density, security, walk paths, transportation in the area, gender diversity and the general feeling. In conducting safety audits, those involved can be groups, organisations or individuals out in the streets in their communities. The audit is then marked with a pin on a map and constitutes the Safety Score of the area (UN Habitat). Depending on the result of the audit, the colour of the pin is red, orange or green, and the colours illustrate if the space on that location is considered a safe space or not (SafetiPin).

*IWillGoOut*

I Will Go Out is a collective of individuals and organizations that is working through social media, mobilizing people in solidarity against sexual harassment and misogyny to reclaim women's rights to safe public spaces (IWillGoOut). They became known nationwide through an event that took place on the 21st of January in 2017 and involved people all over India, in 31 cities and towns (Dagens Nyheter, 17). The event took place, mainly as a response to incidents in Bangalore in New Year’s Eve 2016-2017 (The Guardian, Informant 4). Since then, they have gotten worldwide attention, as well as getting an award for their successful work (SM4E).

4.1 Diagnostic framing

Jagori and the Safe Delhi Campaign

One intervention part of Jagoris engagement in safe public spaces was the event of *Take back the night* on the 30th November 2006. Women from Delhi gathered together at Dilli Haat, an open-air food plaza in central Delhi and the issue of safety for the city of Delhi was put forward. This event was carried out of the right to live, work and move around the city without fear of harassment and violence, during both day and night (Jagori, Dilli Haat).

Posters carried the message “Safety of women in Delhi reveals more about the city than its flyovers and malls” and a problem pointed towards a lack of caring about, or ignorance of, issues important for women (Jagori, Women, Take Back The Night).

In the same period on 8th of March, Jagori and the Safe Delhi Campaign, together with Blank Noise, a community arts collective committed to tackling gender based violence and building safe spaces, conducted two events in 2006 and 2007 in Delhi. It was called “Kya Dekh Rahe Ho?” and here they wanted to question staring, which is a common form of street sexual harassment. They targeted one of the busiest traffic signals in Delhi and when the signal
turned red, groups of women appeared at the ITO crossing holding posters (Kya Dekh Rahe Ho).

The work described above, including other initiatives and activities by Jagori, resulted in them in 2009 being chosen as a partner together with the Department of Women and Child Development, Government of Delhi, the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN-HABITAT) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) in the *Safer Cities Free of Violence against Women and Girls Initiative (Strategic framework, Jagori, 1)*. The goal of this program was “Cities where women and girls are able to move around freely without the fear of harassment and violence at all times and enjoy what the city has to offer” (Jagori brochure). A problem identified was cities becoming increasingly populated and the “gendered nature of rapid urbanization” that needed to be acknowledged and addressed. As public spaces can become unsafe due to urbanization it can create exclusion, lack of opportunities and decreased access to spaces and services for women and girls (Jagori brochure). The problem also arises when the same new urban infrastructure and design of public spaces in a gender sensitive way are not maintained in a proper manner. Research has reported that poorly maintained infrastructure creates unsafe public spaces – pavements, street lights, bus stops, public toilets, parks etc. (Jagori brochure). The program *Safer Cities Free of Violence against Women and Girls Initiative* later grew into a new program of the UN, *UN Women Global Safe Cities program, 2011 -2015* (UN Women, what we do).

While a focus turned to urbanization and urban design and planning from the Safe Delhi Campaign, patriarchy was seen to exist within the design and planning of public spaces and infrastructure, as these places in many occasions seem designed for the modern man. “*In this there is a fight against the structure of patriarchy. The structures create inequalities with a special privilege to men*” (Informant 1). One example mentioned was parks that are thought to be used by boys and men, as men can urinate openly. There exists no public urinates and bathrooms in parks and the surrounding areas which can make it difficult or even impossible for women to have access to them. They have to decide and plan if they want to stay for longer because of the lack of public bathrooms (Informant 1). In this sense, there is also a gap to what the local communities want and what is being planned for and built and “*a task is to bridge the gap*” (Informant 2).
While many of the campaigns and initiatives within the Safe Delhi Campaign are working for safe public spaces for women, safety in public places are also meant to apply to people in general. This is a task that the Jagori emphasizes. Safety for everybody also means safety for women, but safety for women also means safety for everybody. For example, when designing neighborhoods, planners must make sure that streets, bus stands, community toilet complexes, water stand points and metro stations are adequately lit, and that they are more likely to be used by a diverse set of users, including women, children, the elderly and others. This gap is not exclusively a problem for women but for all identities, physically handicapped as well as transgender persons (Informant 1).

