UNIT 4 URBAN SAFETY AND SECURITY

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4.1 INTRODUCTION

The Global Report on Human Settlements examines some of today’s major threats to urban safety and security within the larger frame of rapid urban growth, haphazard socioeconomic development and the search for human security. In the last decade or so, the world witness increasing numbers of threats to urban safety and security. While some of these threats have taken the form of dramatic events, many have been manifestations of the nexus of urban poverty and inequality with the physical, economic, social and institutional conditions of slums. There is a common understanding that there is a co-relationship between cities and crime. Cities are thus perceived to be more insecure and unsafe as opposed to villages and rural areas. This perception is also borne true by statistics. Thus dealing with insecurity and designing interventions for safety become important aspects of knowledge base of an urban development professional.

This unit introduces you to the concept of safety and security, the relationship between cities and crime and how the trajectory of crime is linked to the pattern of urban development. Finally, it also introduces the basic principles of planning for safety in cities.

After reading this unit, you will be able to:
• Describe the concept of safety and security
• Explain the emerging issues of urban development and safety issues
• Analyze planning for safety and security

4.2 SAFETY AND SECURITY: CONCEPT AND MEANING

According to the Oxford English Dictionary, ‘Security’ is “a secure condition or feeling,” and ‘secure’ means “untroubled by danger or fear; safe against attack; reliable.” Both these concepts are thus largely a matter of ‘inner’ feeling. Security is meant as a broad and much deeper aspect of creation of preventive measures to deal with structures that cause insecurity, while safety refers to measures that counter specific risks. Thus the underlying significance of both safety and security is an insight into what causes a feeling of insecurity in different historical periods of human history and thus the efforts that society takes to create safety.
The urban world represents a space in our history where human creativity, wisdom, enterprise is applied to the creation of a settlement where all of these things are concentrated. Naturally, it poses an immense attraction for those who would like to strike at the base of a city’s power. Besides, such external threats, cities also have more propensities for crime because of the sheer opportunities that they present through their presentation of wealth and for deviations to flock together.

Given the fact that we are today entering an urban age amidst globalization and widespread inequities in the world, considerations of safety and security have to be based on an analysis of current patterns of urbanization and what amongst them produce insecurity. This same analysis would then lead to interventions for security and safety.

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4.3 URBAN CRIME: DIMENSIONS AND CLASSIFICATIONS

4.3.1 Dimensions of Urban Crime

Cities have been associated with prosperity and power since time immemorial. As a result, they have also been targets of high threat. Further, they are also agglomerations of people and resources of various kinds. They lend a certain anonymity to people and thus just as cities encourage innovations, cities also facilitate the commission of crime and deviant behavior. Contradictorily, cities also are a site of regulation and maintenance of law and order. It is these contradictions that shape the various trajectories of crime and safety through different periods in history.

Important points to us that the history of crime and punishment has as much to do with the perpetuation of institutions of power and control in society as the knowledge of how to punish and regulate more effectively. This means three things. Firstly, the definition of what constitutes crime and the labeling of criminals is a social act. For example, encroachment is a crime, because there is a law that accepts private property. Bigamy becomes a crime only when society places a value on monogamy. Our evolving understanding of what constitutes crime thus actively shapes trajectories of crime. Secondly, the distribution of power and control in society moulds the labeling of criminals, justicing and punishment. The contours of crime and who are the criminals and which criminals get apprehended and punished thus closely follow the contours of power and control. Lastly, the knowledge of technologies that can aid control and punishment is another aspect of evolving trajectories of safety.

The understanding of crime in current day society has become highly sophisticated. Thus, the various forms of crime that we have today include amniocentesis, white collar crime such as trade malpractices, corruption, crimes
perpetrated through internet and mobile telephony to acts such as murder, harassment to crimes against property and assets.

