

FEAR OF CRIME AMONG THE ELDERLY: A STUDY OF LUCKNOW DISTRICT IN UTTAR PRADESH

Ph.D. THESIS

by

AVANISH BHAI PATEL



**DEPARTMENT OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
INDIAN INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY ROORKEE
ROORKEE-247 667, INDIA
JANUARY, 2016**

**FEAR OF CRIME AMONG THE ELDERLY: A STUDY OF
LUCKNOW DISTRICT IN UTTAR PRADESH**

A THESIS
*Submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the award of the degree
of*
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in
SOCIOLOGY

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CANDIDATE'S DECLARATION

I hereby certify that the work which is being presented in the thesis entitled “**FEAR OF CRIME AMONG THE ELDERLY: A STUDY OF LUCKNOW DISTRICT IN UTTAR PRADESH**” in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and submitted in the **Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, of the Indian Institute of Technology Roorkee, Roorkee** is an authentic record of my own work carried out during a period from December, 2010 to January, 2016 under the supervision of Dr. Anindya Jayanta Mishra, Associate Professor, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Roorkee, Roorkee.

The matter presented in this thesis has not been submitted by me for the award of any other degree of this or any other Institute.

(**AVANISH BHAI PATEL**)

This is to certify that the above statement made by the candidate is correct to the best of my knowledge.

(Anindya Jayanta Mishra)
(Supervisor)

Date:

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Chairman, SRC

External Examiner

Head of the Department/Chairman, ODC

ABSTRACT

The population of India has approximately tripled during the last 50 years, but the number of elderly has increased more than fourfold. With an ever changing socio-economic and demographic scenario across the country, living conditions of elderly have also changed remarkably. Today, with advancement of medical science, a better standard of life and overall development in the country, not only is the number of elderly growing rapidly, their life expectancy is also gaining new heights every year. With the steady rise in elderly population, the rate of their problems is also increasing. The problem of crime against the elderly is one of them. The cases of crimes against the elderly are rising fast across the country. Today, they are being attacked for grievous hurt, murder, and abuse by known and unknown persons. These cases have certainly affected the way of life and sense of well being of the elderly to a large extent causing a fracture in their social bonds from the family as well as the society. The fear of crime among the elderly is being recognised as an emerging social problem among the elderly in India. There have been some studies conducted on crime against the elderly and elder abuse in India. These studies examined the causes, consequences of crime and abuse against the elderly which indirectly reflect fear of crime among the elderly. But none of these studies has paid direct attention towards fear of crime. Outside India, fear of crime has found a new dimension in the context of gerontological research. As a result, a number of studies have been conducted there related to different dimensions of fear of crime and elderly. In the view of the fact that there has not been a single research on establishing a linkage between fear of crime and the elderly in India, there is a dire need of scientific enquiry to analyse this issue from multiple perspectives.

The current research intends to study fear of crime among the rural and urban elderly. The study has three major objectives. The first objective understands the nature of crime against the elderly in socio-cultural context. The second objective explores the factors affecting fear of crime among the elderly. Finally, the third objective examines the linkage between social bonding and fear of crime among the elderly.

The researcher has chosen 220 elderly respondents through convenience sampling. The study has been carried out in the district of Lucknow in the state of Uttar Pradesh. In this study mixed method approach has been used. This study applies the principles of convergent parallel mixed methods design to examine the emerging social problem of elder abuse and addresses the gap in current knowledge. It involves the independent collection and analysis of two strands of data, from two theoretical paradigms: (i) qualitative data derived from in-depth interviews (ii) quantitative data derived from structured interviews. Then, findings are analysed through narrative and descriptive analysis.

The study found that the various factors such as prior victimization, vulnerability incivility and crime rate of an area give rise to feeling of fear among the elderly. This lends credence to concepts of incivility, vulnerability and defensibility as all these concepts, more or less, talk of weaknesses in physical environment, lack of proper social network, the presence of anti-social elements in the neighbourhood and poor vigilance by the law enforcement agencies. These factors definitely raise concern among the elderly as occurrences of such cases generate feeling of fear of crime among them.

Further, study pointed out that the known persons such as family members, relatives and neighbours have been involved in many cases of elder abuse. This is a significant finding as the elderly have, in general, relied upon the family members and relatives for physical and mental support. Their dependence on family members is based on trust, reciprocity and to some extent helplessness. The study found that the family members, invariably, do not provide proper food, clothing and medical facilities. This indifference emotionally weakens them and brings many problems to them such as feeling of negligence, isolation and fear of abuse. The study contributes to the existing discourse of fear of crime among the elderly with suggestions and directions for further enquiry.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am indebted to a number of people who have provided help, support and encouragement during my years of research studies. I cannot describe how grateful I am to everyone.

First and foremost, I feel it is a matter of pride and privilege to express my gratitude and indebtedness to my supervisor, **Dr. Anindya Jayanta Mishra** (Associate Professor, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, I.I.T. Roorkee). Without his encouragement, it would have been impossible for me to complete my dissertation. I would not have been able to get through to the end without his unwavering support throughout the entire period of my research studies. He has spent countless hours in discussing my research plans, offering suggestions, reading my drafts and providing valuable feedback. His staunch support, excellent guidance, critical comments and suggestions at different stages have helped me to realise my research work in present shape. I simply would not be where I am today, or where I hope to be, without his supervision, and for this I am forever grateful.

I sincerely express my profound respect to **Prof. D. K. Nauriyal**, Chairperson D. R. C., Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, I.I.T. Roorkee, for his invaluable suggestions and enthusiastic support. I further thank to **Prof. S. P. Singh**, Head, Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, I.I.T. Roorkee, for providing me with basic infrastructural facilities for carrying out the research work. In addition, my special thanks goes to **Prof. Renu Rastogi** and **Prof. Nagendra Kumar**, their blessings have always boosted up my morale and confidence. Moreover, I would like to express my sincerest thanks to **Prof. P. Jha, Prof. Rashmi Gaur, Dr. Binod Mishra, Dr. Santosh Rangnekar, Dr. Smita Jha, Dr. Rajat Agrawal** and **Dr. Pooja Garg**.

I would also like to thank to all the non-teaching staff members of the department, library and administration of I.I.T. Roorkee, Roorkee, for their co-operation and supportive guidance for other professional throughout the course of this study. I would like to express my gratitude to **Mr. Rakesh Malik** (Yoga Teacher, I.I.T. Roorkee), for his spiritual and intellectual blessings which motivated me positively during my research work. I greatly appreciate the help extended by the library staff of **National Institute of Criminology and Forensic Science**, New Delhi.

I acknowledge the **Ministry of Human Resource Development** (MHRD), Government of India, New Delhi, for providing me financial assistance in the form of fellowship throughout my research work. I also extend my thanks to all the respondents, who were willing to spend time with me, answered my queries and helped me in completing the questionnaire during data collection.

I have no words to express my gratitude to my family members who have enabled me to think right and tread straight with focus. I am highly indebted to my parents (**Shri Surya Prasad Verma & Smt. Suman Devi**). I also remain indebted to my younger brothers (**Amarendra, Upendra and Abhinandan**).

I warmly thank **Vijay** (IES) and **Virendra**, my fellow, brother and above all good human beings who always inspire and support me. I also wish to unpack my thankful heart for **Soujit, Suraj, Sohini, Akansha, Riya** and **Richa**, my dearest friends for their kind support and guidance during this study. I must register the contribution of my seniors and brotherly figure **Dr. Anurag, Dr. Santosh, Dr. Nalin, Dr. Veerendra, Dr. Chandan, Dr. Shresha and Mr. Amit Giri** who not only made me acquainted to people and places at IIT, Roorkee but also inspired and encouraged me to carry out my research work. Moreover, I have received inspiration, support, cooperation and patience from my lovable juniors and friends **Varun, Akarsh, Bharat, Devendra, Vijayraj, Umesh, Sonia, Shilpi, Swati** and **Amandeep**.

Above all I am highly indebted to “**Devine of Knowledge**” (*Maa Saraswati*), for Her grace and blessings.