_SafetiPin_

The SafetiPin is acknowledging urban environments and infrastructure as something that can create a lack of safety. They consider it being increasingly problematic as a fast urbanization makes this challenge greater. The lack of safety in public spaces is reinforcing already existing inequalities and on an individual level, women are experiencing the fear of sexual violence as a “constant threat to their ability to move around, to work and their general well-being” (UN Habitat). According to SafetiPin, the conditions should exist for women to be able to move safely and not having to experience fear of violence or assault, as …

“…fear often plays a key role in women’s experience and access to the city. Therefore, in order to create greater levels of safety and comfort, both actual violence and the fear of violence need to be addressed” (UN Habitat).

Some women are exposed more than others. Low-income settlements can face a greater challenge as these areas to a greater extent can become unsafe. For example, when reaching a bus stop after dark with poor lighting or badly paved streets (UN Habitat). But safety is an issue that expand beyond women and “the idea behind the work for safe public spaces for women is something that should give all people a better living – adolescents, disabled people, if you are in a wheel chair, elderly, young people, and students” (Informant 3).
I Will Go Out

I Will Go Out first and foremost mean that the problem is the constant state of fear to be sexually harassed that women can feel when entering public spaces. This fear is affecting women regardless of class, status of marriage, student or worker, in an urban or rural setting (Informant 4). A fearful setting is created by some men and parts of society that mean that a woman should behave in a certain way to be regarded a good Indian girl/woman, derived from old norms and traditions in the Indian society. Therefore, men can think that there is something they can take and have the right to oppose to because of the inappropriateness of a woman stepping outside of a traditional role. For example, there can be an expectation that a “good Indian girl” should not be out late, that she should not talk back and that she knows her place. This construction is about power, rather than desire (Informant 4). There is also a conception that she is an easy woman if she dresses herself modern and approaching a western lifestyle (Informant 5). The constructed traditional role of a woman in India can lead to the fear of getting sexually harassed, while it can also grow even bigger, when no bystander would protect her just because of the same notion (Informant 4).

This social construction based on old traditions and norms in the Indian society, creates a particular difficult situation for many women in India. Today, there is a push for girls getting educated and aspiring for a career, which is challenging the former construction. This becomes a struggle for many women - to embrace the carrier option while having to face expectations for a traditional woman’s role in the family and in the society (Informant 5).

4.2 Prognostic framing

Jagori and the Safe Delhi Campaign

Jagori has always been working very close to people on the ground with the current realities expressed by women and girls as “the safety issue is a message that developed from the ground” (Informant 2). With the intervention of Take back the night the 30th November in 2006, women intervened against an unsafe city with music and performances by musicians and the groups of people who held signs to bring out a message. The evening ended with a candle light march and the full event was organised by different actors in civil society (Jagori, Dilli Haat).

Through the initiative of the Kya Dekh Rahe Ho, women were standing in the street in front of the traffic challenging their audience to question staring, which is a common form of street
sexual harassment. They wanted to demonstrate and raise awareness of what it felt like to be stared at by asking - what are you looking at? The message targeted the audience directly in an environment where the starring could occur (Kya Dekh Rahe Ho).

In the Safe Delhi campaign, there was a need to work in a more organized form. They have always had a focus on bringing the issues from the ground to a higher level. “The Safe Delhi Campaign became a forum, where nuances and different aspects could be brought up, in a structural form” (Informant 1) and the new organisational focus could contribute to the issue in the longer run as it could “be the starting point for building an alliance for following up on recommendations and monitoring impacts” (Jagori brochure). Before 2004, Jagori and the women’s movement discussed and shared thoughts on an international agenda and the international forums. They wanted to raise the issues from the grassroots and the ambition was to raise the issues on the ground to the international level so that “all the world knew about it”. This resulted in work in a more organized form (Informant 2). At the same time, according to a member, the success has lied in the work as part of a movement, and not an organisation; “if you open up your work as part of a greater movement, then you will reach more people and the issue expands and gets more attention. Working only for the purpose of the organisation can limit you” (Informant 2).

