

Safe and Inclusive Cities



Political Context, Crime and Violence in Patna **Shivani Satija**

*Poverty, Inequality and Violence in Urban India: Towards Inclusive Planning
and Policies*

Institute for Human Development, New Delhi
2016



INSTITUTE FOR
HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

3rd Floor, NIDM Building, IIPA Campus
M.G Road, New Delhi-110002

Tel: 011-23358166, 011-23321610. Fax: 011-23765410

Email: mail@ihdindia.org/web: www.ihdindia.org

1. Social and political context of Bihar

To understand the history of crime and violence¹ in Patna, it is important to gain a historical and political context of the state of Bihar. Bihar is a caste based society with strongly rooted semi-feudal structures and a large rural economy. The traditional social institution of caste has been the dominant principal around which the political and social life of Bihar has been organised through the colonial and post-independence period.

Bihar was part of the Bengal province during the colonial period. Being pre dominantly agricultural, it suffered terribly under the oppressive zamindari (landlord) system due to excessive rent seeking, resulting in peasant impoverishment and discontent. The seeds for rural resistance were sown during the revolt of 1857 which began as a rebellion by sepoys and transformed into a wide spread resistance involving a wide base of peasants and rulers, which was subsequently brutally repressed. In the 1920s, Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, leader of Bhumihaars began to mobilize people against the zamindars, and cultivated grounds for peasant rebellion. They resisted against exploitative rents and demanded occupancy rights. In 1929, he formed the Bihar Provincial Kisan Sabha (farmers' collective) which was to become very strong and significant during the national struggle and after independence paved the way for the formation of the All India Kisan Sabha (Rodgers and Satija, 2012).

Prior to the 1960s, upper caste dominance characterised the political landscape of the state. However, since the 1960s, political and social movements representing and promoting interests of lower and backward class interests have been occurring in the state resulting in the weakening of the landed upper caste hold. The era of coalitional and regional politics and the political assertion of what is referred to as the backward classes through agrarian movements began against oppressive feudal structures such as the zamindari system, and demanded redistribution of land, minimum wages and other egalitarian agrarian reforms (Shah 2002).

This began resulting in a polarisation between the upper and backward caste groups. This period of resistance witnessed the emergence of a militant peasant based resistance known as the Naxal Movement whose origin can be traced in Naxalbari, West Bengal in 1968 to fight against the exploitative upper caste and dominant semi feudal interests and went on

¹ It is also important to differentiate between crime and violence. While the former are recognised by the state and have specific penalties, the latter often do not reach the state authorities and continue unabated and often normalised like domestic violence and sexual harassment. Besides the obvious forms of physical violence, there also exist invisible forms of structural violence that cannot be measured, only experienced such as discrimination based on caste, sex and religion, inequality and lack of access to basic services which other chapters will be covering.

to spill over into adjacent states including Bihar. The Naxal influence has since then waned in the state. During the 1970s, with the popularisation of Karpuri Thakur's Socialist Party, as well as Jai Prakash Narayan's "Bihar Movement", which he founded as a result of increasing misgovernance and corruption laying the foundation of the national-level Janata Party, the movement of the oppressed classes began to gain impetus. (Jha, 1970 cited in Rodgers and Satija, 2012:26). During the eighties and nineties, private armies belonging to almost all upper and intermediate castes were mobilised to counter this wave of the lower caste resistance and the threat represented by the Naxals. These were the Kuer Sena, the Brahmarshi Sena of Bhumihars, Lorik Sena of Yadavs, and Bhoomi Sena of Koiris (Kumar, 2003).