Avanish Bhai Patel

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

There is a tremendous growth of elderly population in India. A significant proportion of India's population is living into sixties and beyond. These changes are due to many factors such as mechanisation of agriculture, improvement in sanitation systems, epidemic control and advances in health and medicine. All these, over the years, have contributed to a decline in mortality rate and rise in life expectancy in India. Now India has more than 100 million people in the age category of 60 and above (Government of India, 2011).

With the steady rise in elderly population, the rate of their problems is also increasing. The problem of crime against the elderly and elder abuse is one of them. Crime against the elderly and elder abuse has never been considered as a problem in India. It has been found in many studies (Jamuna, 2000; Khan, 2004; Jain, 2008) that the roots of the traditional social structure are being undermined ushered in by the processes of change such as industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation. In such changing situations, the majority of the elderly, who have spent most part of their lives with their joint families, are on the verge of isolation in old age. When they need family and social support the most they are living alone and are feeling neglected. These changes have certainly affected the way of life and sense of well-being of the elderly to a large extent causing fracture in their social bonds. As a result of which problems like criminal activities and abusive behaviour faced by the elderly are on the rise. Today, the elderly are facing various kinds of crimes such as grievous hurt, mistreatment, murder, robbery inside the home and outside the home. The fear of crime is being considered as a disconcerting issue among the elderly.

A closer examination of the socio-cultural situation of India tells us that the elderly has always been esteemed and honoured for their wisdom and experience in the Indian society since ages (Sanwal and Kumar, 2011). The decision making power of the family and society has always been enjoyed by the elderly in the context of the Indian society. They have provided the entire

fabric of the social reality with proper care and concern which has played a nurturing role in the society. The processes of industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation have affected the fabrics of social status of the elderly and hence they have not only affected their decision making power but have also brought on a number of problems before them (Jain, 2008; Mishra, 2009). Today, they are facing the problem of fear of crime such as, abuse, maltreatment, mental and physical torture and heedless ignominy from the family and the society (Rufus and Shekhar, 2011; Khan and Handa, 2011). Among the aforementioned problems, rising crime in different forms against the elderly has become an alarming issue across the country (Patel, 2010).

Moreover, Nayar (1999) has “explained that the elderly are socially marginalised and are progressively isolated at this age from the active social network and lose their relevance. Actually, it starts from the family and society. Even when the elderly are traditionally considered as the head and the fountain of all authority in the family, they are physically unable to enforce their privileges on their younger kin. These kin do not permit the elderly even to hold on to their de jure authority. Abuse and violence are more directed towards this category of the elderly as they are disabled, invisible and cannot fight back to defend themselves.”

The elderly especially women perceive that fear of crime is their most serious personal problem today. This high level of fear of crime is related to quality of life and subjective well being of the people. Fear of crime affects behaviour patterns, life satisfaction and happiness of the people (Miethe and Lee, 1984). The fear of crime is determined by various factors. These determinants of fear of crime are such variables which decide the level of fear of crime among the people. The crime rate of an area, prior victimisation, incivility, vulnerability, and defensibility determine the level of fear of crime among the people.

The crime rate of an area is known as a common determinant of fear of crime. The level of anxiety about crime is decided by the crime rate of an area and it is felt that urban areas are more affected due to crime rate and urban people have more fear of crime than rural people (Miethe and Lee 1984, 400). Further, it has been claimed in many studies that previous victimisation is a strong determinant of fear of crime. Social scientists have established a strong relationship between fear of crime and victimisation experience. The victims of crime have a stronger feeling of fear of crime (Donder *et al.*, 2005). The incivility in the neighbourhood is

another important factor of fear of crime. Incivility refers to "those unusual conditions and events which are active in neighbourhood and breaches social order and control of the neighbourhood" (Vandeviver, 2011). Incivilities are of two types. One is social incivility and the other one is physical incivility. Social incivility denotes unsettling actions such as loiterers, inconsiderate neighbours, loose dogs, unruly teenagers, gangs, beggars and public drinking. Physical incivility includes disorderly neighbourhood such as abandoned cars, vandalized property, vacant houses and deteriorated homes (Franklin *et al.*, 2008).

Moreover, the vulnerability may also be known as a determinant of fear of crime. Vulnerability in the sphere of fear of crime implies that there are many defects in a living environment that are perceived as threatening by the people. Defects in a living environment mean that the weakness is in a particular physical setting which gives the space for the criminals to commit a crime. Besides it, history of crime, income levels and known usual suspects living in the community also decide vulnerability. They also determine fear of crime among the people (On-fung *et al.*, 2009). Furthermore, social support network, involvement in neighbourhood activities and migration also determine level of fear of crime.

1.2 Crime against the Elderly

National Crime Record Bureau report (2013) has reported that 40753 elderly have been murdered across India from 2001 to 2012. The elderly are mostly murdered at or near their homes by their children, relatives and miscreants (Patel, 2014). A Group for Economic and Social Studies (2009) has studied victim-offender relationship of the elderly in four metropolitans of India and reported different types of crime against the elderly. These crimes may be defined as crime against the body (murder, attempt to murder, hurt and kidnapping etc.), crime against the property (dacoity, robbery, burglary and theft) and economic crime (cheating, criminal breach of trust etc.). Those old people who are rich tend to be more susceptible to exploitation, pressure and physical threats for property and financial gain from their family members, relatives and antisocial elements.

Patel (2010) has done a study on crime against the elderly in Madhya Pradesh through content analysis. She found in her study that neighbours, relatives and family members, particularly, sons and daughters-in-law commit crime against the elderly. In some cases servants are

involved in crimes. She described the following factors instrumental in crime against the elderly: property and land disputes, living alone, lack of attention of police to crime against the elderly and rural factionalism. Moreover, it was found in a content analysis study related to crime against the elderly that 44.71% crime against the elderly is in the form of murder (Mishra and Patel, 2013). It was found in that study that in 42.35% cases family members and neighbours were involved in committing crime against the elderly. All these studies indicate a rise in crime against the elderly which have certainly affected their way of life and sense of well-being. As a result, fear of crime is being recognised as a problematic phenomenon for the Indian elderly in recent times.

Further, the research by Rufus and Shekhar (2011) in Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu showed that many of the respondents have been subjected to financial, emotional and physical abuse by their own family members. Sebastian and Sekhar (2011) have conducted a study in Kerala and found that elderly poor are vulnerable to different forms of abuse along with rich elderly in Indian families. Elderly women especially widows are more affected by mistreatment. These women are subject to mistreatment and neglect by sons, daughters-in-law, servant at physical, verbal and financial level. Moreover, Bagga and Sakurkar (2011) have studied the elderly women in Pune and found that most elderly women are ill-treated by their close relatives such as daughters-in-law (43.5%), sons (21.7%), husbands (8.6%) and neighbours (4.3%). These studies reveal that the elderly are not safe in their own family or in the neighbourhood because today crimes against the elderly are committed within the family as well as in their neighbourhood. Today elderly are targeted for murder, sexual assault, grievous hurt, neglectful and abusive behaviour. The neighbours, relatives, children and strangers target them for various types of crime and abuse.

Moreover, Help Age India (2011; 2013) conducted a study in nine major cities of India and found various cases of elder abuse in its study. This study reported that 23% elderly are abused nationally in India where 39% cases of abuse are committed by daughters-in-law and in 38% cases sons are involved in committing abusive behaviour. The most common form of abuse experienced by the elderly are verbal (60%), physical (48%), emotional (37%) and financial (35%) and the elderly experience disrespect (79%) and neglect (69%) from the near and dear ones. This study has also identified the main forms of crimes committed against the elderly as

burglary, molestations and criminal acts. Age Well Foundation (2011) conducted a study on elderly in 300 districts of 25 States and Union Territories of India. This study found that most of the elderly are living in inhumane condition and the rise in nuclear families is leading to elder abuse in India which has a negative impact on their emotional and physical well being. One more study was conducted on the status of the elderly in seven states of India by the United Nation Population Fund (2012). The study singled out verbal abuse as the most common form of abuse suffered by the elderly. While elderly male experience neglect, the female elderly are subject to physical abuse. Mostly the male elderly face physical abuse outside the family and people within the family abuse the female elderly.