At a later stage the ambition to reach another level, sprung out of the Safe Delhi Campaign, progressed when engaging with the Safer cities free of violence against women and girls initiative. This was a program set up by the United Nations, UN, and meant that the safety got worked on through partnership, co-working and an adaption of methods and results that Jagori and the Safe Delhi Campaign had already established. With an increasing population, urban planning and design of public spaces became important to address the problem of unsafe public spaces. For example, that streets, bus stands, community toilet complexes, water stand points and metro stations should have good lighting and should be possible to be used by a diverse set of users such as women, children, the elderly, and others (Jagori brochure). This led to UN Women and Jagori conducting Safety Audits together to track and assess unsafe places and bad infrastructure. Work still focused on work on the ground, through dialogues, protests and creative work as “urban spaces will only become truly safe when all residents actively decide to contribute to the elimination of all forms of violence and sexual assault against women and girls” (Jagori brochure).
SafetiPin

SafetiPin is working to include individuals on the street to engage with their App where women can get information about the safety in the city and also do their own safety audits. With the diagnostic frame of a lack of safety, making it difficult for women to travel the city of New Delhi, SafetiPin bases its work on primarily safety audits. This work has been an instrumental part of the work for safe public spaces from the NGO Jagori since over a decade. They first started out by doing the audits with pen and paper, which was time consuming, using checklists and writing reports. Now the safety audits were digitalized through SafetiPin where a safety audit can take only 1-2 hours (Informant 3) and that is the core of what SafetiPin do (SafetiPin, the vision).

SafetiPin recognizes the demand of technology from the younger generation and wants to acknowledge this expectation and reach out to them. This is according to SafetiPin “a demand for more mobility and freedom with less, or no, restrictions” (informant 3). At the individual level women (and men) can conduct safety audits where they pin places that feel unsafe or where they have faced any form of harassment. Information uploaded by others can also be seen so that they can make informed decisions about safe travelling in the city planning their routes. A Safety Score is shown for different areas of a city which can also come in handy when visiting new cities as a vision (UN Habitat) Citizens are using the app to share information on safety audits, harassment, hazards and unsafe places. Citizens can also get information using the app on where to find nearby Pharmacies that are open day and night, auto stands and ATMs. Engaging with the citizens can also mean working together with grassroots and communities and there are active projects of data collection in community areas. (Informant 3) SafetiPin is also a tool for collecting data on a large scale for city authorities to improve urban planning and design (UN Habitat). They give information to public service providers from the data collected and can hereby support government actions and help city stakeholders to improve the safety. SafetiPin wants to work with governments, NGOs, city planners, international agencies and corporations in their work. One of the biggest audits was carried out in 2014 in a collaborative fashion among many actors from civil society such as Jagori, SafetiPin, Lawyers Collective, Action India, Reclaim the Night, Sakha Cabs, Azad Foundation as well as renowned women from law and business (Jagori, Safety Audit 2014).
In 2015 data of 7000 dark spots identified in New Delhi was shared with the government. PWD (Public Works Department) promised to fix all the dark spots by the end of March 2017. This is a good effort because lighting is considered being the most important parameter for safety as it “has the maximum impact on the perception of safety”. Some goals are to have lights at least on one side of the roads, shorter distance between lights along roads and proper footpaths. Information was at the same time shared with the Delhi police and there are talks on changing patrolling routes and revising patrolling systems (Informant 3). SafetiPin has also made audits with a 500-meter radius around each metro station in Delhi. To summarize, 6000 safety audits have been carried out in Delhi and the results was shared with stakeholders (UN Habitat). Safety audits has overall resulted in outreach to local stakeholders, presenting key recommendations from the safety audits that has been conducted in their neighborhoods (Jagori brochure, s 4).

*IWillGoOut*

*IWillGoOut* work to give women a voice in a fearful setting in public spaces. To face the problem of fear, *IWillGoOut* is working to empower girls and women to enter public spaces. Before the big event on the 21st of January, the collective set out on an experimental journey. They started out online, communicating on different social media platforms, like the messenger function on Gmail (Hangouts), later they turned to WhatsApp and in the end Facebook became the main platform for communication. This was a fast phase where they coordinated action for about two weeks. They also engaged with the press so they had a “buzz” going before January 21st (Informant 4). They also worked in the beginning to give their initiative a name that would draw attention to the problem and that all women can unite around and after some thought the phrase of *IWillGoOut* was decided (Informant 5).