Besides the polarisation of upper and lower caste, this period also witnessed a powerful political tussle between parties representing the political interests of the Yadavs on the one hand and the Kurmis and Koeris on the other reflective of the overall political dominance of the backward classes. This marked the beginning of criminalisation of politics where in criminal gangs were organised on the basis of caste to serve political interests. While this phenomenon had been occurring in Rohtas, Monghyr, Begusarai and Bhagalpur districts, it assumed a distinctively urban dimension in the 1990s, which was also the era of Laloo's politics. There were Yadav gangs, Mahto gangs and Gop gangs that operated freely through the city, although the Yadav gangs were most dominant. These gangs kidnapped urban professionals for ransom besides other violent crimes. The phenomenon of criminal gangs being used for political ends was not a new one and existed even during the colonial era to administer and control anti British elements (Jha, 1995). This phase of Bihar's criminalisation of politics was characterised by an intersection of caste, crime and politics.

Besides, caste, communal violence and communalisation of politics is also prevalent. There have been numerous riots before and after independence such as the Muzaffarpur riots in 1946, Jamshedpur riots in 1979, Bhagalpur riots in 1989. The latter resulted in mass unpopularity of the Congress which was accused of not being able to contain the riots, paving the way for the rise of the Janata Dal party. Heavy patrolling and police presence is still found in the state including Patna during festivals such as Eid, Durga Puja and Dusshera.

In 1977, during the national elections, the Janata Party came to power, thus moving away from Congress's one party rule and paving the way for coalitional politics. This was accompanied by political assertion by the oppressed classes, culminating in the proposal by the Bihar Backward Classes Commission formed in 1971, to reserve seats in state government services and educational institutions for backward classes, as their representation was almost nonexistent (Bharti, 1990). In 1990, the Mandal Commission was formed which recommended 27 per cent of jobs in central government jobs for those belonging to backward caste groups such as Yadavs, Kurmis and Koeris, which led to discontent among the people, particularly youth from the forward caste groups such as

Bhumihars, Brahmins, Rajputs . This led to open violence between the pro reservations and the anti reservation camps (Bhaumik, 1990). This violence has continued to characterise relations between the youth of these different caste groups and led to further social fragmentation. This conflict like many others in Bihar, was rooted in scarcity of basic services and employment opportunities but assumed caste dimensions.

In 1995, the Janata Party came to power under the leadership of Laloo Prasad Yadav. There were tensions within the backward caste communities as well resulting in a split of the Janata Party and the formation of opposing political camps, one being the Samata Party led by the current Chief Minister Nitish Kumar and the other being Rashtriya Janata Dal (RJD) under the former Chief Minister, Laloo Prasad Yadav enjoyed the support of the Yadavs and Muslims and landless poor, while the Janata Dal joined Samata Party and in alliance with the BJP to become Janata Dal United (JDU(U)) (Rodgers and Satija, 2012).

The decade and half of 1990 to 2005 witnessed the direct and indirect rule of Laloo Prasad and was reportedly marked by corruption and high crime rates. The year 2005 marked a transition in the political landscape of Bihar with JD (U) along with BJP coming into power led by Nitish Kumar. In 2010, JD(U)-BJP alliance returned to power. Three years later, Chief Minister Nitish Kumar severed ties with JD(U) ally BJP over dissatisfaction with BJP's choice of prime ministerial candidate, thus forcing the BJP out of Bihar (Gaikwad, 2013). This political development has generated much debate among political circles with BJP supporters calling it a hasty decision and others feeling that this move could hamper BJP's electoral ambitions at the Lok Sabha Elections in May 2014. The national elections witnessed the overwhelming majority of the BJP and this was followed by a plummeting of Nitish Kumar's popularity. He stepped down soon after and nominated Mr. Jitan Manjhi as Chief Minister in his place. In a dramatic turn of events, the two former political rivals, Laloo Prasad Yadav and Nitish Kumar forged a political alliance to fight the upcoming state elections (Singh, 2014).