The news papers carry reports of crime against the elderly. They highlight that these cases are related to murder, robbery and cheating. There is a newspaper report that six elderly women were murdered after robbery in their homes in Lucknow. After investigating it was found that these elderly women were living alone in their home (*Times of India*, 20 March 2012). An elderly couple was murdered at night after robbery in their home in Roorkee (*Dainik Jagaran*, 14 May 2012). Another case related to crime against the elderly was found in Western Uttar Pradesh, where a son murdered his father with a sharp object (*Dainik Jagaran*, 4 April 2012). Furthermore, three cases related to crime against the elderly were reported in Madhya Pradesh. In these cases a son murdered his father and a father was beaten by his son while in another case an elderly woman was robbed in the street (*Dainik Bhaskar*, 14 May 2012).

Criminologists have rightly pointed out the problem in question is not only an issue of law and order but it is also embedded into the social realities and circumstances and hence it has some serious sociological implications. They feel that these cases of crime and abuse are the extension of the isolation of old people in the society (Das, 2009).

1.3 Fear of Crime in Indian Perspective

Most of the research in the area of fear of crime has been conducted in Europe and America (Nalla *et al.*, 2011). The European countries and the United States have experienced greater economic development. But, invariably, economic inequality, rural migration, unemployment, social disorganisation, crime, and fear of crime are the unintended social outcomes of economic

progress and its attendant processes such as modernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation (Nalla *et al.*, 2011).

Durkheim, backed by empirical research, validated a strong linkage between modernisation and crime and this relationship has been taken forward by the modernisation theory (Nalla *et al.*, 2011). Modernization theory suggests that urbanisation and industrialisation are instrumental in rise in crime rates. A closely linked theory on economic development and crime establishes a close relationship between crime rates and fear of crime (Glaeser and Sacerdote 1996; Nalla *et al.*, 2011). But there are studies which put forward an intricate relationship between crime rates and fear of crime. For instance, Lewis and Salem (Hale, 1996) did not find a positive link between neighborhood crime rates and fear of crime. Skogan and Maxfield (Hale, 1996, Nalla *et al.*, 2011) too suggested that fear of crime cannot be linked to perceived level of crime in a neighborhood. Hope and Sparks (2000) contend that the unintended consequences of urbanisation may generate fear of crime and is related to apprehensions in the immediate social environment (Nalla *et al.*, 2011).

The European and American research on fear of crime has been mostly focussed on crime and victimisation rates in the local regions (Garofalo and Laub 1978; Rountree 1998; Warr 1984). India with rapid economic development and urbanisation on a massive scale has become a near perfect prototype of research into the different dimensions of fear of crime. With economic development, there has been concomitant growth in unplanned population, migration to urban areas, poverty, corruption, clogged traffic, poor health infrastructure and crammed schools and pollution (Nalla *et al.*, 2011). All these factors add to poor quality of life and consequent rise in crime. The resultant increase in crime rate further triggers the fear of crime among the citizens.

Fear of crime is an emerging research area for the sociology and social gerontology in India. Very few studies have been conducted regarding fear of crime in India. Whatever little studies have been done, they mostly contend that fear of crime is the consequence of weakening of social bond. A study has been conducted in four major cities of South India related to elder abuse. This study is based on case study as well as interview schedule. In this study four elderly were selected for the case study and 150 elderly were interviewed. The study found that

modern India has changed and become more urbanised, modernised and westernised leaving its traditional way of life. As a result their social bonds such as attachment, involvement, faith and commitment have broken and the role of elderly is also declining in the family and society (Kalavar *et al.*, 2013). Moreover, it was found in the case studies that elderly experience neglect and maltreatment. The elderly are neglected and mistreated by their family members and relatives.

A large survey has been conducted on the fear of crime across developing countries. Mumbai was chosen as the sample city in India (Nalla *et al.*, 2011). This study maintains that economic growth has brought to India problems inherent to rapid urbanisation and modernisation. These problems include uncontrolled population growth, migration from rural to urban areas, poverty, inner city neighbourhood and rising crime. These problems are directly or indirectly affecting our social bond to a large extent causing a fracture in our social institutions. Consequently, there is growing feeling of fear of crime among the elderly. Similarly, Sarkar (2011) has studied the fear of victimization in Mumbai. She has stated that the major cities like Mumbai has a long tradition of crime syndicate operation in the areas of smuggling, extortion, human trafficking, rape, murder, robbery and theft. Consequently, life in the major cities has always been subject to overt threats of a variety of crime and the fear of crime and victimisation has been lurking large in the psyche of people. Moreover, Sarkar has claimed that the elderly have higher level of fear about the criminal victimisation in high income locality in Mumbai. She also found that those elderly do not feel secure, whether they are living alone or living with the majority of the elderly belonging to the age group of 65-75. On the contrary, the elderly who belong to the middle class neighbourhood, have family support and live with their children; they do not experience fear of crime (Sarkar, 2011).

Moreover, International Crime Victim Survey (ICVS, 1995) studied the criminal victimisation and the fear of crime in developing countries. Mumbai city was chosen for this study in India. This survey tried to know the impact of the social cohesion of the area in which people reside. The study found that social cohesion has weakened in modern socio-economic scenario. Besides it, generation gap and relation gap have also risen due to transition in society. This study found that generation gap and relation gap played an important role in increasing victimisation. According to this report, many times individuals are victimised by known

persons such as family members, relatives, neighbours and servants. It was also found in this study that level of fear of crime is low in India but it may increase in future. Higher crime rate of an area expresses higher feelings of insecurity because there is a positive correlation between crime rate and weakening of social cohesion. This study also identified that murder, rape, burglary, theft, robbery are the predictor of fear of crime.

1.4 Elderly Population in India

The proportion of elderly persons in India has risen from 5.63% of the total population in 1961 to 8.95% in 2011. In terms of absolute numbers, the elderly population has gone up from 24.6 million in 1951 to 108.33 million in 2011. The population of elderly is projected to be 323 million by 2050 (Government of India, 2011; Arokiasamy *et al.*, 2011; Help Age India, 2013; Agewell Foundation, 2015).

The National Sample Survey Organisation has conducted a study on the elderly in its 60th social consumption survey (June, 2004). Information on the socioeconomic condition of the elderly, chronic diseases and physical disabilities has been collected during this study. This survey has focused on the socioeconomic and health conditions of the current elderly population and emerging policy issues for the elderly care in India in the forthcoming times (Government of India, 2011). Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Uttarakhand, Haryana, Odisha, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Goa, Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Puducherry have more than the national average of 7.5% of the elderly population (Help Age India 2011, 1). The report draws attention to the yawning chasm between the potential merits of prolonged life and the actuality of Indian elderly spending a large part of old age in the absence of family or state support. It also emphasises on the issue of elder abuse which is often sidestepped (Suresh, 2015).

1.5 Review of Literature

1.5.1 Foreign Study Related to Fear of Crime among the Elderly

Miethe and Lee (1984) have studied the 4272 elderly aged 55 years or above in Washington. The study aimed to investigate the effects of victimisation factors on fear of crime among the elderly. Perceived risk (worry) and vulnerability (such person who is not able to own selves physically and socially) to crime have been considered as a mediator of fear of crime which influence the demographic and crime related variables. The findings suggest that fear of

property loss is more explainable by crime related variables (crime rate of the area, prior victimisation) than fear of violent crime. Perceptual variables (perceived risk of violent crime and vulnerability to crime) diminish the direct impact of fear of crime among the elderly.

Ward *et.al* (1986) have done their study on the elderly at Albany in New York. This study is based on interaction between person and environment and this interaction decides level of fear of crime among the elderly. The causes and consequences of the fear of crime can be understood through personal, social and environmental characteristics. Fear of crime reduces subjective well being and life style of the elderly. In this study they have analysed different variables such as perceived safety (safe all time, safe most of time, safe day not night and unsafe most or all of time), personal characteristics (age, sex, marital status, employment status, health and socioeconomic status), social resources, environmental characteristics, subjective well being and life style.