*IWillGoOut* also engaged with other women organisations and they got startup help from another woman initiative called One Billion Rising. The national coordinator of *IWillGoOut* also worked with Jagori before engaging with *IWillGoOut*. In the first week they already spread to 14 cities, and with the help of One Billion Rising, they had spread to 31 cities on the 21st of January (Informant 5). At this time, most of the organizers did not know each other, including people taking part and to this date *IWillGoOut* is a collective of individuals and organizations in a non-registered form. The work is completely voluntarily based, nobody gets paid and there is no funding apparatus.
In this sense, the internet has given rise to new ways of coming together for a purpose. In challenging a traditional mindset and entering new models of living, such as choosing the carrier option, people get a chance to take part, even if they don’t know how to. People don’t have to be involved in an NGO, they don’t have to be activists, just humanitarians and working people where for example engineers, bankers, lawyers or academics gets to engage. The space is for everyone. The violence and harassment are often isolated experiences, so I Will Go Out gives a sense of community and a collective voice. During the march, they had made posters to hold up with the message of IWillGoOut and used all social media channels to live broadcast the march. In this way, people could participate and “bond with the movement” (Informant 4).

4.3 Motivational framing

Jagori and the Safe Delhi Campaign

The Safe Delhi Campaign consisted of a various number of activities. In Take back the night, the communication targeted the overall city management with a message to the authorities having an inclusive message bringing people together telling “Safety of women in Delhi reveals more about the city than its flyovers and malls”. A message to people to rethink their city, possibly through reaching to their human spirit, contrasting women vs. hard infrastructure and commercial industry.

Kya Dekh Rahe Ho questioned staring, blocking the road during a red light as if making a statement. Here, they clearly wanted to confront the idea of staring with the slogan “What are you looking at?” and while it was in a “silent mode yet it turned out to be a very powerful strategy” (Kya Dekh Rahe Ho 2). They targeted people and their perception of staring and that it is noticeable, reclaiming the public space.

SafetiPin

The main goal of SafetiPin is reaching changes in infrastructure for the necessity of safe public spaces. The name SafetiPin has a background which could generate some emotional setting among the users. A SafetiPin is something that women could use as a safety measure as a defense against street harassment, stalking and bullying in crowded places as “a jab in the flesh with a safety pin often was an effective deterrent to the roving hand”. SafetiPin also illustrate something that holds fabric together and stops it from coming apart, in this regard the fabric society (SafetiPin Vision).
The cause of engagement and people´s taking part in IWillGoOut should first and foremost be seen in the message of going out, against all odds. The slogan speaks directly to the individual participant. In the term, there should exist a will to engage from potential participants by going out, when being told not to. It becomes a stance for the individual going out, but the individual may also want to act for the greater collective, for others who are experiencing this dilemma (Informant 4). When they spoke with the press, it was simple to explain why they started the collective and what they do, as “mass molestation happened, suddenly there was a state of fear. But I am not going to back down, I will go out”. The message is very easy to report for the press, even for press from outside India (Informant 4).

4.4 Constraints

4.4.1 Infrastructural constraints

Centrality
Safety in public spaces, in the work from Jagori and SafetiPin working with it on the ground level was something non-threatening to people. Instead, it is perceived as important by people out in public spaces as “safety in public spaces should be easy to engage in and commit to, while no one wants to talk about the private life. If the issue instead is domestic violence, people would probably back off immediately” (Informant 2). As the interventions of Take back the night and Kya Dekh Rahe Ho are acted out in the public space, the message of the actors has a chance to be able to be directly related to the potential participants.

Range and Interrelatedness
Safety is an issue that expand beyond women and “the idea behind the work for safe public spaces for women is something that should give all people a better living – adolescents, disabled people, if you are in a wheel chair, elderly, young people, and students” (Informant 3). The safety issue is therefore a concern for women but also for many others (Informant 2) used by a diverse set of users, including women, children, the elderly and others. This gap is not exclusively a problem for women but for all identities, physically handicapped as well as transgender persons (Informant 1).
Also in Jagori at an earlier stage, only the organisation as a voice limited one’s actions. According to a member, the success lies in the work as being part of a movement, and not only an organisation, “if you open up your work as part of a greater movement, then you will reach more people and the issue expands and gets more attention. Working only for the purpose of the organisation can limit you” (Informant 2).

4.4.2 Phenomenological constraints

*Empirical credibility*
Opposing violence and harassment against women has a long history in India from the women’s movement (Feminism in India 2004, 180). Some events should work as catalyst for change. A major incident was the “Nirbhaya” (Indian Express) in Delhi 2012 which involved a 23-year old medical student who got severely hurt and later died from her injuries after being sexually assaulted” (Informant 2). That influenced the public mind set and changed the perception of women’s safety and now there is more reports of violence and more response from stakeholders (UN Habitat). “Today you can get penalized for things that you would not have been before” (Informant 2).