2. *State of Crime in Bihar and Patna*

Although overall crime reduced following the political transition in 2005, the total cognizable crimes have shown an increase again since 2008 according to the National Crimes Record Bureau (NCRB). The same source states that the percentage of crimes against SCs and STs in Bihar to total crimes against SCs and STs in the country have been increasing steadily from 4 per cent in 2001 to 14 per cent in 2012, a cause for serious concern. Crimes against women have been increasing in Bihar since the last decade. Rate of total cognizable crime against women in Bihar peaked in 2004 and then again in 2008 and 2011. The contribution of crime against women to total crime in Bihar has also been increasing from 6.1% in 2001 to 7.5% in 2011. The contribution of crime against women in Bihar to all India total of crime against women has also been increasing, with crime against women in Bihar

constituting 4.5% of all India total of crime against women in 2011 (NCRB data cited in Satija, 2012).

Crime in the state has been climbing. Verma, 2013, reports that crime in the state, including Maoist activities have been on the rise, all of which are reflective of the low socio-economic status and poor governance in the state. According to the report by NGO Equity Foundation- Action Aid Bihar has become very unsafe for women with crimes against women increasing by 65 per cent from 2008 to 2011. The report says that 870 cases of rape took place in the state in 2011, out of which more than 5 per cent occurred in the capital. Thus though the law and order scenario improved significantly during the chief Minister's first term, the following term has witnessed deterioration of security. Elements from the BJP attribute this deterioration to JD (U)'s split with the former (Singh, 2013).

2.1. State of Crime in Patna

Patna had a poor reputation in terms of crime, particularly organised crimes between caste based gangs with political affiliations in the nineties and early 2000s. The NCRB data also indicated an increasing trend in violent crimes, in particular murders and kidnappings. Like the rest of the state, Patna too experienced a spike in violent crimes such as murders and kidnappings during the nineties and early 2000s, followed by a significant decline after 2005, which is attributed to the specific and pointed efforts by the then Chief Minister, Nitish Kumar towards curtailing crimes, such as increasing the strength and salary of the police to clamp down criminal elements and dismantle existing gangs, and expediting court cases. However, while violent crimes declined, non-violent crimes such as theft and harassment and had continued to increase according to Rodgers and Satija, 2012. This trend however has begun to change since 2011 and one can see an increase in both violent and non-violent crimes as seen in table 1, where in there is an increase in total cognizable crime² rate³ since 2011.

Table 1: **Total Cognizable Crime Rate of Patna and other Tier II cities (2005-2013)**

City	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Ahmedabad	386.5	425.7	383	410.4	458.6	474.5	318.1	336.1	334.7
Indore	766.1	769.1	792.7	941.4	800.3	868.2	669.3	762.2	809.9
Lucknow	271.2	298.7	373.5	517.6	462.4	455.1	306.5	315.3	402.2
Patna	462.1	494	524	528.1	515.9	528.2	453.9	525.1	702.8

² The Indian Criminal Procedure Code (Cr.P.C.) classifies crime into: (a) Cognisable offence. and (b) Non-cognisable offence. In the case of the former, officers of the police are empowered to act without the permission of the magistrate, that is, without obtaining a court order; while in the case of the latter; the police must obtain a court order before arresting the person concerned..

³ Crime rate is crimes per 100,000 population

Source: Calculated on the basis of data from NCRB 2005-2013

This table situates the Patna among four tier II cities in order to gain perspective about crimes in some of the urban centres of similar demographic size. Among four of the tier II cities selected for analysis, Indore experiences the highest rate of total cognizable crimes, followed by Patna and Ahmadabad. Ahmadabad has experienced variability in crime rates but these have been declining since 2010 when the rate of crime was 474.5 per 100,000 and decreased to 334.7 per 100,000 in 2013. Patna has been experiencing a steady rise in total cognizable crime rates since 2005 (much of the rise was attributed to a rise in other IPC crimes), although it declined in 2011 to 453.9, rose again to 525.1 per 100,000 in 2012 and in 2013, increased significantly to 702.8 per 100,000. The point being that total crime rate has remained high in Patna among the four tier II cities. The year 2013 though has experienced a significant increase in total cognisable crime rates, a part of which could be attributed to reporting.

