

Fear of Victimization in Urban Neighborhoods: A Case of Mumbai

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I. Introduction

Post liberalized era has given a fillip to rapid urbanization, industrialisation and neo-capitalist development in India. Manufacturing sector is gradually being overtaken by service sector, agriculture is on the decline and ribbon belt development has led to emergence of mushrooming of several urban clusters on the outskirts of main cities in haste without Proper Township planning across the country. These are some of the concomitant effects of urban development of this era. However, cities have emerged as the major hub of economic activities and urban landscape is rapidly expanding pulling large number of migrants from lesser developed regions to the cities. Furthermore, MNCs in search of cheaper manpower resources have come to India (KPOs and BPOs) in order to exploit resources/ opportunities for creation of wealth. Needless to say, unlike any other developing nation, India's development has resulted in wide gamut of disparities in distribution of wealth leading to growth of a neo-capital class, uneven pace of urbanization, selective industrialization, cultural adulteration, individualization and erosion of traditional and social values and norms (Sarkar, 2009).

The post liberalized socio-economic reality has pushed large number of unskilled and poor masses to the urban centers in search of livelihood toiling under squalor and poverty. The harsh economic reality of living in such big cities results in high level of uncertainties in terms of income, quality of life, health care, social security and employability. As a result a large section of population is marginalized in terms of socio-economic and political benefits. However, this

section of urban population contributes dynamically to the creation of wealth, social and political power base though being on the fringes of such gains. Often there is a growing sense of deprivation and helplessness amongst a significant section of this group leading it to desperation to make fast buck to improve life situation even through illegal means. Such vulnerability throws up opportunities for the underworld to lure them into the world of crime. Hence as an offshoot of such uneven development results in soaring crime that brings insecurity and unsafe life amongst urban dwellers. It could well be observed that small crime network begins and spreads over like cottage industry in lesser developed regions and when these crime/criminals get connected as semi-finished/finished products, they are either brought, hired or spilled over to major cities to become a part of larger and/or more organized crime network (Sharma& Sarkar, 2009). Not only the crime syndicates have intensified the indigenous crime but also have rendered help in facilitating and encouraging cross-border planning and execution of international terrorism through monetary (hawala) support. For example 26/11 terror attack in Mumbai, 7/7/2005 in US, train blasts in UK and 11/3/2004 Spain were planned in one part of the globe and executed in another.

Organized crime syndicates have developed strong network in human trafficking, drugs mafia, arms and ammunition, smuggling, money laundering and terrorism. These are typically globally connected syndicates and their violent attacks in public places have penetrated 'fear' significantly in the mind of civil society regarding safety and

security across the globe. Many societies in the developing world have witnessed a nexus between crime syndicates, governance and political authorities leading to evaporation of governance structures, weakening the law and order agencies, disruption in the established life pattern and a high degree of uncertainty about safety and security of its members. For example Colombia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Afghanistan and Somalia are a few significant victims of such nexus and their major cities have been severely affected by this phenomenon.

In this context, Mumbai also has a long tradition of crime syndicate operations in the areas of smuggling, extortion, real estate, human trafficking, drugs, gang wars and of late terrorism. The underworld in Mumbai runs a parallel system of acquisition and distribution of wealth as it is a prominent place being one of the largest metropolis in the world having extensive commercial / financial global interests. Thus, life in Mumbai metropolis has always been a subject to overt/covert threats of a variety of crime syndicates and the 'fear of crime and victimization' has been lurking large in the 'psyche' of Mumbaikars (a colloquial term for people living in Mumbai). A comprehensive study in understanding the socio-cultural context of Mumbai can throw some insight on the emerging 'fear of crime' and 'victimization' amongst urban neighbourhood in a metropolis.