*Experimental commensurability*
Today, internet usage is increasing yearly in India and is due to better prices of smart phones and data (India Times). This means an increasing target group or actors choosing to organize online. Then those with this technology are mostly people in urban areas which can risk leaving out rural communities. While the need for safety is evident, the usage of an App, as that of SafetiPin, requires the targeted group to know how to use an App. According to SafetiPin, the number of individual downloads could have been more, but it is still at an early development stage of the social enterprise (Informant 3). This should be a challenge when trying to mobilize. It is also expected that the mobilizing effect is predominantly affected by the internet. The participants not active online are not reached by the mobilizing activity. That should have affected the work by IWillGoOut.

Engaging online has been a necessity for the actors. This has led to taking the collective action to the internet which has reached people more effectively. Examples are the safety audits that can be done by people in New Delhi through the app of SafetiPin, or mass mobilizing for protest from IWillGoOut. A few years ago, it would have been almost impossible to mobilize people as the collective did in 2017. The Indian population used to be
divided between Orkut and Facebook; Orkut which was a social networking platform from Google (The Economic Times, India). Today, Orkut is not used as much, and everybody uses Facebook (Informant 4). IWillGoOut also separate itself from other organized work, as the collective is created and established purely Online, contrasting to other organisations and groups that are created Offline, “the office of IWillGoOut was Hangouts” (Informant 5).

Narrative fidelity
One of the actors, SafetiPin, uses its name to possibly try to purvey or encourage people to engage with them. A SafetiPin is something that women could use as a safety measure as a defense against street harassment, stalking and bullying in crowded places as “a jab in the flesh with a safety pin often was an effective deterrent to the roving hand”. SafetiPin also illustrate something that holds fabric together and stops it from coming apart, in this regard the fabric society (SafetiPin Vision). Those who are aware of the meaning of these metaphors could be encouraged to engage with SafetiPin, as the message behind the name can have a historical and a moral value and portrays a conflictual element but also something important for the bigger society.

4.4.3 Cycles of protest
When engaging for safe public spaces, a target is often to reach out to people in the city and engaging with them. Some of the routines early on, like awareness raising and protesting from the movement is kept alive with the help of activity online. The work from the Safe Delhi Campaign entered into high level work together with government agencies and transnational actors. But this is one part of the picture. The awareness raising and protesting continued, and with internet, other actors shaped the work in new forms with activity Online.

4.5 Concluding empiric results
Key concepts from the empiric result is presented in an overview in Table 1 on the next page. It should be seen as results from the study and the analysis in the next section will use this table to present analytical outcomes.
Table 1. Creating safe public spaces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Safe Delhi Campaign</th>
<th>SafetiPin</th>
<th>IWillGoOut</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Actor</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Diagnostic</td>
<td>Fear/Patriarchy/Urbanization</td>
<td>Fear/Patriarchy/Urbanization</td>
<td>Fear/Patriarchy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>problem</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Prognostic</td>
<td>Awareness-raising, protest, creative work, partnership and outreach</td>
<td>Digitalization and crowdsourcing</td>
<td>Mass mobilization through social media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>action</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motivations</td>
<td>Slogan´s portraying challenges for women in public spaces</td>
<td>Narrative of Safety Pin</td>
<td>Slogan of going out</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Analysis

In this study, three actors were targeted to be studied as part of a social movement for safe public spaces in New Delhi, India. Much of the ideas that has shaped the issue of safe public spaces was formed from the women´s movement in India and was brought up by the NGO Jagori and the Safe Delhi Campaign. This later developed into several actors evolving on safe public spaces who all shared a common goal; to stop violence and harassment against women in public spaces. The progression into safe public spaces should be seen in the light of this work. In this study, it is investigated if and how this work has shaped and mobilized as a social movement.

The work on safe public spaces was based on a conflictual collective action. It is politically an issue formed from the women´s movement in India opposing patriarchy and attitudes towards women. Actors are also challenging cultural traditions and norms of women in India today. They oppose, and want, social change. There are tendencies to cooperation and working together to reach a collective goal of safe public spaces, for women, but also for people in general and marginalized groups. Safe public spaces is predominantly worked on from the perspective of women in the society. It includes activists from the Indian women´s movement, but also many new participants that has been reached for mobilizing purposes through the Internet.
The work has characteristics to be understood as a social movement. A purpose of this study has been to investigate the work on safe public spaces as a social movement and contextualize it as an important movement, in the world of social movements. Based on the theoretical approach of Frame theory, it is investigated how the studied movement actor’s collective action frames look like.