Total cognizable crimes across three time points

Year	Ahmedabad	Indore	Lucknow	Patna
2003	334.8	708.5	179.3	369.2
2008	410.4	941.4	517.6	528.1
2013	334.7	809.9	402.2	702.8

Calculated based on NCRB data 2003-2013

Looking at the total cognizable crime rates during three time points, one being 2003 that is when Laloo Prasad Yadav was in power, the second being 2008, that is after Nitish Kumar came to power and just before his second term as Chief Minister, and the third being 2013. Patna's total cognizable crime rate can be seen increasing through all the time points. The fact that it was the least during the time Laloo Prasad Yadav's government was in power could be attributed to very poor reporting as most of the crimes had deep political links.

Table 2 : Three year moving average total cognizable crime rates in selected tier II cities

City	2005-07	2006-08	2007-09	2008-10	2009-11	2010-12	2010-13
Ahmedabad	398.4	406.4	417.3	447.8	417.1	376.2	329.6
Indore	776.0	834.4	844.8	870.0	779.3	766.6	747.1
Lucknow	314.5	396.6	451.2	478.4	408.0	359.0	341.3
Patna	493.4	515.4	522.7	524.1	499.3	502.4	560.6

Calculated on the basis of data from NCRB 2005-2012

A three year moving average of cognizable crime rates presents a more nuanced picture and takes care of any year which might have experienced a dramatic slump or spike in crimes. While Indore experienced a very high crime rate which increased and then decreased slightly from 2009-11, Patna has remained a close second and increased steadily till 2008-10 and then reduced slightly to increase again in 2010-12 and 2011-13.

2.2. Crimes against women

The crime rate against women in Patna and Lucknow experienced a significant increase in total rate of crime against women. Table 3 shows that Patna had a relatively low crime rate against women in 2005, increased in 2006, after which it began to decrease and in 2012 reached 65.8 per 100,000 and in 2013 it increased to 95.7 per 100,000 women. Not only does this have implications for women's safety, it also challenges one of the foundations upon which Nitish Kumar had come to power, that is on the issue of women's empowerment⁴.

Table 3: Total Cognizable Crime Rate against women in selected tier II cities (2005-2013)

City	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Ahmedabad	41	45	58.4	54	52.2	53.4	58.3	57.5	81.5
Indore	59	57	63.6	73.3	78.2	63.2	71.8	85.8	90.5
Lucknow	49.3	50.4	73.5	115	36	78	60.6	56.7	103.5
Patna	25.6	46.8	37.3	26.6	39.7	33.7	41.5	65.8	95.7

Calculations based on NCRB 2005-2013. The crime rate has been calculated based on urban female population for all the years

Some of the data emerging from the field work conducted in 2011 as well as in 2014 among selected slum settlements in the city reveals that women experience fear inside their homes due to domestic violence and harassment outside in public spaces, particularly while using the public toilets or open defecation.

Total cognizable crimes against women across three time points

City	Ahmedabad	Indore	Lucknow	Patna
2003	34.8	66.9	53.8	21.1
2008	54.1	73.3	115.0	26.6
2013	81.5	90.5	103.3	95.7

⁴ Personal communication, Shaibal Gupta, Director, Asian Development Research Institute, Patna, cited in Rodgers and Satija, 2012:52

Calculated based on NCRB data 2003-2013

Observing total cognizable crimes against women across three time points indicates that all cities have seen a considerable increase in women crime rates, with the increase in Patna being very significant.

Table 4: Three Year moving average of women in selected tier II cities

Cities	2005-07	2006-08	2007-09	2008-10	2009-11	2010-12	2011-13
Ahmedabad	48.1	52.5	54.9	53.2	54.6	56.4	65.8
Indore	59.9	64.6	71.7	71.6	71.1	73.6	82.7
Lucknow	57.7	79.6	74.8	76.3	58.2	65.1	73.6
Patna	36.6	36.9	34.5	33.3	38.3	47.0	67.7

Calculated on the basis of data from NCRB 2005-2012

Barring Lucknow, the other cities have experienced an increase in crime rates against women in a three year moving average, with Patna experiencing a significant increase since 2009-11 and in 2011-13 it increased significantly.