One of the most critical crime risks which have emerged in urban areas of late is that of terrorism. New York, London, Madrid, Mumbai, Karachi, Islamabad, Hyderabad, have all experienced acts of terror in the recent past. Appadurai (1998) calls this the ‘the implosion of global and national conflicts into the urban world’. Cities have emerged as nodes where international and national conflict is both articulated and targeted at. The process of apprehending and controlling crime through various security regimes such as the police, the institution of courts where both the victim and the suspects have equal opportunities of representation, of a law that lays down the framework for justice and the jurisprudence which has to build a convincing rationale for all decision taken are all aspects of the elaborate system of control of crime and maintenance of law and order that characterises modern society. This is in opposition to earlier systems which relied on single individuals such as the king, the elders to take decisions, on customs as the basis of decisions, very rarely gave opportunities for suspects to represent themselves and meted out punishments that were often barbaric and cruel.

Technologies now play a role both in commission of crime as well as in its detection and safety. Historical cities were walled and had watch guards who regulated the people who entered and left the city. Modern States use more sophisticated surveillance systems enabled by technologies like close circuit televisions (CCTVs), satellites and internet to keep a tab on people and their movements. The current forms of crime and violence on one hand and safety on the other are thus a reflection of the social structure of our cities. Statistics indicate that the proportion of crime is higher in urban areas. This seems to suggest that urbanization and crime seem to go hand in hand. However, whether urbanization per se is linked to crime is a hotly debated question. Gilbert, for example, argues that there is no evidence to support any direct co-relationship between urbanization and crime. He suggested that: a) there is a more generic increase in the incidence of crime and that b) the world itself is becoming more urban and hence there is a natural increase in crime in urban areas. Thus, there is no specific ‘urbaneness’ to the increase in crime. On the other hand, Franz (1996) argues that the rise in urban violence which is estimated at 3-5% every year far outstrips the demographic growth of cities and thus the ‘urban’ causes of this violence need to be understood and acted upon.

In recent times, several cities from Mumbai to Hyderabad, Delhi, New York have become victims of terror. In order to understand why cities become targets of acts of terror, and the impact of such acts on urban dwellers, it is necessary to say something about the nature of cities. The physical environment of the city is important, as is the role of cities in national development, alongside the economies of scale provided by cities in addressing human well-being through public goods and services. All these dimensions are attractive to those seeking maximum impact from their acts of destruction and disruption. At the same time, an attack on a given city need not necessarily be a deliberate attack on the city itself. Cities transcend national boundaries and have come to represent something bigger than the countries in which they are located. It is thus not unreasonable to speak of urban terror as a sort of international language.

City forms also adapt to high crime levels. Franz points out how new urban forms in Latin American cities such as ghettos, closed villages of Manila or
groups of cloistered houses in African cities, are all direct consequences of rising crime. Spontaneous forms of “social cleansing” that violate human rights have also appeared in Latin America. They are the death squads that murder children and beggars, first in Brazil and now also in Colombia, and also kill those alleged to be criminals and corrupt officials in Honduras. Besides such social cleansing, negative citizen responses also include rough justice. Indian cities have witnessed several instances of rough justice when an alleged rapist was stoned to death by women in a Nagpur court, pick-pocketers were lynched by mobs in Bihar and when a college professor was propelled to suicide by protesting students. Such instances of rough justice are indicative of a wider distrust in the police and judicial system and require systemic responses.

The above discussion brings home the point that the dimensions of crimes in the cities are multiple in nature, therefore, the city managers need to confront the challenge of urban crime and violence and plan for prevention of crime and violence and promotion of resilience of cities. The first step for such confrontation involves an insight into forms of crime and violence experienced in cities.

### 4.3.2 Categories of Urban Crime

It has been experienced that crime is generally on the rise in the world. The Global Report on Human Settlements, 2007 highlights the increased incidence of crime which has grown by about 30% in the period 1980-2000 from a rate of about 2300 crimes per 1,00,000 people to about 3000 crimes per 100,000 people. Nearly 60% urban residents were victims of some or the other crime in the years 2001-06 (UNCHS, 2007). The situation in different continents is further highlighted in Table 1.

**Table 1: Per cent of Urban People who are Victims of Crime, 1990-95**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Theft and crimes against vehicles</th>
<th>Burglary</th>
<th>Other theft</th>
<th>Assault and other personal crimes</th>
<th>All crimes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Europe</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Europe</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td><strong>20</strong></td>
<td><strong>29</strong></td>
<td><strong>19</strong></td>
<td><strong>61</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Includes muggings, aggravated theft, grievous bodily harm and sexual assaults.


