

Understanding the tipping point of urban conflict:

Crime, poverty, and urban governance in Patna, Bihar

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The UTP project

<i>City</i>	<i>Country</i>	<i>Paradigmatic issue</i>	<i>Level of violence</i>
Dili	Timor Leste	Youth	High
Patna	India	Poverty	Low
Nairobi	Kenya	Political exclusion	High
Santiago	Chile	Gender-based insecurity	Low

Conflict and Violence

- Cities are inherently conflictual spaces
- They concentrate large numbers of diverse people with incongruent interests within contained spaces
- This conflict is more often than not managed and/or resolved in a generally peaceful manner through diverse social, cultural and political mechanisms
- Sometimes these mechanisms cannot cope, and a range of different forms of violence can emerge
- Violence is the actualization of conflict through the forcible imposition by an individual or group of their own interests to the disfavour or exclusion of other individuals or groups' interests
- The transition from conflict to violence happens when a "tipping point" is reached



Laloo and Nitish



Patna as a counterfactual

- Case study explores the reversal of a tipping point, and focusing on the factors and processes that led to violence in the city declining.
- Counterfactuals are useful to demonstrate the contingency of assumptions that underpin particular theoretical constructs, and facilitate “imaginative leaps in theory and hypothesis formation” (Lebow, 2010: 5)

Crime and rates of crime in Patna 2003 & 2009

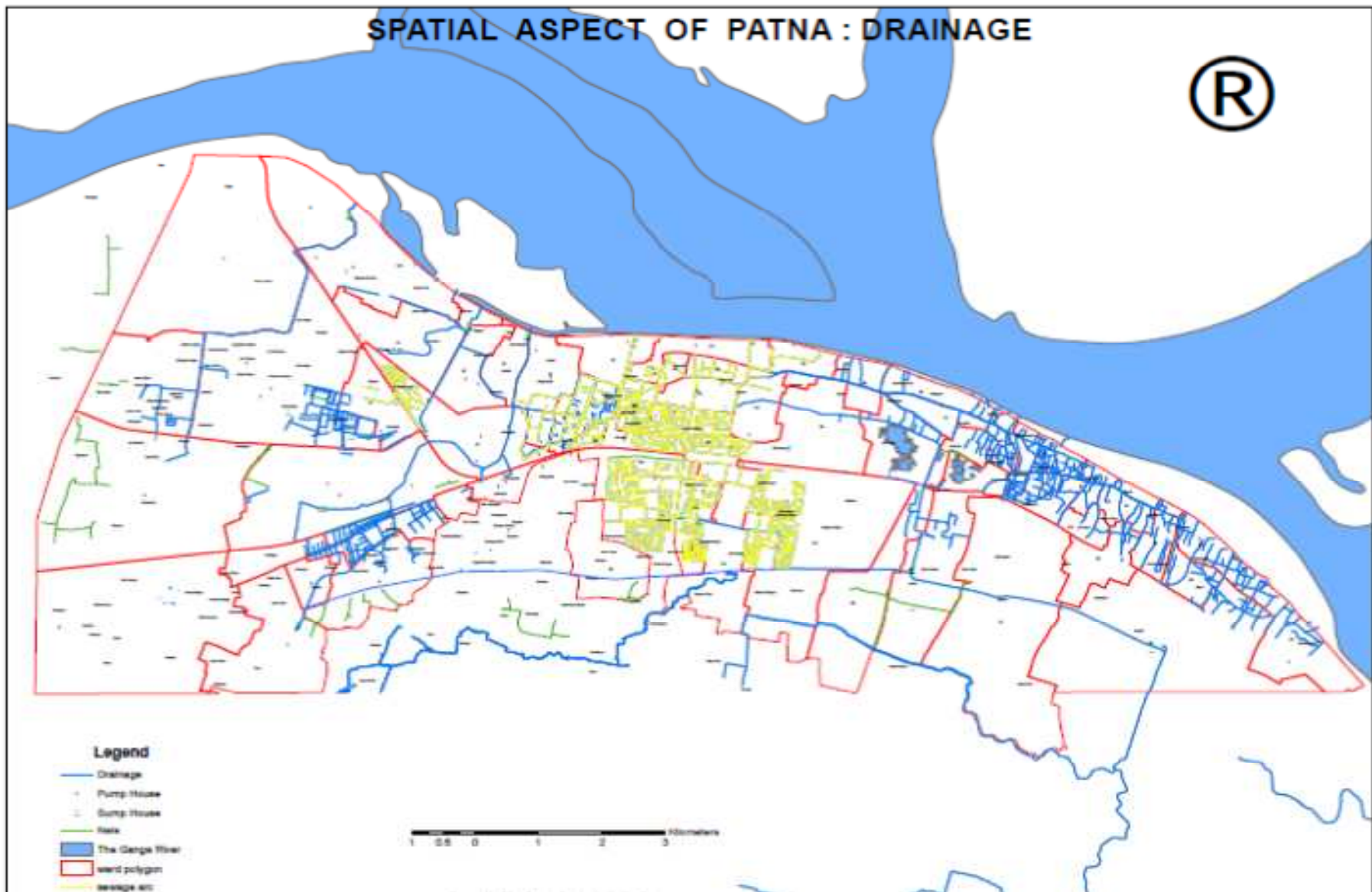
Categories	2003	Crime Rate per 100000	2009	Crime Rate per 100000
Total cognizable crime	6545	383.4	8806	515.9
Murder	260	15.2	137	8
Dacoity	59	3.5	16	0.9
Robbery	594	34.8	179	10.5
Arson	31	1.8	4	0.2
Violence against SCs	NR	NR	NR	NR
Burglary	377	22.1	537	31.5
Theft	1367	80.1	2247	131.6