It has been aimed to describe the social movement for safe public space in New Delhi, India. The collective action frames give a good description of how the actors define problems, their working methods and how they gather supporters and why participants should engage for the purpose of safe public spaces.

5.1 Diagnostic frames

In the work for safer public spaces, the problem definitions, or the diagnostic frames, were characterized by similarities rather than differences. Firstly, the problem of public spaces being unsafe has been evident for many women in India after incidents which has brought national and international attention to the problem. A major incident was the “Nirbhaya” (Indian Express) in Delhi 2012 which involved a 23-year old medical student who got severely hurt and later died from her injuries after being sexually assaulted in a public space in New Delhi. A direct response to a mass molestation came from IWillGoOut. The statistics described in the introduction is also an indication of the severe problem of violence against women and harassment in New Delhi. This speaks for an empirical credibility that mobilizes participants for the movement. The values held by the actors working for safer public spaces corresponds with the potential participants of the movement, which makes the constrain of centrality something of a generalizable concept among actors working for safe public spaces in New Delhi.

Fear

All actors in the study identified fear as a problem when approaching public spaces. Jagori and the Safe Delhi Campaign aim for public spaces without fear of harassment and violence. SafetiPin expressed fear as a hinder to the ability to move around, to work and women’s general well-being, not only the violence. IWillGoOut, too, worked against the state of fear that women experienced, but they also had a right’s aspect involved, reclaiming the public spaces.
Patriarchy
A second problem that the actors wanted to face and change was patriarchy. IWillGoOut meant that old norms and traditions in the Indian society became a hinder for women to enter and move freely in public spaces. Therefore, cultural norms in India could be sustaining patriarchy, affecting women in public spaces. According to the NGO Jagori and the Safe Delhi Campaign, patriarchy did also exist within the design and planning of public spaces and infrastructure, as these places in many occasions seem to be designed for the modern man.

Fast urbanization
An indirect problem that increasingly made the public spaces unsafe was urbanization, according to the actors. Jagori and the Safe Delhi Campaign, in an engagement together with the UN and Indian government agencies, target the issue in the program *Safer cities free of violence against for women and girls initiative*. There was a lack of recognition of the “gendered nature of rapid urbanization” described which created exclusion, lack of opportunities and decreased access to spaces and services for women and girls. SafetiPin did also target urbanization as they defined urban environments and infrastructure as creating a lack of safety. This reinforces already existing inequalities in the society.

In defining the problems of safe public spaces, the constrain of *range*, which could decrease the level of mobilization, instead in this context could describe an overextension as positive, instead of negative. Jagori and SafetiPin outspokenly both gave the safety aspect a much broader definition than concerning just women. Safe public spaces was something important for other groups and identities in the society, like adolescents, disabled people, transgenders and elderly.

5.2 Prognostic frames
Going from the diagnostic frames to the *prognostics*, similarities are now made into differences in choice of working methods and solutions. They ranged from events of protest and awareness raising to crowdsourcing Online, to mass mobilization. The actors differentiated as well from one another through their established form. Jagori was an NGO, SafetiPin a social enterprise and IWillGoOut being a collective of actors and individuals in no registered form.
Protest and awareness raising

Jagori and the Safe Delhi Campaign engaged through protests and awareness raising, close to the participants. This could be through music and creative work and there were in the studied events slogans to affect the potential participants of the movement. They questioned the lack of focus of safety in the city for women. They also questioned staring in one event. It is a common form of street sexual harassment and they wanted to raise awareness of what it felt like to be stared at by asking – “what are you looking at?” in front of people in public spaces.

IWillGoOut reached mass mobilizing effects, ending up in protests and demonstrations in New Delhi, but also all over India. This notion of going out and protesting against sexual violence and harassment is a widespread tool for engaging on the issue. Something that enhanced this event was the use of social media.

Internet

One prognostic element that became crucial in the working methods to mobilize participants was being active on the Internet through social media, but also creating digital tools for engagement. Two actors predominantly active Online were SafetiPin and IWillGoOut. SafetiPin recognized the demand of technology from the younger generation as a demand for more mobility and freedom with less, or no, restrictions. This engaged and mobilized citizens to conduct safety audits and make informed decisions about safe travelling in the city. This could be connected to the diagnostic frame of fear among the individual users.

The digital tool created by SafetiPin was also a tool for engagement with government actions and help city stakeholders to improve the safety. SafetiPin has been wanting to work with governments, NGOs, city planners, international agencies and corporations in their work, and this has a greater link to the diagnostic frame of urbanization.