Although efforts have been made to enhance safety of women, one major one being institutionalising a women's police station in Patna, however interactions with the police commissioner revealed a deep seated patriarchal mindset which counters any positive efforts in more ways than one. Victim blaming in cases of domestic violence were witnessed by the team. Moreover, it was told to the team, that at first instance, the state has instructed the police counsel the spouses to remain together even if the wife was facing physical abuse.

2.3. Crimes against children

In terms of crimes against children, Patna is next only to Lucknow, which has the highest rate of crimes against children among the four tier II cities. Crimes against children in Patna has been on the rise as seen in table 2, with significant increase in 2007 and then again in 2012.

Table 5: Total Cognizable Crime Rate against children (2005-2013)

City	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Ahmadabad	3.3	3.5	3.6	3.2	2.6	2.0	1.6	3.5	NA

Indore	27.3	25.5	26.8	29.1	20.6	19.8	15.5	12.5	NA
Lucknow	0.9	2.5	4.2	9.1	4.1	1.8	2.5	4.8	NA
Patna	0.2	0.9	5.2	1.6	4.4	4.6	3.9	10.5	NA

Calculated on the basis of data from NCRB 2005-2013

Patna has earned notoriety regarding kidnappings of children and the data seems to reinforce that image. Media reports also corroborate this trend and point to the possibility of a class bias in police response to these kidnappings. While there is instant response when children of wealthy parents go missing, the response is neither prompt nor efficient when it comes to children from poor socio-economic backgrounds, many of whom remain missing and likely to have ended up being trafficked. Altogether 329 cases of kidnapping were lodged with different police stations till June. Of these, only six cases pertained to kidnapping for ransom. (Chaaoudhury, 2014). Media reports also point to the rise in kidnappings of girls in the city, according to Choudhury, 2013, which is indicative of trafficking of girl children.

Table 6: Three Year moving averages of cognizable crime rates against children

City	2005-07	2006-08	2007-09	2008-10	2009-11	2010-12
Ahmedabad	3.5	3.4	3.1	2.6	2.1	2.4
Indore	26.5	27.1	25.5	23.2	18.6	15.9
Lucknow	2.5	5.3	5.8	5.0	2.8	3.0
Patna	2.1	2.6	3.7	3.5	4.3	6.3

Calculated on the basis of data from NCRB 2005-2012

Looking at the three year moving average of cognizable crime rates against children, it can be seen that in Patna, it is increasing steadily and has reached 6.3 per 100,000 in 2010-12. Indore experienced the highest rate of cognizable crimes against children among the four cities., although the rate has declined since 2009-11.

Table 7: Violent crimes- Murder, Rape and Kidnapping

Rates of Violent Crime	City	2005-07	2006-08	2007-09	2008-10	2009-11	2010-12
Murder	Ahmedabad	2.1	2	1.8	1.7	1.6	1.5

	Indore	4.7	5.5	5.5	5.2	4.5	4.4
	Lucknow	4.6	4.2	3.8	3.4	3.4	3.2
	Patna	9.9	8.5	8.1	7.4	8.3	8.7
Rape	Ahmedabad	0.8	0.9	1	1.4	1.1	1.1
	Indore	4.4	4.4	3.8	3.7	3.7	4.7
	Lucknow	1.5	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.6	1.5
	Patna	1.9	1.8	1.8	1.5	1.4	1.5
Kidnapping	Ahmedabad	4.2	3.9	4.2	4.1	4.1	3.9
	Indore	2.3	2.4	2.4	2.2	2.1	2.2
	Lucknow	6.7	9.6	11.4	12	10	8.7
	Patna	9.3	10	13.7	12.8	12.3	12.3

Calculated on the basis of data from NCRB 2005-2012

In terms of violent crimes such as murders, kidnappings and rape in particular, Patna remains on the higher side when compared to the other three tier II cities. Rate of murders have declined slightly but have remained high, while rate of kidnappings have increased since 2007-09. Interestingly, it is these two categories of crimes that the Nitish Kumar government focussed on and its claim to fame has been the clamp down on these crimes. However, the rising crime rates reveals a different story.