In the context of above discourse, present paper tries to understand the extent and growing fear of victimization amongst Mumbaikars empirically with a special focus on the urban neighborhood from the east west

and Southern Suburb of Mumbai. The paper addresses target groups under different age, gender and ethnicity. People who commute daily in local transport and earn their livelihood and residing in the city, college going youth, pedestrians, and other types of urban dweller (like housewives, senior citizens etc) have been considered as stakeholders (Refer Table -3). A total 255 people were contacted for the study. Further, the views of a group of police officials (25 officials) as a representative of the law and order agencies have also been included to contrast the opinion of urban dwellers on the fear component, security and safety of Mumbai life'. This study mainly tries to understand the impact of post terrorist attacks in November, 2008 in Mumbai as weighed against the law and order and security system provided by Mumbai police to the civil society.

A dreadful terror attack started on 11th nov, 2008 in Mumbai and went on till 13th nov., 2008, causing loss of life of innocent people (approximately 160 people reported dead and 375 were injured as stated by the Mumbai Crime Branch, 2011) created shock waves and 'fear' in the minds of millions' of people living in Mumbai. It almost paralyzed life and economic activities for a few days round the clock instilling fear for life, severe insecurities and causing trauma to millions. This attack in the heart of the city first caused confusion as to whether it was a gang war amongst crime syndicates or there were external agents executing this crime. Soon it became obvious that it was a planned attack by international terrorists on the city and thus conveyed that no place or city is safe and can be seized by international

terror network. Usually indigenous crime involves property and economy related offences, murder of rich senior citizens, or extortion led killing by the local gangs, physical assault (gender specific), etc. inducing fear in a smaller segment of population in the neighbourhood but the terror attack of 26th Nov. 2008 was much organized and larger in scale and could be called as cross border terrorism. It created fear among the whole nation about safety, security of life as even senior police officials were killed and defense forces had to be called to be deal with it. It permanently dented the psyche of the Mumbaikars about the security of life.

Terrorism, however, as an offshoot of historical prejudices and conflicts has taken a new dimension under advanced technology and a few deprived section of society living under conditions of abject poverty are not only the victim but also been used many a times in the execution of terror (Sarkar (a), 2009) . It not only inflicts fear or trauma but also poses a threat to the socio-cultural and political fabric of a nation and can trigger downfall of the image of law and order and state governance in the minds of the civil society.

II. Mumbai: A Profile of the Metropolis

Mumbai, formerly known as Bombay, is presently the third largest city in Asia and the largest metropolis in India with a population of 15 millions (Census of India, 2001). The city, historically, a combination of seven islands was formed by the colonizers by reclaiming 4000 acres of land in central parts of the city, to form a composite island about 11 miles in length and 3 to 4 miles in

breadth. Today, the Brihan (Greater) Mumbai consists of 438 sq.kms. in area mainly through reclamation of wet lands, which even now is an on-going process. The Mumbai Metropolitan Region (MMR) which includes 4 metropolitan cities, 16 municipal towns, seven other urban centers and approximately 1000 villages, has a population of 18 million plus (projection, Census, 2011) makes an interesting demographic profile which encompasses varied with its multi ethnic clusters and communities alongwith local 'marathi' populace (Maharashtrian).

In 1901, the population of Mumbai was less than eight hundred thousands and within hundred years span it has crossed 15 millions, thereby resulting in rapid urbanization and industrialization giving boundless organic growth to the city. This growth transformed Mumbai into a major commercial /financial hub triggering migration from all over India to the city resulting in population explosion. Particularly in the last half century the creation and multiplying of wealth and opportunities has lured millions to seek their 'el-dorado' in Mumbai. Today Mumbai stands as a commercial capital of the country and has attracted capital, trade and commercial interests from all over world as well as mafia crime syndicates and terrorists to the city to draw global media attention on their activities.

III. Mumbai: Crime and Neighborhood

As reiterated earlier, the disparity in development model, the nexus between political powers, builders lobby, crime syndicate and bureaucracy are the real breeding ground for crime. In addition the budding criminal gangs of

small stature other than the underworld also add to such criminogenic forces. A preview of the leading news papers every morning can shake up the mind of the civilians about the predominance of murders, contract killings, rapes, theft, kidnapping, chain snatching in the local transport etc. Not only print but visual media (news channels, TV soap operas, film etc) in many cases also thrives on presenting similar news glamorizing the crime scenario and inducing 'fear' among common citizens and eroding their confidence in the safe and secure living environment (See collage1&2).