Crimes largely seen to be prevalent in urban areas are follows:

i) Urban crime is dominated by crimes against property, which account for at least half of all offences in cities all over the world.(UNCRI,2000). Theft,
burglary and mugging are the fastest growing crimes and also the ones with the lowest clear-up rate. Consumer items that can be resold or recycled informally are the main targets. The rates for such crimes vary considerably between cities, influenced by the level of protection in urban areas, particular circumstances, policing methods and the state of the market for stolen goods.

ii) The second category is violent crime. Violent crime is defined as any act that causes a physical or psychological wound or damage. It includes murder, infanticide, assault, rape, sexual abuse, acts of intimidation and terror, the buying and selling of women and children, abandonment and serious neglect, mugging, threats and joy riding. It has increased in the majority of Third World cities and accounts for 25 to 30 per cent of offences worldwide.

iii) The third and important categories of crime is human trafficking. Trafficking of human beings and flesh trade are other forms of crime that seem to thrive in cities. Antisocial behaviour or hooliganism and domestic violence are also emerging as frequent acts of crime. The table above showed the incidence of crime in Asian cities as the least throughout the world. Asian cities also show the least proportion of assault. However, the absolute levels of crime in Asian cities are on the rise too.

In this section you studied concept of safety and security, and types and dimensions of urban crime. Now, you should be able to answer some questions relating to this section given in Check Your Progress 1.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words
   b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What do you understand by safety and security?

2) What is urban crime?

4.4 CRIME IN INDIAN CITIES

Indian cities are characterized by low levels of crime as compared to those in other parts of the world. However, there is an increased incidence of crime in Indian cities over the years. IPC crime rate in mega cities is given in Table 2. The
average rate of crime in urban agglomeration centres at 341.9 was much higher than the national crime rate of 187. Kochi reported the highest crime rate (1897.8) among the mega cities in the country followed by Indore (868.2) and Bhopal (823). The crime rate for each city is compared with the corresponding crime rate of the domain State in Table 1. Crime rate (IPC) in cities was generally higher than the corresponding crime rate of Domain State. The crime rate was lower than that of the respective State in case of Dhanbad, Chennai, Kolkata and Madurai. The crime rate at national level increased by 3.4% (from 181.4 in 2009 to 187.6 in 2010), however, the crime rate in cities has increased by 7.3% (from 318.6 in 2009 to 341.9 in 2010). The incidence of urban crimes in India from 2007 to 2011 is given in Table 3.

### Table 2: IPC crime rate in Mega Cities Vs Domain State

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Rate of Crime (IPC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mega City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>363.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Ahmedabad</td>
<td>474.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Allahabad</td>
<td>187.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Amritsar</td>
<td>181.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Asansol</td>
<td>168.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bengaluru</td>
<td>566.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bhopal</td>
<td>823.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Chennai</td>
<td>169.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Coimbatore</td>
<td>289.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Delhi</td>
<td>359.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dhanbad</td>
<td>94.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Faridabad</td>
<td>466.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Hyderabad</td>
<td>317.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Indore</td>
<td>868.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Jabalpur</td>
<td>585.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Jaipur</td>
<td>719.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Jamshedpur</td>
<td>247.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Kanpur</td>
<td>250.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kochi</td>
<td>1897.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kolkata</td>
<td>117.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Lucknow</td>
<td>455.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Ludhiana</td>
<td>252.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Madurai</td>
<td>223.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Meerut</td>
<td>283.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Mumbai</td>
<td>207.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3: Incidence & Rate of IPC crimes (mega cities)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Incidence</th>
<th>Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>3,36,889</td>
<td>312.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>3,47,153</td>
<td>321.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>3,43,749</td>
<td>318.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>3,68,883</td>
<td>341.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>4,75,369</td>
<td>295.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Report of National Crime Records Bureau

The most prevalent forms of crime in Indian cities are theft, particularly auto theft, other crimes against property and cheating. Organized crime is prevalent in metros and Mumbai is a capital of organized crime which includes drug trafficking, human traffic, and land mafia. In addition to these, India represents certain distinctive forms of crime such as crimes against women and communal violence. These two distinctive forms reflect the divisions and inequities in Indian culture and societal structures.