Table 8: Ranking of cities based on total cognizable crime rate

City	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Ahmedabad	12	10	15	10	10	10	21	21
Indore	1	1	1	1	1	2	5	2
Lucknow	20	20	16	9	9	12	24	25
Patna	7	6	6	7	7	9	12	10

Calculated on the basis of data from NCRB 2005-2012

Indore has ranked highest in terms of cognizable crime rates from 2005 to 2009, dropped to 5 in 2011 and then rose to 2 again in 2012. Patna also remains quite high among the other cities, ranked at 7 in 2005, dropping to 12 in 2011 and then to 10 in 2012. Thus despite the reduction in certain kinds of crimes since 2005, Patna has remained a high crime city.

Thus there has been a very different account of crime as per the media reports (during the time when Nitish came to power) and the NCRB data. No doubt that Patna is a much safer city today as compared to the late eighties and nineties when gangs were operating freely

and kidnappings and murders had become important features of the criminal and political landscape, however there has been a transformation of the criminal landscape today. While the 'obvious' organised nature of violent crime has reduced, organised economic crimes have increased (see table 9) with political support, in the form of builders and their gangs forcibly occupying residential buildings. This is attributed to the rapidly rising land rates in the city, where crimes like land grabbing by powerful builders have becoming quite common. In the last decade, Patna has undergone dramatic transformation in terms of the massive number of buildings, many of which are unapproved and unplanned, being built (Patna Daily, 2012). According to Choudhury, 2013, about 50 property related cases are registered with the police every month.

Table 9: Three year moving averages of share of different types of IPC crimes to total crimes in Patna (in percentage)

Patna	2005-07	2006-08	2007-09	2008-10	2009-11	2010-12
Body Crimes	8.4	7.8	6.8	6.8	7.6	19.2
Crimes against women	3.7	3.7	3.5	3.4	4.0	4.7
Economic crimes	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.7	3.9	4.9
Crimes against Public order	2.4	2.4	2.5	2.3	2.6	2.7
Crimes against Property	25.0	23.5	26.1	28.5	32.0	31.2
Other IPC	57.8	59.9	58.3	56.2	49.8	37.3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

The share of body crimes to total crimes in Patna have been decreasing slightly since 2005-07 and went on to increase significantly in 2010-12. Share of economic crimes and crimes against property have remained consistent till 2008-10 after which they have increased, which is reflective of the changing nature of organised crime. Share of crimes against women have increased. Other IPC crimes have decreased since 2008-10 and have come down to 37.3 per cent of total crimes in 2010-12.

Table 10: Conviction and category of punishment in Bihar

No. of Cases		Convicted Criminals					Category of Punishment		
Year	IPC	Arms Act	IPC	Arms Act	Hanging	Life	More than 10 years	Less than 10 years	Total Convictions
2006	2178	1156	5230	1609	17	1389	366	5067	6839
2007	3695	800	8774	1154	39	2168	680	6966	9853
2008	4461	706	10994	1018	27	2307	610	9063	12007
2009	5333	482	12412	704	12	1824	375	10935	13146
2010	6201	427	13717	594	37	1875	640	11759	14311

2011	5104	319	11509	453	2	1733	584	9643	11962
2012	4582	409	9716	630	17	1461	372	8496	10346

Source: Bihar Police Website

Overall, total convictions in the state has increased since 2006, peaking in 2010 which was the year of the assembly elections when Nitish Kumar came to power again. In terms of IPC crimes, the incidence rose significantly in 2010, the year of elections and then declined. In terms of IPC convictions, these have been increasing, particularly in 2010 and then declines in 2012. In terms of punishments of more than 10 years have decreased while punishment of less than 10 years has increased.