This kind of exposition and glamourization of crime also poses threat to law and order system. A presentation of the selected crime data for the period of 1993-2001 released by the Crime Branch, Mumbai police throws some light as to how neighbourhood gets affected by the crime incidence in Mumbai. It also depicts that there is an incremental growth in all sorts of crimes. On the basis of growth in the crime rate there is an urgent need for empirical work on the 'fear of victimisation' as there is very little or scanty data available except a few scholarly debates (Sharma, 2009; Sarkar, 2009, Weinstein, 2006) in India under the paradigm of development and crime discourse.

As observed from the data above a block of four years during the period 1993-2001 (from 1996-99) has witnessed the highest incidence of shoot outs by pretty criminals and gangs and a larger number of citizens have been victimized.

This period of four years was worst hit by crime in the city when gang

Table 1: Mumbai Selected Crime Data, 1993-2001

Year	Shootouts by Criminals				
	No. of incidents	No. of Citizens Killed			No. of Citizens Injured
		By Gangs	By Petty Criminals	Total	
1993	34	13	21	34	5
1994	28	17	11	28	6
1995	24	15	9	24	6
1996	48	22	26	48	2
1997	38	30	8	38	11
1998	93	70	23	93	15
1999	42	24	18	42	28
2000	26	12	14	26	1
2001	6	0	6	6	0
-	339	203	136	339	74

Source: Sarkar, Sumita (2002): Youths in Hardcore Crime in Mumbai: Ph.D. Thesis submitted to Tata Institute of Social Sciences, 2002, Mumbai.

wars were played to establish their supremacy in the underworld and even individual crimes were also high. By getting under the skin of these murders and shootouts, it was found (Sarkar,2002) that these were mainly related to economic crimes in the domain of real estate, extortions, money laundering (hawala) and corruption money . However, these figures are not mere statistics but have made disturbing impact on the public ‘psyche’ for a long time to come.

However, a further analysis of the recent data released by Mumbai crime branch for the year 2009-10 reveals classification of the committed crimes unraveling the nature and extent

of crime in the city as registered by the police and is presented below (Table -2).

Extensive coverage by print and visual media on crime (and their occasional analysis) are available which need to be documented. A few documented reports and research papers have also emerged which reflect on high incidence of criminality — more so the organized crime (see, for instance: Lele, 1995; Hansen, 2001; Pendse, 2003; Sarkar, 2002; Weinstein, 2008; Singh, 1994; and Venugopal, 1983). Some of these works provide vivid description of crime’s origin and activities (with the names of gang leaders, their hard core members and sharp-shooters), mafia-

Table 2: Crime Data in Mumbai

Sr. No.	Crime	No. Of Case 2009	No. Of Case 2010	% Change Form
1	Booked in MCOCA	52	54	3.846153846
2	Detained in MPDA	61	34	-44.26229508
3	Police encounter	8	7	-12.5
4	Murder	217	227	4.608294931
5	Dacoit	39	34	-12.82051282
6	Robbery	315	384	21.9047619
7	weapon seized		284	
8	Extortion	197	198	0.507614213
9	HBT Day	372	476	27.95698925
10	HBT night	2392	2573	7.566889632
11	Theft	6055	6800	12.30388109
12	MV theft	4183	4167	-0.382500598
13	Pick pocketing	166	179	7.831325301
14	Chain snatching	1600	2044	27.75
15	Hurt	3883	4479	15.34895699
16	Riots	285	374	31.22807018
17	Rape	178	192	7.865168539
18	Intended to Insult to modesty of women	101	138	36.63366337
19	Dowry related Killing	13	21	61.53846154
20	Dowry related harassment	279	300	7.52688172
21	Dowry related suicide	54	53	-1.851851852
22	Economic offence	79	85	7.594936709

Source : Mumbai Police, 2010

builders, “hawala” operators, and so on. These reports also provide valuable information on the mafia-turned builders, notorious operators of liquor bars, corrupt police officials, the slum lords (future recruits to politics) and, above all, the corrupt businessmen indulging in illegal crime/business activities. Though the connivance between the law and order agencies, politicians and the underworld is very prominently felt, reports on Mumbai crime usually avoid revealing such linkages.