The collective IWillGoOut mobilized predominantly through the Internet. The isolated experiences as harassment and sexual violence could be brought into a sense of community and collective voice. It gave an easy entry to taking part in the movement, without having to be involved in an NGO or be an activist to take part. At the time of the event, IWillGoOut also had posters with their significant message of IWillGoOut. They used all social media channels to live broadcast the important event which meant social media being important both for mobilizing purposes before, but also during the event.
A new kind of prognostic frame in the *cycle of protest* should be considered the activity Online and the new forms that actors can take. Awareness raising and protesting are kept alive with the help of activity online and new ground and platforms are open for mobilizing participants for the cause of safe public spaces.

The use of Internet as a tool for mobilizing participants might be an innovative prognostic feature, but it could also be a necessity. SafetiPin recognized the demand of technology from the younger generation. But while the need for safety is evident, the usage of an App, as that of SafetiPin, requires the targeted group to know how to use an App. The population not being active online are not reached by the mobilizing activity, which could have affected the work by IWillGoOut. This makes the constrain of *experimental commensurability* something to study in the new age of social movements.

### 5.3 Motivational frames

The *motivational frame* is the third factor for a successful social movement. It means mobilizing participants trying to invoke an engagement from them. This is something particularly important for the involved actors on safe public spaces, as it to a high extent connects to their diagnostic and prognostic frames. The emotions, triggered by symbolic values, was important in mobilizing for safe public spaces. The symbolism has connections to safety, but also women´s situation in terms of fear or right´s.

In the work from Jagori and the Safe Delhi Campaign, the slogan of “Safety of women in Delhi reveals more about the city than its flyovers and malls” contrasted the issue of women vs. hard infrastructure and commercial industry in its message. But also, a lack of focus on issues of women. At the same time, another event targeted people and their perception of staring in the public space with the message “What are you looking at?”.

The digital tool for engaging and mobilizing citizens in New Delhi, SafetiPin, have a motivational element to the participants, which is if they have an understanding of a safety pin in this context. An understanding of a safety pin, as a tool for safety measures as a defense against street harassment, stalking and bullying in crowded places against harassment of violence for the individual woman. A *Narrative fidelity* is in this case playing a role as those who are aware of the meaning of these metaphors could be encouraged to engage with
SafetiPin, as the message behind the name can have a historical and a moral value. But the extent of the impact is unclear and remains to be an assumption.

The collective IWillGoOut was a response to the mass molestation that occurred in Bangalore on New Year’s Eve 2016. They deliver the message of a woman going out, against the fear created by the harassment and sexual violence. The participant was the individual, standing up for herself, but may also be a collective stance for a collective cause. A motivation is clearly built in the name already and which was something that the collective aimed at from the beginning.

A second purpose was to analyze the social movement for safe public spaces, and the question was to explore what conditions the actors collective action frames have to help mobilize support and to get supporters to take action.

The mobilizing capabilities were different among the three actors. In the end, the result is seen in the number of participants that an actor is engaging with and bringing into the movement and working for a cause.

The diagnostic frames were in general terms quite similar between the actors. Instead, the respective prognostic frames were all different from one another and were unique in the sense of tools used, such as a mobile application and social media. Let us speak of a digitalization of the prognostic frame. It was a major part of the mobilizing mechanism of the actors SafetiPin and IWillGoOut.

Also, the motivational frames contained slogans that targeted vulnerabilities, challenges and opportunities for women in public spaces in India. Those were found not only in sentences on pieces of paper in events of protesting, but also existed in the name of both SafetiPin and IWillGoOut which can be linked to the success of their prognostic frames.
6. Conclusion

Results from the questions and purpose of this study

This study started out with the dilemma of experiencing a movement on global level for safe public spaces, but with no real case studies on local level. After the analysis, it can be said that there is a good reason for viewing the engagement from the actors in New Delhi, India as a social movement. In the analysis, frames according to the theoretical framework of Frame theory has been defined contributing with some results which can help understanding engagement on safe public spaces from actors in the civil society in New Delhi, India. The frames may also be relevant in understanding social movements at local level in other parts of the world.

One purpose has been to describe the work from three actors on safe public spaces in New Delhi, India, as a social movement, highlighting the differences. The question formulation was how the studied movement actor’s collective action frames look like, according to the theoretical framework of Frame theory. Diagnostic frames were similar rather than differentiated between the actors. The problem that they wanted to find a solution to were overall fear, patriarchy and urbanization. But the working methods and solutions to the problems, meaning the prognostic frames, were different between the actors. The main difference was a result of digitalization and being active on social media in a cycle of protest. But this did not mean that earlier forms of protests and awareness-raising was diminishes, quite the opposite. The motivational frames were important for engaging with the potential participants of the movement for safe public spaces. They portrayed vulnerabilities, challenges and opportunities for women with slogans, either in form of messages on their posters but also by naming their initiative in a manner that got attention and motivated to engage.