Source: NCRB
(<http://ncrb.nic.in/>)

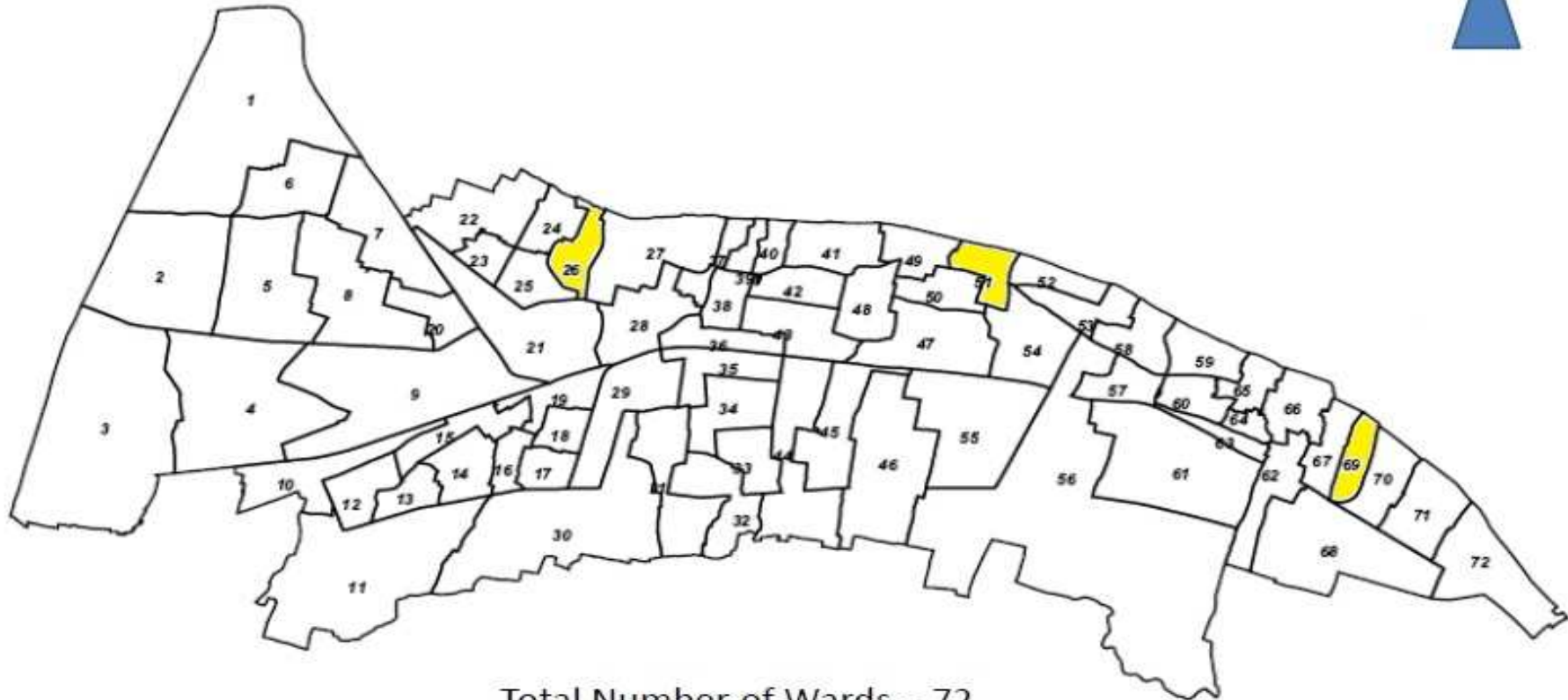
Disaggregated Patna crime 2003 & 2009

Police Jurisdiction	Murder		Theft	
	2003	2009	2003	2009
Buddha Colony	6	4	73	44
Patrakar Nagar	3	2	37	45
Jakkanpur	18	5	31	34
Phulwarisharif	8	9	57	30
Sultanganj	27	6	27	10
Agamkuan	13	5	34	36
Malsalami	4	11	10	23
Didarganj	2	4	14	18

Source: Patna Police



Patna wards (2011)



Total Number of Wards – 72
Total Area – 103 Sq Km

Source: DFID India

Buddha Colony & Mandiri slums



Sultanganj



Mansoorganj



Research methods

- Walking tours
- Key person interviews
- Focused Group Discussions (FGDs)
- Follow up interviews
- Photography
- Census survey



Patna slum survey

	No. of households	No. of households surveyed	Coverage
Buddha Colony slum	12	12	100%
North Mandiri slum	42	39	93%
Mansoorganj slum	100	90	90%
<u>Sultanganj slum area</u>			
<i>Dom Khana slum</i>	17	15	88%
<i>Musahartoli slum</i>	14	12	86%
<i>New Ambedkar Colony slum</i>	303	253	83%
Sultanganj slum area total	334	280	84%
<u>Sultanganj surrounding slums</u>			
<i>Abdul Bari Colony slum</i>	73	67	92%
<i>Old Ambedkar Colony Mehtartoli slum</i>	210	176	84%
Total households surveyed	771	664	86%

Socio-economic overview

- 771 households, for a population of approximately 4,300
- Average household size = 5-6 persons
- 90% living in slum settlement for more than 10 years; 24% there since birth
- 70% under 30; 15-29 years of age (youth) = 30%
- 80% scheduled caste, 11% backwards caste, 5% forward caste
- 80% Hindu, 20% Muslims
- 90% of males had completed primary school, less than 2% illiterate; 48% of females received no education at all, less than 25% had completed primary school
- 80% of those who worked unskilled, almost 60% of occupations irregular
- Modal (45%) monthly household income = 2,501-5,000 INR (55-110 USD)