Such a growing nexus among the political, the money and the muscle power is most formidable cause of growing crime in the city. Then, there are numerous criminal gangs of small stature

— other than the underworld, who add to such criminogenic forces. This deadly combination has blurred the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate, moral and amoral, legal and illegal. The repercussions are visible through the threatened safety and security of people and their eroding faith in the state machinery in handling law and order in the city. A Few dimensions of fear factors and of victimization are discussed below:

Age & Fear of victimization

It is interesting to note that “fear” has been felt across all age groups in the study. However, young age cohort belonging to 20-25 and 25-30 especially the males have exhibited resistance towards ‘fear’. Significantly

young female population (42%) residing in the city and commuting either by local trains, bus or auto have expressed fear.

On probing further, they mentioned that ‘fear’ is more from the physical violence than sudden attack like gang shootouts on the road or terrorism. Also within this group approximately 26.5% have shown concern of getting killed in the terror attack at overcrowded and busy public places, e.g., Bandra, Andheri, Mumbai Central and Chatrapati Shivaji Terminus (CST) railway stations.

Similarly they have also expressed fear while going to popular clubs and restaurants in the city. Physical assault like molestation, rape and petty crimes like mobile or chain snatching was mentioned by all the respondents in the young category. It was also perceived by all female commuters that having police as guards at the late hours (10 pm onwards) in the local trains enhances their sense of security and protection.

Middle age working group 35-45 & 45-55+ (54%) have shown substantial concern about ‘chances of being victimized. Terror attack or violence (riots, political or criminal hooliganism) or death as a result of such events has been considered as a potent cause of ‘fear’ over physical assault, property crime, murder etc. Mostly this group perceived city as commuter friendly but at the same time majority of the respondents (75%) suggested that neighbourhood networking, community networking, community policing and network with local police stations are the ways to prevent any neighbourhood crime and to reduce ‘the fear of victimisation’.

So far as the gang crimes and mafia network is concerned, it was generally observed by Mumbaikars that such cases of extortion, threat or murder took place within the domain of ‘underworld’ and often the target groups were either rich celebrities or businessmen and common people were not the target and therefore there was less sense of fear.

Senior citizens in high –income locality in western and southern part of Mumbai (68%) have shown significant fear of victimisation. These people belonged to the age group between 65-75 and were staying alone or with their spouse/ partners. Single bungalow holders and residence in such rich housing societies didn’t feel secured even with their servants staying or coming regularly for work and private security provided by the society.

On the contrary, senior citizens staying in the middle and lower middle class neighbourhood were comparatively indifferent towards ‘fear’ as most of them had family support and were living with their children. Lower income group senior Mumbaikars also exhibited the need for having neighbourhood networks.

A group of 100 people willing to interact with researchers belonging to lower –income – localities situated in eastern Kurla, Lower Parel, Chembur, Govandi (eastern suburbs) were informally interviewed. It is important to mention here that more than 70% expressed their apathy towards crime and ‘fear’. Their attitude was fatalistic and immune to accidents, crime and death. There were a few neighbourhood where Mahalla committees are active

Table 3: Profile of the sample under study

	Sample distribution Mumbai Suburbs							Commuters			Religion						
	South		West		East			Total	M	F	Total	Hindu		Muslims		Christians	
Age	M	F	M	F	M	F	M					F	M	F	M	F	M
20 - 25	7	5	2	2	3	4	23	12	9	21	7	7	1	1	4	3	23
25 - 30	10	7	3	6	9	3	38	28	9	37	15	9	0	2	7	5	38
30 - 35	2	3	5	4	8	3	25	8	13	21	8	6	2	1	5	3	25
35 - 45	15	8	21	13	27	3	87	32	8	40	35	10	14	2	14	12	87
45 - 55	16	5	8	6	5	10	50	18	2	20	17	9	5	2	7	10	50
55 - 65	7	2	8	2	4	1	24	5	0	5	11	2	4	0	4	3	24
65 - 75	3	2	0	1	2	0	8	1	0	1	2	1	1	0	2	2	8
Total	60	32	47	34	58	24	255	104	41	145*	95	44	27	8	43	38	255

Source: Primary Data

and sometimes a significant percentage of migrants, mostly youth were engaged in underworld activities as foot soldiers. This has been corroborated repeatedly by crime Mumbai police.