A second purpose has been to analyze the three actor’s success in mobilizing efforts and point out mechanisms of importance. Here the conditions of the collective action frames to help mobilize support and to get supporters to take action was investigated.

The diagnostic frames were similar between the actors, while the prognostic frames were different from one another. We could speak of a forming of digitalization of the prognostic frame. The working methods were unique in the sense of tools used, such as mobile
application and social media. It became major parts of the mobilizing mechanism for the actors SafetiPin and IWillGoOut.

Something else that drove participants to take part in a movement for safe public spaces was the motivational frames which contained slogans that targeted vulnerabilities, challenges and opportunities for women in public spaces in India. These could be sentences on posters in events of protesting, but also as names, such as SafetiPin and IWillGoOut, which were directly linked to a goal of the actor and in the end a success of their prognostic frames.

Conclusions/discussion from the questions and purpose
The engagement on safe public spaces can be described as a movement with quite similar problem definitions but with different solutions to the problems. This has resulted in a diverse movement, shaping new ways to reach out and taking advantage of new technology. The different ways of reaching out may be complementary, build on each other and over time lead to a bigger part of the population becoming engaged. The success of the mobilization is predominantly affected by the internet. It is not only a tool for new kind of engagements, but is a tool for building on previous knowledge of protests and safety audits, and is something that help earlier practices take new form. One solution becomes the easy entre for participants, who don’t have to be involved in an organized form to start with, but instead can respond to the material online. This study may be interesting for students, academics, social workers, organizations and others who have an interest in understanding safe public spaces and social movements on grassroots level, in practical work but also for research purposes.

The issue of safe public spaces have characteristics of being a social movement. This study tells us is that new movements are coming into existence and are using innovative and new approaches for solutions. In the literature on social movements, safe public spaces is not mentioned. Maybe because of the lack of case studies. This case study has taken place in New Delhi, India, and offers a unique socio-economic and cultural context. Because of the limited number of actors under study one should be careful when drawing conclusions but using results building hypothesis and new research questions, recommending comparative studies and hereby generate more understanding. In future research on safe public spaces, it is considered important to conduct more research on social movements at local level to understand prerequisites for safe public spaces better in different contexts, but also about social movements. As contexts differ, the local studies are important to build more general
knowledge over time on what may lead to failures and success of social movements in solving problems and creating change. Results from local studies may also work as inspiring models for actors in other parts of the world with similar contexts and conditions. Other examples of interesting studies may be investigating more thoroughly how contemporary social movements has departed from older and more traditional roles and roots in issues of labor right and means of production.

Further research could be the role of the Internet, shaping the frames of the actors on the work on safe public spaces, and particularly what participants it reaches and what groups may be excluded by engaging online. It is a factor for mass mobilization. To widen the horizon, it could include aspects of shifting boundaries between the public and the private, cultures and counter cultures role in social movements, and the relation between the global and the local levels (Della Porta and Diani 2006, 47-52). It could also mean including the duplicity of structure vs. agency, which is especially meaningful in research of culture (Della Porta 2006, 66-67). Safe public spaces has an emotional dimension to it, as the Frame theory is investigating, and this has potential to be researched more.
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Appendix 1. - Interview guide

Interview guide – themes and key questions

The problem – unsafe public spaces
1. What do you consider being unsafe public spaces?
2. What creates unsafe public spaces?
3. Who suffers the most from this?

Your organizational work and visions
1. What is the goal of xxx – what’s your vision?
2. What work is xxx doing to make public places safer? Whom do you target? Can you tell me about the event of the 21st of January?
3. How does social media contribute to the work you are doing?
4. What people and actors do you engage with, to take action and participate in the work you are doing?
5. How is the response?
6. How do you think about other groups’ working on women’s rights and safer public spaces and their proposed solutions, action strategies and visions?

Motivation and resources
1. What motivates and inspires you in your work? Do you see yourself reaching out to the individual or to the state?
2. How do you motivate other people to engage in the work for women’s rights and safe public spaces?
3. What do you contribute with that you think has been lacking in the work for women’s rights and safe public spaces?
4. What resources would the work of xxx benefit from in future work?