Crimes against women in India include sexual harassment, rape and most importantly domestic violence. Some crimes against women have emerged as distinctive urban crimes. These are dowry deaths, female prenatal foeticides and suicides. These crimes reveal how the availability of technology plays out with traditional beliefs and results in criminal acts. Many of these crimes against women go unreported.

Communal Violence is another form of crime that is peculiar to Indian cities. The spatial divisions of city areas on communal lines are fairly common in Indian cities. This makes them extremely vulnerable to incitements, and trouble mongers who seek to incite violence for petty gains. The incidence of such riots further perpetuates the spatial and economic divisions.

Slums have become a common feature of almost all Indian cities. The relationship between slums and the law is highly iniquitous. Law renders the slums illegal by their very existence and the overall policy neglect has further deepened their deprived conditions of living and poverty. Several laws also are biased in practice.
against slums which are assumed to be dens of crime rather than places accommodating poor working citizens.

All the above forms of crime are embedded in the structures of urbanization and are thus endemic to our cities. However, there are also other trends which also affect the increase in crime in Indian cities. They are:

- The rising aspirations and frustration among youth
- The emergence of single elderly citizens without social support as a distinct category of urban residents
- The emergence of visible islands of prosperity in particularly the large cities
- Internationalisation of terror and organized crime networks

The above facets reveal to us both the patterns in crime in India as well as the factors that promote security risks. Planning for safety and security needs to create systems and practices to counter some of these risks and build capacities for resilience. Violence against the elderly, children and women are common to all cities.

### 4.4.1 Crime Against the Elderly, Children and Women

#### i) Crime against Elderly

The elderly are victims of various types of violence and abuse such as insults and physical aggressions committed by their own family members and caregivers, abuse in transportation or in public and private institutions.

Types of violence against the elderly are:

i) **Physical abuse**: it refers to using physical strength to force the elderly to do what he does not want to, hurting him, causing pain, disability or even death.

ii) **Psychological violence**: consists in the use of verbal or gestural expressions in order to terrorize the elderly, humiliate them, restrict their freedom or even isolate them from social life.

iii) **Neglect**: there is a refusal or failure in the care due for the elderly by those responsible families or institutions. Usually, is expressed together with other abuses that cause injury and physical, emotional and social trauma.

iv) **Abandonment**: there is an absence of government authorities, institutional or family to provide assistance to an elderly person that needs protection.

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**1 in 3 ELDERLY ABUSED in INDIA**

A study on abuse of India's elderly, conducted across 20 cities and involving over 5,500 older people, has found that almost 1 in 3 (32%) have faced abuse. More than 50% of those abused was highest in Madhya Pradesh (77.12%). Nearly 30% or 1 in 3 elderly persons reported ABUSE IN Maharashtra. It was 60% in Assam, 52% in UP, 43% in Gujarat, 42.86% in Andhra Pradesh and 40.93% in west Bengal.

*Source: Times of India, September 29, 2012*
ii) Crime Against Children

The Crime against children in Indian cities is on rise. Following are some of the statistics:

- 6% increase was reported in incidence of crime against Children in 2007 over 2006. Cases of Child Rape went up by 6.9% during 2007 (5,045) over 2006 (4,721).
- A total of 6,377 cases of Kidnapping and Abduction of children were reported during the year 2007 as compared to 5,102 cases in the previous year accounting for a significant increase of 25.0%.
- Cases of Selling of Girls for Prostitution declined from 123 in 2006 to 69 in 2007.
- Madhya Pradesh reported 21.0% (4,290 out of 20,410) of total crimes committed against children in the country.
- The highest crime rate (12.1) was reported by Delhi as compared to National average (1.8).
- Punjab (35) and Rajasthan (16) together have accounted for 53.2% (51 out of 96) of cases of foeticide reported in the country.
- The conviction rate at the national level for crimes against children stood at 36.6%