Religion & Fear of Victimization

This is a sensitive issue to ask or to connect 'fear' with religion. There are fundamental Hindu and Muslim political groups in the city and city is still suffering from the trauma of recent terror attack (26/11) and decade old communal violence (riots during 1992-93). However, Hindus and Muslims two major ethnic groups have been living together since more than a century across the city and Mumbai is known as a city of multi ethnicity. A total of 30 people from minority Muslim community especially men aged between 22-65+ were interviewed to understand the fear factor. While interacting with educated rich Muslim community, mainly businessmen, professional and students perusing higher studies limited or no sense of 'fear' were perceived.

Interestingly, in the slums or squatter settlement of low –income groups comprising large clusters of a particular ethnic community from certain parts of the country like northern part of India exhibited double sense of fear; fear of not being a 'Marathi manus' (a local term used to address a Maharashtrian) and also being a non –Hindu. During Mumbai serial bomb blasts 1992-93, majority were arrested and accused from the minority community by the Mumbai police and many of such localities are still under surveillance. Many of the respondents stated that they were targeted though they were not part of any gang or terror group but from minority.

However, majority of caught gangsters or terrorists as reported by Mumbai police belonged to Muslim community. Hence, it made their life more fearful and their family members were prone to any accusation/stigmatization by the larger community and police. Interestingly, there was higher degree of bonding amongst Muslim community in spite of their coming from many parts of India. It is important to mention here that local Muslims from Maharashtra who are residing in the outskirts of Mumbai were comparatively less fearful and blamed migrant Muslim often for mishaps. While taking their interviews, researchers had to talk to them in group as they were not allowed to talk alone with anyone especially youth by their family, neighbours or community. These people exhibited strong network, bonding and "we feel" amongst themselves.

Amongst Christian community more than 90% respondents stated no fear of "multi-ethnic conflict" but showed displeasure towards violence and fear of sudden terror attack and loss of life. Their fear was independent of their ethnic identity. The Hindu majority (more than 80%) have expressed inhibitions about fundamentalist exposition of Muslims towards their region and therefore the latent exploitation of their sentiments in commission of crimes. However, a small percentage of Hindus considered multi-ethnic community neighbourhood as amicable and friendly.

Commuters & Fear of Victimization

Daily commuters especially travelling on harbor line that connects Navi Mumbai to CST station and Central lines were interviewed on this dimension.

More than 78% commuters across all age, gender and classes expressed a sense of vulnerability to mishaps or terror attacks as they have no alternative mode to travel which was convenient and affordable. One respondent who witnessed train blast of 11th July, 2006 when 274 people were injured and 210 people died (Mumbai Police Report, 2011) expressed helplessness and stated " what choice do we have other than getting accustomed to such awful incidences. I have lost my relatives and my own family members but life has to move on in Mumbai. It is the law and order agencies and government's responsibility to make our life secure whereas they have failed us time and again". Researchers perceived and understood that daily commuters would definitely feel secure if there were CCTV cameras and adequate security checks at the railway stations. Also stations like CST, Bandra, Andheri west Mumbai, Central, Churchgate and a few more could be given special police vigilance and protections.