Dalzine and Stanley (1996) carried a study on the African American elderly in the age group of 55 years or above in Ohio. They used two methods for analysing fear of crime in their study, namely, pretest analysis and post test analysis. For this study they examined three variables such as perceived personal safety, avoidance behaviour and home protection behaviours. The findings reveal that intervention in workshops has reduced the correlation between fear of criminal victimisation and perception of safety in the home. It is also found that those who own gun and have installed grills on windows to protect one's home from intruders, feel less fear of crime than those who do not take these precautions. Further, the African American elderly told that we should retain our ties in the neighbourhood because our ties to our churches, friends, families and neighbours are sources of supportive interactions.

McCoy *et. al* (1996) have done their study on 1,148 elderly in the age group of 60 years to 90 years at Dade County in Florida and tried to explore the impact of victimisation experience and various measures of life situation in increasing of fear of crime. The survey of this study has been conducted through telephonic interviews. They have analysed the physical and mental vulnerability, neighbourhood context and social integration to measure fear of crime among the elderly. The findings reveal that the elderly do not appear to have high level of fear of crime. The findings of the study indicate that victimisation experience increases fear of crime.

Doeksen (1997) has done his study on New Zealand and Australian suburbs. He has highlighted the vital role of surveillance in the immediate neighbourhood as an effective solution for fear of crime. He has also suggested that through planning and design, social surveillance can be improved. The study emphasises on interventions required for the reinstating of collective bonding to a shared space. This is very essential for the restoration of the "communal responsibility" through "shared ownership." This can set in motion an effective surveillance system in the neighbourhood.

Joseph (1997) has done his study on 119 Black elderly aged 65 years or above in Atlantic City. He has collected data from senior citizen centers, recreation centers and home of respondents through interview schedule. In this he has explored the nature, extent and factors of the fear of crime among the Black elderly. For this study he has focused on environmental factors, perceptions of vulnerability, vicarious victimisation and personal victimisation. The findings suggest that personal vulnerability plays an important role in the determining fear of crime while environmental factors show a weak relationship with fear of crime. Moreover, the study reveals that fear of crime affects the behavioral aspects of life style. The study also identifies that males express higher perception of vulnerability than females.

Beaulieu, Leclerc and Dube (2003) have done their study based on secondary data. Secondary data have been collected from Quebec Longitudinal Study on Aging. They have claimed that fear of crime is considered as a concrete feeling and negative diffused sentiment. Further, they argued that fear of crime among the elderly is based on the environmental cues and psychological determinants. There are different meaning of these cues and determinants which are based on experience with crime, the individual demographics and self concept. They have used two main variables, namely, fear of crime and mental health. The findings suggest that fear of crime is strongly associated with feelings of negative effect and psychological distress (depression, anxiety, cognitive distress and life events). They explained that a better diagnosis could help reduce many direct and indirect symptoms and effects of distress such as fear of crime.

Cates, Dian and Schnepf (2003) have done their study in USA. They have focused on feeling of crime victimisation and mindset toward crime using the multidimensional Protection Motivation Theory. They have also asserted that perceived harmfulness of crime and personal

risk corresponds with a current record of victimisation. Women state dissimilarity in perceptions of efficacy derived from their encounter with crime. They have discussed that urban dwellers are more fearful than rural dwellers. A recurring fear is theft from an empty house. But there is a strong fear of violent crime due to its rarity of occurrence. Findings suggest that fear of crime is a multidimensional concept with both theoretical and practical ramifications.

Shields, King and Fulks (2003) have done their study on the elderly at rural county in Northwest Ohio. In this they have discussed about actual experiences of crime victimisation, perception of fear related victimisation, community and social support. A perception of neighbourhood safety is explored through logistic regression analysis. This is a policy based research work which explores the factors and how they increase fear of crime among the elderly in a rural community. The findings imply that there was a perception of feeling safe in one's neighbourhood and there was no case reported of crime victimisation in the rural county. Those elderly respondents who stayed in urban and larger central-city areas did not face high crime rates. They have also mentioned in their study that those who live alone and are dependent on public transportation are particularly vulnerable to crime victimisation.

Acierno et. al (2004) have studied the elderly people in southeastern suburban region of Carolina (USA). They have identified in their study positive relationship between demographic variables (gender, race and income), interpersonal violence (sexual assault, physical assault and emotional abuse), psychopathology (depressive disorder) and fear of crime (rape, robbery, cheating, murder, stealing and property damage etc). The findings indicate that being female, non-Caucasian (race), having depressive symptoms and reporting social isolation are predictors of fear of crime. It is also found that many factors play their role in estimating of fear of crime and crime outcome predictions in the elderly. In this study different predictors of fear of crime have been highlighted which are responsible for the fear of crime against the person and fear of crime against the property.

Donder et al (2005) have analysed the determinants of the fear of crime among the elderly at Western Flanders in Belgium. They have assessed ten factors which affect fear of crime. Further they have emphasised on three major points. First, there are demographic factors such as gender, physical vulnerability and a low income which raise fear of crime. Second,

neighbourhood factors which play an important role in the genesis of fear of crime. They have explained that those elderly, who live in a group and reported more neighbourhood involvement feel safer than those elderly that do not live in a group or in a community. Loneliness and lack of participation in social and in cultural life reveal relationship with fear of crime. Third, they have discussed the impact of media on fear of crime. Watching television and going through newspaper everyday reduces fear of crime. Fourth, they have highlighted that fear of crime is interconnected with victimization as the personal encounter of crime raises fear of crime. They have established a strong relationship between fear of crime and experience of victimization demonstrating that targets of crime have higher levels of fear of crime.

Jeary (2005) has done her study on sexual abuse against the elderly in UK and focused on perpetrators and victims relationship. This study explores findings relating to the stances and relationship between perpetrator and abused elderly. She has found four types of offences/abuses in her study, namely, sexual assaults and killing, rape/ attempted rape of elderly women, alleged indecent assault and sexual harassment.

Whitley and Prince (2005) have conducted their study in Gospel Oak neighbourhood of North London using participant observation, focus groups and in-depth interviews. The data have been analysed through comparing the impact of fear of crime among the entire group which is divided by gender, age and mental health and assessed the relationship between fear of crime and mental health status. They have found that fear of crime has a disproportionately negative impact on certain sub-groups, most notably low-income mothers, elderly and to a lesser extent the mentally ill. They have also discussed about Time Space Inequalities (variation in the ability to access and use different times and spaces within the immediate and wider environment). These inequalities may be produced by a combination of individual characteristics such as age, structural characteristics such as public transport and social disorder such as the spread of fear of crime associated with local crime.

Beaulieu and Dube (2007) have done their study in three cities of Canada. They have focused on health, depression, social support and prior victimisation in their study. They have taken three dimension to investigate worry about crime such as emotional dimension (refers to an emotional analysis of the fear of being victim of a crime), cognitive dimension (denotes the anticipated risk of being a victim of a crime, evaluates crime against person and property) and

behavioural dimension (includes behaviours of avoidance as not visiting certain places or people, home staying and protection as buying a gun, locks on door and windows). In this study they have suggested that elderly, especially elderly women, express more fear of crime and

Raccato (2007) has studied the spread of different kinds of criminal victimisation and that of concrete and of abstract fear of crime in Italy. Concrete fear of crime is a sensation of agitation or anxiety for one's own safety or for that of one's property. This is a fear which is not only felt in the real time of hazard but also as a response to a possible risk. The strongest predictor of the fear of crime was the size of area of residence and that several kinds of victimisation strongly influenced concrete fear of crime. These kinds of victimisation are related to both crimes against the property and violent crimes. Abstract fear of crime is a feeling linked to a state of agitation concerning the spread of criminal acts in one's own society more than personal fear of becoming the victim of a crime. Abstract fear of crime does not depend on victimisation at all. The main predictor of abstract fear of crime is a rightist political placement and is based on the frequency of exposure to television on the one hand and education and interest in politics on the other. These relations are far from surprising because abstract fear of crime expresses the ways people perceive, represent and evaluate their social world.

Powell and Wahidin (2007) have pointed out that old age is a significant variable in criminology studies. It is imperative that detailed research is done on different dimensions of interlinkage between old age, criminal victimisation and fear of crime. Further they have discussed that elderly people are more fearful of crime than other groups within society. More research is required to identify the interrelationships among age, neighbourhood, poverty and fear of crime. From this discussion it is possible to identify a number of factors that appear to contribute to fear of crime. These factors are vulnerability, environmental clues and conditions, personal knowledge of crime and victimisation, confidence in criminal justice system, perceptions of personal risk and seriousness of various offences. Moreover, in our society the purpose of life in old age is often unclear because old age is seen as a problem. They are viewed as dependents and they are described as a non productive burden upon the economy.