3. Initial findings from the field:

In 2011, IHD conducted a research entitled, "Understanding the Tipping Point of Urban Conflict: Violence, Cities, and Poverty Reduction in the Developing World", in selected slum settlements using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in order to understand what factors contribute to tipping conflict into violence. According to some of the findings, the principles causes of violence identified were alcohol consumption, lack of access to water, the bad behaviour of youth and domestic violence. Over three fourth of survey respondents felt that women were the principle victim of violence followed by children. Caste emerged as a very big factor of violence as fights over basic services often played out along caste lines. The dominant caste groups members often claimed control over communal resources like toilets, wells and hand pumps and threatened the lower caste members if they tried to use these. Fear of physical eviction by dominant interests also emerged.

In 2014, similar findings emerged across slum settlements. Caste emerged as the organising principle of space and housing as well as control over access and use of communal resources.

Disaggregated Patna crime 2003 & 2009

Police Jurisdiction	Murder		Dacoity		Loot		Kidnapping for ransom		Kidnapping		Theft	
	2003	2009	2003	2009	2003	2009	2003	2009	2003	2009	2003	2009
Pirbahore	10	4	2	1	18	6	-	-	11	8	90	40
Gandhi	2	2	5	-	39	8	1	1	2	7	106	71

Maidan												
Kadmakuan	13	8	4	1	32	5	3	-	4	9	88	50
Kotwali	7	3	-	1	56	4	2	-	9	5	200	109
Buddha	6	4	2	-	38	6	2	-	1	10	73	44
Colony												
Patliputra	8	3	-	-	30	13	2	1	2	8	37	31
Digha	10	4	7	-	7	2	1	-	9	13	15	14
Rajneev	-	1	-	1	-	11	-	-	-	2	-	18
Nagar												
Sachiwalaya	2	-	-	-	13	2	-	-	-	3	32	20
Gardani	16	5	2	1	33	6	1	-	8	5	77	31
Bagh												
Shastri Nagar	9	2	4	-	46	12	13	-	3	19	101	107
Sri Krishna	9	-	5	-	37	5	1	-	2	5	64	51
Puri												
Hawaiadda	-	1	-	1	-	3	-	2	-	2	-	15
Kankar Bagh	13	6	1	1	19	18	1	1	9	7	75	62
Patrakar	3	2	-	-	13	14	2	-	2	3	37	45
Nagar												
Jakkanpur	18	5	-	1	25	4	3	1	4	9	31	34
Parsa Bazar	7	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	11	11	18
Phulwarishar	8	9	3	1	12	4	1	-	8	18	57	30
if												
Beur	-	8	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	-	11
Janipur	2	2	-	-	10	01	-	-	2	1	3	8
Sultanganj	27	6	-	-	20	8	2	-	6	4	27	10
Alamganj	22	5	4	1	26	5	-	-	6	11	27	26
Khajekala	5	4	3	1	4	1	-	-	6	6	30	12
Chowk	12	4	1	1	15	6	-	-	3	9	27	23
Agamkuan	13	5	3	1	23	13	2	-	7	6	34	36
Mehdiganj	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	1	1	1
Bypass	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	11
Bahadurpur	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	3	-	11
Malsalami	4	11	1	-	3	-	-	-	1	6	10	23
Danapur	19	12	7	-	26	9	2	-	9	7	77	35
Khagaul	3	1	1	-	6	2	-	-	2	5	14	9
Rupaspur	-	2	-	-	-	6	-	1	-	3	-	8
Shahpur	5	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	4	9	7
Akilpur	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	1
Didarganj	2	4	2	2	4	5	-	-	1	3	14	18
Total	258	137	59	16	557	183	39	7	122	220	136	104