Gender & Fear

Amongst young females aged between 18-28, significant majority (88%) expressed 'fear' from sexual assault, though a majority (82%) felt that Mumbai was comparatively a safer city for the women to work and commute even at odd hours. However, a significant percentage (42.7%) amongst all age groups (18-55) have experienced erratic behaviour like stone throwing, water or colour throwing during holy or similar incidents during festivals. Many of them (25.6%) have experienced chain snatching, pick pocketing and similar petty thefts. In spite of forgoing hassle, train was still considered most convenient and desired

transport by the female commuters. On the contrary males who are daily travelers in trains (55%) exhibited indifferent attitude towards sudden mishappenings happening and on further probing mentioned compulsion and helplessness towards such accidental and avoidable deaths and injuries while travelling as there was no other alternative means to commute. They suggested increasing and tightening of security to protect commuters' life. Females, however, more vulnerable in every walk of life in metros

Mumbai Police: Views on Fear of Victimization

Opinion of a selected few police officials as stated earlier was taken to contrast the views and perception of common citizens of Mumbai on "fear of victimization". Regarding location and fear these officials stated that no location is free of risk and violence. As one of the senior officials asserted "no one can assure you '0' (Zero) crime and protection as everyone is at risk". However, senior officials having experience of more than 15 years in dealing with the crime in Metros expressed different perception about 26/11 terror attack. They mentioned it demanded entirely different safety net to secure neighbourhood and citizens' life for it being atypical than usual crime and safety issues including mafia crime syndicate activities and, hence, has to be treated at a different platform. A senior official commented that "...there has not been any further terrorist attack, post 26/11. Media perpetuated fear by highlighting the attack for several days. Negative news gets more attention as it is treated like 'masala' (spice) e.g., Kasab was shown across the globe in London, New York, Middle East, Japan like a show

piece in reality show. You could watch it from your drawing room... over a cup of tea". Such statement certainly suffices the attitude of common people towards crime and violence happening as a part of everyday life situation, thus leads to the state of 'normalisation of crime' (acceptance) is resulting in indifference towards pro-active approach that could help law and order agency to have joint venture to beat crime, terror and violence.

However, it is needless to say, visual exposition and gory detail of crime/terror like blasts or shootouts at public places or gruesome murder creates panic and over fright the minds of people which is what the terrorists capitalize on, the "fear".

While commentary on the role of media, officials stated that "... if a bus has been burnt, the news will flash over and over again, such overrated news would project deeper gravity of damage than the actual fact, as if several buses have been burnt and many have died but the loss of human life may not be that grave, one person may have died in such mishap". According to these officials media therefore is often responsible in spreading 'fear psychoses in the civil society.

About religion related crime and fear, the responses were not overt but insinuated by them that most of the hardcore criminals belonged to minority community (Muslim) But they also mentioned that Muslim community is usually peace loving and may not be part of the crime but as these gangsters or suspects use their localities as hideouts, often making it difficult to identify who is an offender, potential offender or a civilian.

On gender issues, police perceived Mumbai as much safer place for women, though more vulnerable to victimization due to their being perceived as weaker sex. Expressing their views on larger issues of safety and security, they pointed out the ill equipped police force, lack of manpower extra ordinary long hours of work, fatigue lack of support from civil society therefore apathetic attitude towards police as the barrier in their effectively discharging responsibility. However, post 26/11 they asserted that they were now better prepared and have trained personnel to tackle any further attacks and protect the civil society. Perhaps long awaited police reforms can help them in increasing their effectiveness as understood by the author.

IV. Growing Sense of Fear, Insecurity & Victimisation: Theoretical Relevance of the Discourse

The present study explored the presence of "fear" conscious or subconscious amongst residents of urban neighbourhood in Mumbai and it demands going deeper into the issues in view of the decline in the standards of safety and security provided by law and order agencies on the one hand, and weak governance in the major cities on the other, pushing human dignity and quality of life at the lowest ebb.

Furthermore role of new socio-economic relations under the present paradigm of development is fast eroding basic human values and criminalising Indian society. Such empirical evidence in major cosmopolitan or metros could be sufficed by theoretical argument of scholarly debate of 'west' who have been raising the 'issue of risk, modernity and

crime' as an offshoot of globalization and liquid modernity (Taylor, Walton and Young (1973; Lea, 2002; Bech, 2007; Bauman, 2000). In the context of developing nations, the argument seeks the answer into the inequality of social structure, power and exploitation. As Lea (2002: 186) states "...the causes of crime need to be looked for in deep structural inequalities. Crime is produced by relative deprivation". In my previous discourses, it has been observed that crime syndicates can easily allure manpower from lower socio-economic strata being victim of wide structural inequalities.