Powell and Wahidin (2008) have conducted their study in the UK. The aim of this study is to understand old age and their victimisation. The findings highlight that there are very few studies based on views and experiences of crime among the elderly. The study finds that

sociological perspective has a significant role in the ageing research and looks at the relationship of the old age with victimisation and contemporary crime. Further, they have argued that fear of crime and victimisation is the most disconcerting issue in the contemporary society. The individuals feel vulnerable throughout their lives due to number of reasons. The elderly consider that they are not able to deal with the physical and emotional consequences of being victimised. They have also stated that “fear of crime operates on a myriad of emotional and practical levels, from feeling vulnerable and isolated to affecting personal well being.” They have categorised four groups who are known as more vulnerable such as elderly, women, poor and ethnic minorities.

On-fung, Cheng and Phillips (2009) have applied quantitative and qualitative methods to look at possible causes of fear of crime and its underlying factors. They have also explored how and why fear arises. Further, they have investigated socio-environmental factors which can be categorised into three dimensions - vulnerability (defects of the living environment), defensibility (level of protection provided by social environment) and supportability (availability of social support that older persons can obtain when they are at risk). Moreover, they have pointed out a variety of adjustment methods adopted by the elderly people to reduce their level of fear of crime. The study has effectively pointed out the features of cognitive-behavioural adjustment among elderly people as strategies to reduce their levels of fear of crime.

Rader and Haynes (2011) have examined a theoretical model for explaining fear of crime through their study. Further, they have discussed about social learning theory and analysed that how socialisation process is liable for the levels of fear of crime among the individuals and how this socialisation process vary between men and women. Specially, the researchers have applied the original concepts of Aker’s social learning theory such as differential association, definitions, differential reinforcement and imitation to the gendered fear of crime socialisation process.

Vandeviver (2011) has done his research work regarding the fear of crime in EU-15 and Hungary. He has explored the efficacy of the vulnerabilities, victimisation and incivilities to explain the level of fear of crime. It is found in this study that victimisation and incivility can extend the frequency and intensity of fear of crime but vulnerability has less scope in frequency

and intensity of fear of crime. Moreover, intensity of fear of crime suggests that the elderly and the economically disadvantaged are likely to experience less fear of crime whereas females, victims of personal and property crimes and those perceiving incivilities are more likely to experience fear of crime. The study has also found that the victims of personal and property crime have more experience of fear of crime.

Walklate (2011) has studied criminal victimisation and examined its contribution to the presumption of human vulnerability. She has discussed the different ways (demarcating victims from non-victims) to explain the human vulnerability in which victimisation and vulnerability are linked together. She states, “demarcation of victims from non victims seeks to capture the intrinsic features of victimisation that make some people or places more prone to victimisation than others. This focus on victim proneness reveals a concern with what might be called inherent victimisation.” The researcher has also examined the concept of resilience and explained its linkage with both vulnerability and the victimisation. Victimisation denotes the patterning of criminal victimisation that is structured by age, class, sex and ethnicity. Moreover, Walklate says that “vulnerability refers to a state in which victims themselves do nothing to put themselves at special risk but find themselves vulnerable because of attributes they possess: being frail, very young and so on.” The study has found that female elderly respond irrationally to fear of crime as is evident from the fact that their degree of expressed fear of crime do not commensurate with the known risk. The expressed fear of the female elderly show their experience of criminal victimisation through media coverage. Their "expressed fear is an expression of vulnerability rather than a measure of their fear".

Donder *et al.* (2012) have done their study in Belgium. They have examined the fear of crime among the elderly using individual risk factors. They have also made comparison between third-age adults (aged 60–79) and fourth-age adults (aged 80) to investigate fear level. The objective of this study is to examine the relationship between demographic variables, lack of economic resources, well-being and perceived ageism and feelings of unsafe. The paper also establishes the linkage between individual aspects of vulnerability and feelings of unsafe and how they differ in third-age and fourth-age adults. The study revealed that fourth-age adults have more feelings of unsafe than third-age adults. Furthermore, the researchers have examined

the level of fear of crime using hierarchical regression models and have found that the level of fear of crime is based on the gender and perceived ageism across the third and fourth ages. They also explained that fear of crime, feelings of unsafe and the elderly are generally treated as one group. The elderly are considered as 'the aged' or 'the old' from 55 years onwards.

Olofsson *et al.* (2012) have carried out their study on 9360 elderly between the age group of 65-84 years based on the nationwide data of Swedish National Institute of Public Health, 2006. The study reveals that fear of crime is associated with psychological and physical abuse which affect the health of the elderly. More elderly women than elderly men are afraid of crime and fear of crime is more common among them than the prior physical and psychological abuse. Further, study explains that two-fifth of elderly women and one-fifth elderly men feel very unsafe outside their homes.

1.5.2 Indian Study Related to Crime against the Elderly

Shankardass (2008) has found in her study that in the last few years the cases of elder abuse such as physical, emotional, financial and sexual abuse have been increasing fast in India. Today, the elderly are being murdered or thrown out of the home and are also deprived of their property. Further, the elderly are hit by their sons, daughter-in-law and even daughters. It has been seen in many cases that when elderly do not work as desired by their children, they are subject to physical and mental torture. The fear of physical assault is faced by many elderly in vulnerable situations. Moreover, the elderly are compelled to eat unwanted food and are often treated like servants in their homes.

Latha (2008) has explored different factors of elder abuse. She has found that the elderly are mistreated in every socioeconomic group. Social isolation and dependency on others are the major causes among the elderly which increase the risk of mistreatment and unsafe condition in the home. Further, physical, functional and cognitive problems in caregivers may prevent them from providing proper care.

Madhurima (2008) has done her study on elderly widows. She has found that contractual and utilitarian relationships are increasing fast among the elderly in the Indian society. She has found in her study that children care for their aged mother not out of a sense of respect but out

of selfish motives to get hold of their property. They start ignoring their old mothers after getting a hold over the property. When they are not able to get it, they threaten their old parents.

Mallick (2008) has also studied elderly widows and has found that materialistic, individualistic and selfish attitudes are given priority by family members and the present generation. Now the feeling of “We” has been replaced by the feeling of “I” in the society. Values like sacrifice, tolerance, respect are declining fast.

Das (2009) has shown in his study that the crime affects the elderly more because they are, invariable, poor and they mostly reside in areas inhabited by low-income groups. Hence the elderly carry high risk of being subject to crime victimisation. The study finds that the theft, burglary, cheating, physical assaults and murders are some of the crimes mostly committed against the elderly. Sometimes the fear of crime can be as harmful as crime itself. Further, he has explained that lack of communication with their neighbours is responsible for crime against the rich elderly and foremost reason for that is they do not socialise much with neighbours. Hence there is a tremendous desire among them to interact with people. This exposes them to the strangers easily and they become easy prey of criminals. Moreover, gradual changes in the joint family systems have forced many elderly to live alone or reside with children at home as the adults have to leave home for work. Thus, the elderly are soft target for the criminals.

Group for Economic and Social Studies (2009) conducted its study in four metro cities of India such as Mumbai, Delhi, Kolkata and Chennai and reported different types of crime against the elderly. These crimes are committed against the body (murder, attempt to murder, hurt and kidnapping etc.), crime against the property (dacoity, robbery, burglary and theft) and economic crime (cheating, criminal breach of trust etc.). The study revealed that the rich elderly are the easy targets for exploitation by known and unknown persons. The known and unknown persons make use of pressure and physical threats on them for financial gain and for occupying their property illegally. Moreover, the study has uncovered that the cases of elder abuse are committed by informal caregivers (family members) and formal caregivers (servants, physician and police personal). Further, the study has found that the elder abuse is not committed only in family settings but it is also committed in non- family settings such as

hospital, public offices and other public places. The study reveals that the main abusers in homes are women as they are the major care-givers to the elderly.