(Source: National Crimes Record Bureau 2007 Report)

iii) Crime Against Women

Violence against women is one of the largest components of crime in Indian cities. Jagori – a women’s organization in Delhi conducted a safety audit of several areas in the city through the eyes of women. The findings of this audit are extremely illuminating:

- While the common perception of Delhi as a city of exclusion was shared by all the groups and across all classes, age groups, professions, etc. poverty clearly emerged as an important axis intensifying this vulnerability. There is an alarming level of ‘normalization’ of violence which threatens public spaces.
- The research indicates that certain groups of women, such as younger women, women from the north eastern states and women from the poorer communities feel more insecure. For the latter especially, the development of Delhi as a ‘world-class city’ has made their lives more insecure.
- While all public spaces were seen as unsafe, women reported the highest number of incidents within buses and other public transportation, and on the streets.
- The research has also brought to the fore a number of factors that play a role in creating safer spaces for women and girls. These include better planning and design of public spaces such as roads, bus stops, parks and public toilets. Some recommendations included proper lighting, better design of pavements, presence of vendors and designated spaces, and well-designed male and female public toilets.
• The second important factor is the way the public spaces are used. The presence of a multitude of users makes a space more amenable to inclusion and safety. Thus parks that had a range of users including older people and the young, children and others were safer.

• A third factor that came up consistently in the FGDs and through the street survey was the lack of public support to women and girls in the city. This lack of any response from the bystanders in the public spaces, combined with the indifferent attitude of the police has been identified as one of the main reasons contributing to the lack of safety for women, allowing the perpetrators to continue to harass them with impunity (Jagori, 2010).

The safety audit thus reveals the range of factors that generate insecurity for women, children and the elderly that just vigilante responses or stepping up security are inadequate. The need is for several systems to improve and work together.

4.5 MEASURES FOR STRENGTHENING URBAN SAFETY AND SECURITY

Some of the popular measures to be taken for the prevention and control of crime in the cities are as follows:

i) Enhancement of Policing

The most common response by the state of crime is to enhance levels of policing. The level of policing in Indian cities as measured by numbers of policemen per inhabitants is really low. While there is a need to enhance city policing systems, there is a need to see these as part of a larger reform of the police system which also involves up gradation of security infrastructure such as transport, communication, weaponry as well as working and living conditions.

ii) Imprisonment of Criminals

The other common response of the state of crime is imprisonment. In the United States and Russia this has reached a level of more than five persons in prison per 1,000 inhabitants. The average for the rest of the world is less than 1.7 per 1,000 inhabitants with a mere 0.36 per 1,000 in Japan (Franz, 1996). This policy is not very effective, for it does not reduce the number of offences committed. It also diverts funds that could be invested in preventive social action, and tends to stigmatize certain groups. As Franz points out, in England, for example, a 25 per cent rise in the prison population has produced a one per cent drop in crime.

iii) Coordinated and Citizen Responsive Systems

In a context where cities are poor, security systems are numerically and infrastructurally inadequate; the need is for systems that work in collaboration with citizens in order to work at prevention of crime. The experience of Mohalla Committees in Bhiwandi, Maharashtra is an example of one such system and how it worked even in cases of crises like riots. The citizen policing is a participatory method of controlling crime in the municipal word. Bhiwandi case is given in the Box-I
Box I

In Bhiwandi in Maharashtra, local public bodies defuse potentially troublesome matters - from communal issues to civic problems, through open discussion. Their rate of success considerable.

As violence in the wake of the demolition in Ayodhya rocked the country, the town of Bhiwandi, 65 km from Bombay, was described in official parlance to be “tense, but strictly under control”. Bhiwandi witnessed widespread rioting in 1970 and again in 1984, caused in part by the absence of cohesiveness in a community that began expanding rapidly in the 1960s due to the influx of Muslim labour from Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Bihar to meet the demands of the power-loom industry. Bhiwandi, with 4 lakh power-looms, is the biggest power-loom centre in the country. Bhiwandi maintained the peace this time because of the involvement of public participatory bodies, set up over the last two years.