Increasing trend of indigenous crimes like dowry deaths, rapes, intimidation of commoners, murder of vulnerable senior citizens, extortion and killings by the gangs, flesh trade, smuggling of arms and ammunition, drugs, corruption and other forms of crime perpetuating fear of violence have become a part of living existence in India especially in major cities like Mumbai. Numerous accidents, deaths on the roads, hazardous work conditions, negligent medical and health treatment, adulterated food and drinks and increasing suicide rates etc (Sharma & Sarkar, 2009) also adds to stressful living conditions in urban neighbourhoods.

In day to day visibility of commuters, pushing crowd to get an entry into the local train during office hours, spitting close to co-passenger or neighbours, peeing or toileting in the public places and close to local railway tracks are the common sites in Mumbai leading to dehumanized life situation making millions de-sensitized towards each other. To add to the misery

communal violence in the last decade (1992-93) followed by serial blasts after Babri Masjid demolition and cross border terrorism planted in Mumbai like 11th July 2006 terror attack in public places, 26th Nov, 2008 massive cross border terror attack killing and maiming hundreds of innocent lives, have all led to shattering of confidence of citizens in law and order and drove them towards a state of apathy and indifference in changing their life situations.

Though historically concern for safety and security remained a privilege of the elite class, with recent varieties of terror attacks and changing crime patterns the extent and intensity of victimization has spread across all classes. Organized economic crimes, extortion and similar kind of offences are particularly now targeting rich and famous rather than the ordinary masses. Elite customers at posh hotels and pubs have become the target for terrorists as it attracts maximum media attention (attack on Taj hotel on 26/11). Along with this, common public places like germen bakery blast case in Pune (13/02/10) or CST station, open attack by Ajmal kasab and his aides (26/11/2008) in Mumbai have also been attacked to inflict maximum damage and spread 'fear of victimization' at large.

Hence, crime gets accepted as routine and inevitable as an offshoot of post modern development leading to 'normalization of crime in the society. Crime is increasingly regarded as a normal aspect of the social and economic system rather than disruption or deviance. The blurring boundaries between the criminal and the normal are evident in



a number of areas from the activities of multinational corporations to the life of the city (Lea; 2002, Bauman, 2001; Beck, 2007) is the post modernist discourse. Therefore, crime, risk and hazardous life are no longer limited to time and space, we are all going through a liquid modern phase where chaos, hazardous life, risk have become common and daily part of life. Beck (2007:213) defends "...process of reflexive modernization is leading from the national industrial society to the ...world society". He further continues (2007: 5) "...given indeterminateness of risk, existential experimentalism is unavoidable. The experimental dimension of risk- the discovery, the suffering, the prediction of unpredictable, the fear..... the occasional anticipation of death, which risk smuggles into everyday life". Increasing degree of risk and extreme individualization has also given impetus to destroy structural order of traditional institutions which are on the verge of declining. Bauman (2000:182) in his work Liquid Modernity mentioned that, security has to come at the price of modernity and he argues "...liquid modernity puts on and takes off the display window and shop shelves. Family workmates, class, neighbours are all too fluid to imagine their permanence and credit them with the capacity of reliable reference" (ibid). The sense of community feeling and neighbourhood bonding is getting diluted through extreme individualization which is a fruit of modernization. Habbsbawn (1994:428) argued "...men and women look for groups to which they can belong, certainly and forever, in which all else is moving and shifting, in which nothing is certain" The new form of social change that Beck (2009:3) states "... 'existential concern' which is being

awakened across the world by global risks has long since led to a risky game for survival, to a world 'ugliness contest' over the suppression of large scale risks". He further mentioned that "...modern institutions- the police, the administration of justice, the world of finance or the world of criminals, of the military, of the state authority – take center stage..... Risk is explored in the institutional forms which foster domination" (p:6). Thus the risk and uncertainty that becomes inevitable are "...possible or necessary response to the adventure involved in opening up and conquering new markets" (P: 7) simply connotes globalization, modernization and liberalization of new changing forms of life.