Patel (2010) has done her study on the elderly through content analysis in Madhya Pradesh. She has discussed that most of elderly victims are targeted in their own family by their sons, daughters-in-law. She has also found that the dependency on the caretaker and weak physical capability of the elderly make them more vulnerable to acts of abuse, neglect and violence. The offences such as grievous hurt, robbery, murder and sexual assault are committed against the elderly. They are often targeted by their children, relatives and miscreants. Moreover, she has used geographical theory of crime to examine crime against the elderly and found that most of the crimes against the body are committed during day time while crimes against the property are committed at night.

Soneja (2010) has done her study on the elderly through focus group discussions in Delhi. She has found in her study that the elderly feel lonely and neglected and insecure themselves due to lack of family support and lack of proper communication with their family members. She has also found that many elderly are abused verbally at home. In many cases daughters-in-law use very vulgar words and abusive language at the parents.

Help Age India (2011) conducted a study in nine major cities as Mumbai, Delhi NCR (National Capital Region), Ahmadabad, Kolkata, Bhopal, Chennai, Patna, Hyderabad and Bangalore. This survey reported different kinds of elder abuse cases and crimes against the elderly in its study. The findings suggest that the elderly are abused verbally, physically, emotionally and economically and the elderly also feel neglected themselves from the family as well as society. Moreover, verbal abuse cases have been reported in lower socio-economic class while the cases of neglect have been reported in higher socio economic class.

Nalla et al. (2011) have done their study on fear of crime in Mumbai city. This study has found that economic growth has brought rapid urbanisation. Rapid urbanisation has increased problems such as uncontrolled population growth, migration from rural to urban areas, high level of poverty and inner city neighbourhood. Consequently, crime rate has also increased due to these problems. Therefore, prior victimization and regional and neighbourhood effects are associated with predicting of fear of crime. Moreover, the erosion of the mechanism of social

control increases fear of crime in the society. The findings show that victimisation such as sexual assault of victims, robbery and fraud increase level of fear of crime. They have also found that level of fear of crime is higher in urban areas (fear of robbery and assault) than rural areas.

Khan and Handa (2011) have studied elder abuse in Municipal Corporation of Delhi. They have selected data randomly from the upper class, middle class and lower class. They have argued that abuse is a form of violent behaviour against the elderly. The elderly are subject to abuse in the forms of neglect and indifference, deprivation of status, love and affection, lack of empathy, emotional hurt, negative attitude, isolation and violation of human, legal and medical rights. Further, they have explained that rates and ranges of abuse are higher in lower class than in upper and middle class, while social isolation and neglect are higher in upper and middle class.

Bagga and Sakurkar (2011) have studied elderly women in Pune and found that every fourth woman above the age of sixty has been abused in Pune city. Elderly women have a tendency to hide the abusive behaviour of their relatives because the status of family is at stake. They have found that most elderly women are ill-treated by their close relatives. These studies reveal that the elderly are not safe in their own families and in neighbourhood because today crime against the elderly are committed in family as well as in their neighbourhood. The crimes such as murder, sexual assault, grievous hurt, neglectful and abusive behaviour are committed against the elderly today. The neighbours, relatives, children and strangers target them for various types of crime and abuse.

Rufus D. and Shekhar (2011) have done their study in Tirunelveli district of Tamil Nadu and revealed that many of the elderly respondents have been victimised financially, emotionally and physically by their own family members. Physical abuse ranges from ordinary to severe such as slapping, beating, etc. and includes assault by sharp objects. The forms of emotional abuse are isolation, life threat, shouting, intimidation and confinement. Forms of financial abuse are forcible taking of money; misuse of money of the elderly and damage to their property.

Sarkar (2011) has carried out a study in Mumbai regarding fear of victimisation on teenage, adult age and old age. The study has found through respondents that life in Mumbai city is always subject to overt threats of variety of crime syndicates and because of it fear of crime and victimisation exists in the psyche of Mumbaikers. Further, the study has found that the elderly between the age group of 65-70 in high-income areas of Mumbai have revealed significant fear of crime. On the one hand, those elderly, who are living alone in bungalows or rich housing societies do not feel secure even with their servants. On the other hand, those elderly who belong to the middle class and lower class feel less fear of crime than high class elderly. This study suggests that middle and lower class elderly have family support and strong neighbourhood networks. Moreover, study has found that increasing trend of crimes such as murder, rape, extortion and killing by the gangs, flesh trade, robbery and other forms of crime are flourishing contributing to the fear of crime in India especially in major cities.

Kalavar *et al.* (2013) have conducted their study on 150 elderly in four megacities of South India such as Bangalore, Chennai, Hyderabad and Trivandrum. This study has been done on those elderly, who are residing in pay and stay homes. The study has found that urbanised India has changed a lot and is becoming more modernised and westernised. Due to such changes, conflicted intergenerational values have emerged and contributed their role in increasing elder abuse. The study has also found that the elderly are not cared for at home and are abused by their sons and daughters-in-law. Because of it they like to reside in pay and stay homes. Furthermore, the study has found that the elderly feel very happy and secure in old age homes and besides it, they involve in same group activities which bring positive feeling regarding safety.

1.6 Research Gap: The fear of crime is a psychological perspective. It is the reason a number of studies have been done related to fear of crime within the framework of psychology. But one cannot ignore the fact that fear of crime can be studied through sociological perspective. Fear of crime has found a separate place in sociology also. The major factors of fear of crime such as social bond, broken window, vulnerability, incivility, defensibility and prior victimisation are studied through the sociological angle. Thus, we can say that study of fear of crime cannot be complete without the application of sociological approach.

If one compares the foreign and Indian studies on fear of crime among the elderly, one finds that while research outside India focuses on the fear of crime among the elderly and its causes, the Indian studies concern themselves with the elder abuse and its effect on the happiness of the elderly. Fear of crime among the elderly is a new field for research in social gerontology in India. Few studies have been done related to fear of crime in India. In 1992 International Crime Victim Survey conducted a study in developing countries. In India this study was conducted in Mumbai. This study was based on criminal victimisation and explained its effect on the rise in fear of crime. Moreover, Nalla *et al.* (2011) have done their study in Mumbai. In this study they have stated that the phenomenon of fear of crime is prevailing in Indian society.

There have been some studies conducted on crime against the elderly and elder abuse in India like the ones mentioned above. These studies are based on causes, consequences of crime and abuse against the elderly which indirectly reflect fear of crime among the elderly. But none of these studies has paid direct attention towards fear of crime. Outside India, fear of crime has found a new dimension in the context of gerontological research. As a result, a number of studies have been done there related to different dimensions of linkage between fear of crime and the elderly. In the view of the fact that there has not been a single research on establishing a linkage between fear of crime and the elderly in India, there is a dire need of scientific enquiry to analyse this issue from multiple perspectives.

1.7 Objective of the Study: The current research intends to study fear of crime among the rural and urban elderly respondents. The study has three major objectives. The first objective seeks to understand the nature of crime against the elderly in socio-cultural context. This objective covers different types of crime such as crime against the body, crime against the property, and emotional abuse which are committed against the elderly. This objective also focuses on elder abuse and its causes and consequences which are faced by the elderly in their family and neighbourhood.

The second objective attempts to investigate the factors affecting fear of crime among the elderly. The objective covers the environmental, social and psychological factors which are responsible for fear of crime among the elderly. Environmental factors affect the crime rate of an area, types of crime, and sources of crime information in deciding fear of crime among the

elderly. Social factors are more responsible for fear of crime, which covers prior victimisation (those who have been victimised earlier), vulnerability (it refers to the status of social network and physical condition of an individual) and incivility (talks about the social values and physical surrounding of the society).

Finally, the third objective of the study examines the linkage between social bonding and fear of crime among the elderly. Social bond is the relationship of the elderly with their family members and the society at large. This objective discusses the elements of social bond such as attachment, involvement, faith and commitment. The purpose of this objective is to investigate how weak social bonds contribute to fear of crime and elder abuse.