- 76% of households obtained their water from public hand pumps or stand posts, 59% suffered a lack of drainage, 96% had some form of connection to the Patna electricity grid (mostly informal).











Conclusions

- Violence-reduction campaign has had unintentional consequences – rise of domestic violence in slums
- Mundane conflicts can become polarized along more deep-rooted fault-lines
- Containment of violence = spatial bias
- Distribution of violence is critical to understanding the tipping point of urban conflict
- Need for more inclusive planning

- *Tipping Points are a reaffirmation of the potential for change and the power of intelligent action. Look at the world around you. It may seem like an immovable, implacable place. It is not. With the slightest push – in just the right place – it can be tipped (Malcom Gladwell, 2000: 259).*
- *Any change, even a change for the better, is always accompanied by drawbacks and discomforts (Arnold Bennett, 1867-1931).*

Policy recommendations

	Policy
1	Institutionalise access to hand pumps in Police stations for slum-dwelling women
2	Regulate illegal alcohol sales and increase tariffs on alcohol more generally
3	Ensure women's affairs officer in every Police station & provide with separate budget and authority OR put together mobile women's officer units to visit slums on a rotating basis
4	Infrastructural improvements
	a) Build more toilets, water pumps in slums (BUT must include regular monitoring of good functioning AND prevention of capture by particularistic interests)
	b) More inclusive city-wide planning (introduce participatory planning processes – which will involve building of community halls, providing civic training, and devolution of authority by the state)
5	Violence reduction strategy should not be based on containment but rather more inclusive forms of prevention
6	Regularising, enforcing, and protecting land tenure and ownership