Under the new changing era, the modernizing process of globalization, real crisis that emerge is the contradiction and increasing tension in all dimension of socio-economic and political structure breaking down the institutional boundaries and widening the gap of class structure and finally blurring the boundaries of legal, institutional and illegal and crime. Fragmentation of communities, dismantling welfare state, disrupting the role of governance, crunching of urban space, changing urban life, life style all are offshoot of modern capitalist development where 'increasing normalization of crime ' is a typical phenomena of modernity (Lea, 2002: 21-24).

In the present context though modern Mumbai is impregnated with capital and is considered to be the commercial hub of India, it still exhibits contradiction of both opulence and poverty juxtaposed and the gap between the two

is fast widening. Squalor, inequalities in socio-economic structure, deprivation and lust for wealth has successfully blurred the boundaries between right and wrong, legal and illegal, values and ethics in the society. Unfulfilled promises by leaders, pervasive corruption, extreme deprivation, unequal opportunities and availability of means, lackadaisical justice system and low respect and value for human life can estrange citizens and evoke a sense of indifference and apathy towards legal violations, crimes and injustice. Under such circumstances, common people develop tacit acceptance of crime and violence in society.

Risk and hazardous of urban life, uncertainty and fear of victimization in the weakening bonding of community and neighbourhood, crime and victimization is the part of life and the fruit of capitalist development. Lea (2002) aptly describes "...criminality is essentially a by-product which prevails in a society".

V. A Way Forward

In my previous studies (Sarkar, 2002, 2009 (a, b), Sharma & Sarkar, 2009), I have mentioned some leading disturbing trends (which are in line with the arguments of post modernists scholars like Lee, Taylor and Young(2007), Bauman(2000), Bech (1992), Giddens, 1991) in the form of growing population, staggering inequalities, marginalization of the underprivileged, political seclusion of the class, issues of food, safety and security due to increasing violence (communal), terror and Naxalism (more than 200 districts out of 630 districts are affected) in the region are going to be the emerging concerns that Indian society has to confront in the near future.

Given such a bleak projection of future, it becomes important to revisit and strengthen our strategies to prepare Indians to cope up with the issues of increasing unsafe and insecure life and to reduce the 'fear of victimization' especially amongst urban/ city dwellers of the major metros like Mumbai. A few major areas that deserve special attention to reinforce confidence among local citizen shall be: a) Improving socio-economic conditions in the context of Mumbai which have taken hazardous shape due to unplanned and rapid growth of urban areas, economy and wealth.

Development induced crime is atypical phenomena (Sarkar, 2002) in this city; b) The connivance of politics, business and underworld though difficult to eliminate can be reduced by taking pro-active security measures on the part of law and order agencies, availability of sophisticated arms and ammunition to them, cyber learning, functional and well equipped police stations with adequate manpower backed up by comprehensive intelligence.

The law and order agency's image in Mumbai has taken beating many a times due to rampant corruption, frequent political interference, extortions, fake encounters and gang wars. In addition, in the last decade communal violence and many terrorists attacks also have weakened security of the common man and need to be confronted with pro active approach to provide safety and security to the citizens in order to reduce the 'fear of victimization'; c) However, the role of civil society need to strengthened in this regard. An active community network and participation can increase

police vigilance on crime and therefore strengthen the safety measures. In many countries in Europe, for example in UK, there is community networking with a local radio network connected with local police station to work much faster and effectively at the time of any crime incidence or violent attack. Along with CCTV cameras in the prominent places, there could be neighbourhood committees or Mahalla committees (particularly in the lower socio-economic

strata), which can have their own guards appointed by and within the neighbourhood rather than outsourcing it from private security agencies; d) Needless to mention here that a safe society demands active governance, working law and order system and a legal system acting in unison to deliver speedy services and justice to urban neighbourhood to evoke their trust in the governance and justice system in order to reduce fear of victimization.

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