These bodies were brought into existence jointly by local Hindus and Muslims, with the help of the local administration, to settle peacefully a dispute in 1991 that was threatening to tear apart the Muslim-majority town. In July that year, Bhiwandi was gripped by communal tension because Hindu organisations wanted to use a plot owned by Ismail Farid Khan for ceremonies prior to the immersion of Ganesh idols in the adjoining Kasaili river. Customarily, Farid Khan’s permission was formally sought every year to use his plot, but in 1991 some Hindus, led by local Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) leader Anna Palaye, decided such permission was unnecessary. However, before the situation could deteriorate, senior police officers with the approval of the official bureaucracy arranged for influential members of both communities to come to the negotiating table. They were able to persuade Khan to donate his plot to Bhiwandi municipality.

But tension built up again when the municipal authorities decided to reciprocate Khan’s largesse by naming the plot after him. Local RSS and Shiv Sena activists, asserting a place being used to hold a Hindu festival should not bear a Muslim name, were adamant the site should be named after Lord Ganesh. The Muslims were equally insistent that Khan’s gesture should be acknowledged. Once again local authorities summoned the town elders, who deliberated and then decided to name plot for a hero of the freedom struggle, Lokmanya Tilak, and the approach road to the plot after Farid Khan.

Assistant commissioner of police Kesav Sahasrabudhe, who played a key role in the community negotiations, said this marked the turning point in the inter-community relationship in Bhiwandi. “For the first time,” he said, “people in Bhiwandi began to take the mohalla committees seriously. Even the cynics began to say that it was possible to solve religious and emotive issues peacefully.”

Today, after just over a year of rapid growth, 70 of the 75 municipal wards of Bhiwandi have set up mohalla committees, which form the main channel communication between the two communities. These communities tackle potentially dangerous religious and community issues.

Each committee has up to 30 members drawn from both communities and with varied backgrounds, ranging from loom workers to schoolteachers. There
is no formal structure for the working of these committees. They meet at least once a week and can choose to deliberate any local issue, whether leaking water pipes or a mohalla child not getting admission to school.

“We do this because the only way to avoid tension is by ensuring that our citizens do not feel they are left alone to fight their way through their problems,” says Bhiwandi municipal president Ananta Bhoi.

The efficacy of mohalla committees can be gauged by Shiv Sena leader Appa Palaye opting to ignore a call last month from senior party leaders in Bombay to hold maha arti - the much feared symbol of Shiv Sena militancy - in Bhiwandi. Palaye said he decided against holding maha arti because of reports received by local police from various mohalla committees that when maha arti was held on an earlier occasion, it had deeply hurt Muslim sentiments. Meanwhile, the fate of the slum is suspended in bureaucratic wrangling. In return, the Muslims agreed to ensure that they said namaz by the roadside, they would not hinder traffic.

But the peace initiatives in Bhiwandi were scoffed at by the rest of the country. Muslims in Bhiwandi contended that when they offered to send relief packages to other riot-hit Muslims, they were taunted and told to “wear burqas (veils)” like women, if they were unable “to do something at a time when Muslims all over India were being massacred by Hindus”.

Rafiq Ansari, a rich power-loom owner and municipality vice-president, says, “The people elsewhere thought the Bhiwandi Muslims should do something because they are in the majority here.” Most of Bhiwandi’s power-loom owners are Muslims. Ansari also pointed out that the Hindus in Bhiwandi were equally under pressure from the rest of their community for their “refusal to teach the Muslims a lesson”. There were rumours that Hindu leaders had been insulted and sent chooris (bangles). Despite the scathing criticism, the fact remains that for the first time in Maharashtra, Hindus and Muslims agreed to respect each other’s sensibilities and the community’s convenience when holding their rituals.

Source:http://bitscape.8k.com/writings/news/violence_bhiwandi.htm

iv) Reorientation of Security Services

Security services like the police are often both the first line of information related to crime. They also have a tremendous role in prevention of crime. Experience shows that a police system that is biased can criminalize marginal groups; they could also act as role models for them and mainstream them. Reorienting the police to such a ‘developmental’ role is therefore a key aspect of planning for safety. One such experiment is that of the police services in Japan.