1.8 Research Methodology

1.8.1 Explanatory Research Design: In this study I attempt to study the fear of crime in the rural-urban context through explanatory research design. It is difficult when a researcher assesses a new interest or when the subject of study has a new dimension and has not been much emphasised earlier in any particular social context (Babbie, 1992). Explanatory studies are mostly done for three purposes; (a) to satisfy the researcher's curiosity and desire for better understanding, (b) to understand the practicability of the study in extensive way and (c) to explain why any phenomenon occur (Babbie, 1992). I have focused on fear of crime among the elderly through explanatory research design among the rural-urban residents of Lucknow district in Uttar Pradesh of India. The present study tries to analyse the three dimensions of fear of crime among the elderly in rural-urban context, namely, the nature of crime and abuse against the elderly in socio-cultural context, factors affecting fear of crime among the elderly, and linkage between social bonding and the elderly. I have attempted to establish a relation between ontological perspectives and perceptions of the elderly and reactions regarding fear of crime. Ontology is defined as a philosophical view of the 'society' as it is. In other words, how things relate to another in the society. Ontology explains the nature of being, becoming, reality as well as individuals and their relations in the society. Similarly, the fear of crime among the elderly is studied through ontological perspective, it takes into account the following aspects such as that (1) the ageing is a universal phenomenon which exists in our social order, (2) problems such as victimisation and fear of crime happen with the elderly in later life, (3) reality

behind the victimisation and fear of crime and (4) relation between the elderly and victimisation and fear of crime.

Thus, my aim is, firstly, to examine the phenomenon of fear of crime in the society. Secondly, theories are explored for the explanation of this study. Thirdly, I have tried to explain the phenomenon of fear of crime among the elderly in rural-urban context on the basis of convenience sampling.

1.8.2 Mixed Methods Approach: In this study mixed method approach has been used which refers to “the use of more (qualitative and quantitative) than one approach to the investigation of a research question in order to enhance confidence in the ensuing findings” (Davies, 2013). This study applies the principles of convergent parallel mixed methods design to examine the emerging social problem of elder abuse and addresses the gap in current knowledge. It involves the independent collection and analysis of two strands of data, from two theoretical paradigms: (i) qualitative data derived from in-depth interviews (ii) quantitative data derived from structured interviews. Then, findings are analysed through narrative and descriptive analysis. The rationale “applied to the selection of this methodology and particular typology, in addition to the strengths identified above, is in offering researchers complimentary data on the same topic in order to generate greater understanding” (Davies, 2013).

1.8.3 Study Area: The study has been carried out in the Lucknow district of Uttar Pradesh in India from October, 2012 to February, 2013. Uttar Pradesh is one of the most populous states in India. Lucknow is the capital of Uttar Pradesh and is emerging as a metro city. Lucknow has the highest proportion of intrastate migrants, especially from Barabanki, Hardoi, Raibareli, Sitapur and Unnao. The migration and job opportunity have created many problems such as uncontrolled population, inner city neighbourhood, and heterogeneous environment. All these problems can be said to have acted as a catalyst in weakening the social bond within the family and between generations. One can argue that these factors are directly or indirectly linked to the rise in level of victimisation and fear of crime. National Crime Record Bureau (2011) has recorded in its report that crime rate is increasing fast in Lucknow mega city than in other mega cities of the country. A number of cases of crimes have been committed against the elderly in Lucknow in the last four years. These cases are related to murder, robbery, theft and elder

abuse. In the context of such high rate of crime reported in Lucknow district, particularly committed against the elderly, the current study endeavors to examine the weakening of social bond as a factor of fear of crime among the elderly.

1.8.4 Sample Size: I chose 220 elderly respondents through convenience sampling. A convenience sample consists of a group of individuals who are readily available to participate in a study. The main features of a convenience sampling are availability, convenience and accessibility. For example, I conducted study on fear of crime among the elderly in the rural areas (Village- Bakshi ka Talab and Gudmba) and urban areas (Urban Areas- Aliganj and Mahanagar) of Lucknow. I interviewed the elderly whom I met in parks, temples, markets and agricultural farms. I interviewed those elderly who were willing to be interviewed and those who were physically fit to sit for one hour to two hours of interview. The essential features of convenience sampling are convenience, accessibility and availability (Ahuja, 2009). Keeping in view the difficulties involved in sampling the entire elderly population of the Lucknow district, I decided to employ convenience sampling to zero in on the respondents for the study. The study included 110 elderly each from both rural and urban areas of the Lucknow district. In terms of gender distribution, 137 elderly males and 83 elderly females were interviewed. The samples of elderly included teachers, former government officers, businessman, farmers, hawkers, etc. The elderly who have been chosen were 60 years and above. The income of elderly respondents has been distributed in 1000 to 5000, 6000 to 10000, 11000 to 15000, and 16000 to 20000 and above 21000 respectively. This survey has been conducted in two phases; the first phase was completed from October 2012 to December 2012 and second phase was completed from January 2013 to February 2013.

1.8.5 Instrument for Data Collection: In this study I used the technique of interview schedule for the data collection. I used interview schedule as the main tool of data collection in which I conducted face to face interview. Interview schedule is known as the most important tool of the primary data collection because in the field researchers collect the data themselves through interview schedule and show real circumstances of sample and researchers can prepare questions according to the nature and the objective of the study. The interview schedule has been prepared to measure a number of variables such as age, gender, education, income, marital status, social bonds, prior victimisation, vulnerability, incivility and elder abuse. The interview

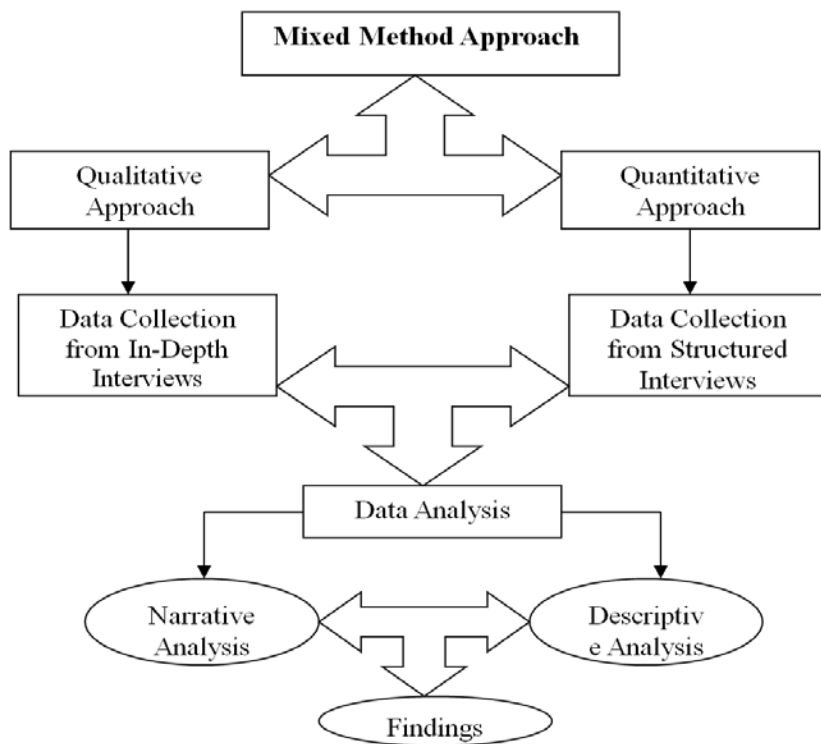
schedule also included components such as fear level within the residence and outside it and a general understanding of local perception about crime both at local and national level. I also made use of observation as a technique of data collection as far as possible. Observation is also a specific tool for the primary data collection and a direct method of study. It involves accurate watching and noting of phenomenon as they occur with regard to the cause and effect.

1.8.6 Coding and Analysis of the Data: After collecting the data from the research area, I coded the information using SPSS -17 (Statistical Package for Social Science). The coding involved transforming the attributes of the responses of the elderly respondents into standardised, mutually exclusive numerical identifiers. The interview schedule contained both close-ended and open-ended questions. The close-ended questions were a fixed set of options. For example, to the questions such as “do you have attachment with your family members, do you feel safe during walking alone at night in your neighbourhood, has crime been committed against the body, you feel that I am physically vulnerable and you are abused,” the responses contained options from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree.” I assigned a number to each response without any weightage. In case of open-ended questions, I noted down the main themes in each answer and assigned a number to each theme without giving any weight. I entered the codes into the SPSS. After the coding was over, I ran the SPSS programme, which calculated the frequency distribution for all the coded data.