Source: Patna Police data collected in 2011

References

- Bhaumik.S N, 1990. 'A Spreading Stir', *India Today In*. 30 September. Available <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/decision-to-implement-mandal-commission-report-stirs-up-protests-across-india/1/316115.html> Accessed 30 August 2014
- Bharti.I.1990. 'The Bihar Formula'. *Economic and Political Weekly*. 3 November. XXV(44)
- Chaudhury.S. 2013. 'Dons are new lords of real estate ring', *The Times of India*. 17 September. Available <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/patna/Dons-are-new-lords-of-real-estate-ring/articleshow/22640540.cms>. Accessed 10 October 2014
- Chaudhury.S. 2014. 'Patna police fail to rescue most kidnapped kids', *The Times of India*. 9 September Available <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/patna/Patna-police-fail-to-rescue-most-kidnapped-kids/articleshow/42119192.cms>. Accessed on 10 October 2014
- Gaikwad.R. 2013. 'JD (U), BJP at loggerheads after split', *The Hindu*. Available <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Nitish-govt-failed-to-check-crime-Maoists-Paswan/articleshow/26924107.cms>. Accessed 15 September 2014
- Jha. K. V. 1996. 'Bihar: Criminalisation of Politics'. (trans Ruby Roy).Srishti Prakash.Patna.Bihar
- Kumar.S, 2003. 'Formation of private armies', *Hindustan Times*, 3 June, Available <http://www.hindustantimes.com/News-Feed/NM2/Formation-of-private-armies/Article1-3852.aspx>, Accessed 10 October 2014
- Rodgers D and Satija S (2012), "Understanding the Tipping Point of Urban Conflict: the case of Patna, India", Working Paper no. 5 in Understanding the tipping point of urban conflict: violence, cities and poverty reduction in the developing world, May, Available at <http://www.urbantippingpoint.org/output/projectpublications/>
- Shah, G. (Ed.). 2002. Caste and Democratic Politics in India. London: Permanent Black.
- Verma K. 2013. 'Nitish govt failed to check crime, Maoists: Paswan. *The Times of India*, 6 December Available <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/Nitish-govt-failed-to-check-crime-Maoists-Paswan/articleshow/26924107.cms>. Accessed 30 August 2014

National Crime Records Bureau Website- <http://ncrb.gov.in/>

Patna Daily, 2012 'Highhandedness by Land Mafia Sparks Protest', *Patna Daily*.
<http://www.patnadaily.com/index.php/news/7081-highhandedness-by-land-mafia-sparks-protest.html>. Accessed 10 October 2014

Satija S (2013), "Violence against Women in Rural Bihar: A Case of Four Villages", Working Paper no. 3, Institute for Human Development, New Delhi. Available at
[http://www.ihdindia.org/Working%20Papers/2013/WO%2003%202013shivani%20\(1\).pdf](http://www.ihdindia.org/Working%20Papers/2013/WO%2003%202013shivani%20(1).pdf)

Sengupta, 2012. 'Land mafia grab citizens' peace. Owners struggle to stake claim over property as builders plot in connivance with cops', *The Telegraph*, 15 January. http://www.telegraphindia.com/1120115/jsp/bihar/story_15007894.jsp#.VD_5GcmjlrY Accessed 10 October 2014

Singh. M. 2014. 'Nitish Kumar and Lalu Prasad Yadav- Strange bedfellows?' *Zee News*. 31 July Available http://zeenews.india.com/blog/nitish-kumar-and-lalu-prasad-yadav-strange-bedfellows_7134.html. Accessed 15 September 2014

Singh. R K. 2013. 'Crime against Women on the Rise in Bihar, says NGO report'. *India Today in*. Available <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/crime-against-women-in-bihar-ngo-equity-foundation-action-aid-nitish-kumar/1/332584.html>. Accessed 15 September 2014