There are more than 15,000 small neighbourhood police stations or Kobans in Japan, 9,000 of which also serve as residences for police officers in rural areas. Rather than concentrating police forces in a few large stations, Japan has chosen to increase their visibility and accessibility. All graduates of the national police academy must serve for several years in these mini-stations. They devote most of their time to providing services to the community and are required to visit each family, business and firm in their neighbourhood at least twice a year. Special attention is paid to the elderly, to preparing
newsletters for neighbourhood residents, to organizing sports events for young people and to participating in meetings of neighbourhood organizations. 

In their relation with young offenders, these neighbourhood police officers also have wide latitude. Thus, it is reported that, in 1990, 31 per cent of the offenders arrested by them were released after signing a letter of apology. This is an attempt to reduce administrative red tape, to maintain the police’s reputation for generosity and humanity and to reserve the shame of a trial for more serious offences. This attitude in no way reduces the effectiveness of the police since, in 1989, for example, they were responsible for 73 per cent of all arrests (and 96 per cent of all arrests for homicide) and 76 per cent of thefts were solved (International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (ICPC) (1995), “Urban policies and crime prevention (Montreal)” (paper presented to the Ninth UN Congress for the Prevention of Crime, Cairo).

v) Reducing Vulnerability of Marginal Groups

There is an extremely close relationship between crime and marginal groups, forming a vicious cycle of small offence, labeling, injustice, anger over the same and leading to more serious offences. The more systematized the exclusion in society, the more vicious the above mentioned cycle. In such situations, criminals may be apprehended but the proportion of crime almost remains untouched, bringing new and new recruits from similar circumstances. The potential for breaking the same is only through attempts to reduce exclusion and redress the vulnerabilities of marginal populations. Sports, education, meaningful community and livelihood activities are important strategies for the same and facilitating the availability of such spaces becomes an important aspect of planning for safety. One such initiative is that of Cali municipality in Colombia as discussed in Box-II

**Box-II**

**Cali(Colombia) DESEPAZ programme**

El Programma Desarollo, Seguridad y Paz (DESEPAZ) was established by the Mayor’s Office of Cali in 1992 to address the high rates of crime and violence in the city. Grounded in a public health approach, it was based on an epidemiological analysis of violence – primarily homicide rates – to identify specific risk factors for urban violence as well as community involvement in combating crime and violence. DESEPAZ and the Colombian Legal Medicine and Forensic Science Institute identified several key risk factors for homicide in Cali, which revolved around alcohol use, gun ownership and leisure time. They therefore restricted alcohol sales in public areas and initiated a disarmament programme, which appears to have had a beneficial effect on homicide reduction.

A key principle of DESEPAZ is that the prevention of crime and violence requires a commitment from all citizens. Consejos Municipales de Seguridad (Municipal Security Councils) were created in order to educate government officials; the mayor held weekly meetings with community leaders. Open to the public, participants suggest and agree on concrete solutions.

This community-based approach has led to the creation of law enfacement, public education and social development programmes.

The development of a non-violent culture is also important. Peace-promoting groups have been formed by young volunteers who act as legal counsellors and educators. They provide human rights education and suggest ways for people to resolve disputes and, if necessary, refer them to conciliation centres. This culture of non-violence is mainly directed at couples, parents, schools and the media.

vi) Incorporating Safety Principles into Urban design

It is commonly recognised that for every crime there is a victim and a perpetrator, however, the environment in which the crime occurs is less often thought about. The Jagori study discussed earlier highlighted some aspects of environmental design which facilitated crime in Delhi like the location and design of public toilets. On the other hand, interventions into the design of the environment can help to reduce the incidence of crime. Internationally, this strategic component is known as Crime Prevention through Environmental Design or CPTED and it is being successfully employed in many cities worldwide. CPTED is based on certain principles of architecture, landscaping, visibility and lighting, aesthetics and the marking of spaces that create greater public security both in real terms, and in terms of people feeling safe in a location. A case study of Durban is given in Box-III.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Box-III</th>
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<td>CPTED is about making the environment around us conducive to crime prevention and safety. It involves assessing the state of vacant land and unoccupied buildings, poor lighting and infrastructure with a view to improvement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It may include providing recreational facilities to youth to keep them off the street. There needs to be a sense of community ownership when providing these facilities.</td>
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In this section you studied Indian experiences of urban crimes and planning for safety and security. Now, you should be able to answer some questions relating to this section given in Check Your Progress 2.
Check Your Progress 2

Note: a) Write your answer in about 50 words
   b) Check your answer with possible answers given at the end of the unit.

1) What are the types of abuse against the elderly?
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2) What are the key principles behind the ‘Mohalla Committee ‘experience?
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4.6 LET US SUM UP

The trajectories of crime, violence and punishment have been changing rapidly. The current patterns of crime and violence are thus shaped by the conditions and contrasts of the current world such as globalization and urbanization. International networks of terror, organized crime and sophisticated surveillance networks are features of the current crime and security environment.

Generally, crime is on the rise in the world and though the relationship between crime and urbanization per se may be contested, urban areas witness a lot of crime. There are also crimes which have particularly emerged as urban crimes.

The proportion of crime in Indian cities is on the rise too. Therefore, there is a need to understand the underlying causes of crime and to redress these through planning for safety and security in cities.

The most common responses to crime and violence are up gradation of security systems and imprisonment. These, however, appear to be making little dent in the proportion of crime and are too costly. Citizen responses to crime range from leading highly fenced lives to social cleansing, rough justice and formation of vigilante groups. These responses also prove to be counterproductive.
There is thus a need to supplement security responses with approaches that also redress systemic causes of crime. The main systemic causes of crime in Indian cities are to do with women, slums and communalization. Responses need to analyze these issues and develop integrated, committed responses which range from building interface systems to developing programmes for marginal groups to incorporation of safety principles in urban design. The examples of Mohalla Committee as well as a few other cities offer valuable lessons for the same.

### 4.7 REFERENCES AND SELECTED READINGS


### 4.8 CHECK YOUR PROGRESS-POSSIBLE ANSWERS

#### Check Your Progress 1

1) What do you understand by safety and security?

**Ans.** According to the Oxford English Dictionary Security is “a secure condition or feeling,” and secure means “untroubled by danger or fear; safe against attack; reliable.” Both these concepts are thus largely a matter of ‘inner’ feeling. Security is meant as a broad and much deeper aspect of creation of preventive measures to deal with structures that cause insecurity while safety refers to measures that counter specific risks.

2) What is urban crime?

**Ans.** Urban crime is dominated by crimes against property, which account for at least half of all offences in cities all over the world. (UNCRI, 2000) Theft, burglary and mugging are the fastest growing crimes and also the ones with the lowest clear-up rate. Consumer items that can be resold or recycled informally are the main targets. The rates for such crimes vary considerably between cities, influenced by the level of protection in urban areas, particular circumstances, policing methods and the state of the market for stolen goods.
Check Your Progress 2

1) What are the types of abuse against the elderly?

**Ans.** Physical abuse: it is using physical strength to force the elderly to do what he does not want to, hurting him, causing pain, disability or even death.

i) Psychological violence: consists in the use of verbal or gestural expressions in order to terrorize the elderly, humiliate them, restrict their freedom or even isolate them from social life.

ii) Neglect: there is a refusal or failure in the care due for the elderly by those responsible families or institutional. Usually, is expressed together with other abuses that cause injury and physical, emotional and social trauma.

iii) Abandonment: there is an absence of government authorities, institutional or family to provide assistance to an elderly person that needs protection.

2) What are the key principles behind the ‘Mohalla Committee’ experience?

**Ans.** The key principles behind the ‘Mohalla Committee’ experience are-

- Creation of platforms consisting of key representatives of both communities as well as the law and order functionaries
- Evolving these platforms as those prepared to deal with all sensitive issues and not those which are strictly defined as ‘law and order’ concerns
- Willingness of members to discuss issues and negotiate to arrive at pragmatic and mutually agreed solutions