Besides it, focus group discussion and narrative analysis have also been employed as additional tools to allow the analysis and interpretation of data collected by means of the interview schedule. Moreover, I have analysed the data with the help of supportive literature. The available literature has helped me to compare and contrast it with the findings. I have used statistical tables to elaborate the findings.

In this study, many concepts that is essential for assessing and evaluating fear of crime has been operationalised for use in the interview schedule and data analysis. I needed to understand the perception of crime from all the respondents which shows their personal assessment of the existence and seriousness of crime and fear of crime. These questions are subjective based, i.e., respondents have given only their opinion on elder abuse and fear of crime. The questions have been asked to respondents under three key concepts to explore the level of fear of crime. First key concept deals with elder abuse (questions from 14 to 19) which discusses the issue of elder

abuse. Through this concept, I have attempted to understand and establish linkage between elder abuse and fear of crime. The questions (questions from 20 to 37) pertaining to the second concept investigates factors of fear of crime (social, environmental and psychological factors). I have designed these questions to tap respondents' thought process and to measure how often and to what extent fear of crime and more specifically, the thought of prior victimisation, vulnerability, incivility, phobia, and stress affect them. The questions were framed keeping in view three types of crimes, namely, crime against the body, crime against the property and emotional abuse. Another key concept is social bond which describes attachment, involvement, belief and commitment on three point scale. These questions explore the status of social bond in recent times.



CHAPTER TWO

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Elderly

2.1.1 Definition of Elderly: The usage 'elderly' applies to stage of life well past middle age. The term 'elderly' does not have an exact definition as its meaning changes from one society to the other. The people can be regarded as elderly because of evident alterations in their social actions and duties after a certain age. The persons aged 60 or above are treated as elderly or senior citizens in India. National Policy on Older Persons (1999) considers those people who have crossed the boundary of sixty as elderly (Government of India, 2011). Similarly, The Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act, 2007 defines “an elderly or a senior citizen as a person who has attained the age of sixty years or above (Government of India, 2007).” Moreover, according to the income tax law in India, persons are regarded as old only after they attain 65 years. The United Nations Organisation also recognises persons aged 60 years or more as elderly. People within the age bracket of 60 and 74 years are referred to as younger-old and those who are 75 years and above are referred to as old (Group for Economic and Social Studies 2009, 20). People are often attributed the label of ‘the aged’ or ‘the old’ from 55, 60 or 65 years onwards (Donder *et. al.*, 2012). The present study has considered those as elderly who are 60 years and above.

2.2. Fear of Crime

2.2.1 Social Construct of Fear of Crime: Fear of crime may be explained from a social constructionist perspective. The term and concept of ‘fear of crime’ entered in the public domain after 1960s. That does not mean that people were not familiar with fear of crime before this period. Obviously individuals felt fear of crime at different junctures in the past to fluctuating limits. Initially, fear of crime had been considered a prominent issue of social research, expressing as it appeared to a range of concerns about urban disorder in the United State and rise in crime rates in the United Kingdom (Lee and Farrall 2009, 1). It can be

considered that when researchers began to measure and analyse fear of crime under The US President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice which was reported in 1967, fear of crime became the part of the political lexicon. Similarly, Economic and Social Research Council had done a study entitled Crime and Social Order which examined the fear of crime in a socio-economic context in United Kingdom (Lee and Farrall 2009, 2). The fear of crime was firmly established as an issue to deal with within the ambit of law and politics. It also became something that people could experience or relate to as an emotional retort of dread to victimisation. The construction of a 'fear of crime feedback loop' then "allowed more people to be surveyed as fearful, more researchers to be able to use fear of crime as a social issue, security products to be sold on the back of fear of crime and so on in an ever increasing spiral that popularised fear of crime."

2.2.2 Definition of Fear of Crime: Fear of crime is a very practical and prevalent issue for those who are living in a changing social environment. Before beginning a discussion on fear of crime, we should understand the concept of fear of crime. Ferraro & LaGrang (1987) have provided a standard definition of fear of crime. According to them, "fear of crime is an emotional response of dread or anxiety to crime that a person associates with crime." Similarly, Garofalo(1981) has explained in detail that "fear of crime is an emotional reaction characterized by a sense of danger and anxiety produced by the threat of physical harm, elicited by perceived cues in the environment that relate to some aspect of crime for the person." The term fear embraces and engulfs a bewildering array of feelings, perspectives and risk estimations. Fear of crime may be felt in public emotions, thought, personal risk and criminal victimisation. The experiencing of fear does not give rise to a general idea about crime in society. It only involves a danger in someone. The concept of fear is drawn from beliefs which are preserved about crime. As an example, "a belief is one's chances of becoming a victim (Beer 1982, 3)." Moreover, Ward *et. al.* (1986) have defined fear of crime as "a lack of a sense of security and feeling of forthcoming harm to one's well-being and vulnerability; where harm and vulnerability can be real or imagined (Brugge 2006, 3)." The state of fear of crime is assumed to be multifaceted which include (a) the individual's cognitive perception of being threatened, (b) a corresponding affective experience and (c) an appropriate motive or action tendency. Thus, being afraid suggests that a situation is perceived as being dangerous and that a situation bears a motive for changes in behaviour. Hence there is a need to design fear of crime

measures which assesses these three components, for example, by asking how often one (a) feels afraid, (b) thinks or worries about crime and (c) behaves fearfully (Gert 2012, 15).

2.2.3 Aspects of the Fear of Crime

2.2.3.1 Affective aspects of fear of crime: The core aspect of fear of crime encompasses an array of feelings that is forced in the individuals by the probability of recurrence of crime. These emotions are considered as physical response to immediate threat or 'fear' and future uncertain harm or 'worry' which are quite detached from concrete feelings of imminent danger. When an individual feels furious and enraged about the limits and prospect of crime, a researcher typically asks these questions from the respondents such as 'who they are afraid of' and 'how worried they are. Underlying responses are given by the respondents in two dimensions of 'fear': (a) everyday moments of worry which are transpired when one feels personally threatened (b) some more diffuse or ambient anxiety about risk. Thus, someone can differentiate between fear of crime and some broader anxiety. However, it should be noted that some people may be more willing to admit to their worries and vulnerabilities than others (Ferraro and LaGrange, 1987; Hale, 1996).

2.2.3.2 Cognitive aspect of Fear of Crime: Cognitive aspect of fear of crime tells that crime can be understood from the threat feeling of personal victimisation. Cognitive aspect of crime includes public notions about the crime rate of an area. For example, one can ask a question whether crime has gone up, gone down or remained constant in a particular region. The aim of cognitive aspect of fear of crime is to target the public notions about the victimisation, public ideas of control over the possibility of crime, and public assessment of the gravity of the outcome of crime. These three components of threat perception have their impact on the consequent emotional answer such as worry, fear and anxiety (Ferraro and LaGrange, 1987; Hale, 1996).

People who feel that they are prone to victimisation tend to feel that they are going to be targets of criminals because they are not able to rein in the incidence of crime and due to that the outcome would be particularly harsh for them. Moreover, cognitive aspect evaluates the anticipated risk of being a victim of the crime. Cognitive aspect measures the probability of being victim of a specific crime, as perceived by the person. Cognitive aspect has two

dimensions; the evaluation of the probability of being victim of a crime against a person and being victim of a crime against the property (Ferraro and LaGrange, 1987; Hale, 1996; Beaulieu *et al.*, 2007).

2.2.3.3 Behavioural aspect of Fear of Crime: Behavioural aspect refers to the behaviours adopted to face possible victimisation. There are three dimension of the behavioural aspect of fear of crime; avoidance behaviour, protective behaviour lifestyle adjustments and participation in relevant collective activities. Avoidance behaviour mentions disturbed neighbourhood, entertainment places and parks especially at certain times. Protective behaviour mentions the situational crime prevention measures such as buying gun, installing alarms, increasing lighting and locking doors. Lifestyle adjustment includes withdrawal of common activities that are deemed to be dangerous such as drinking in bars, subway usage at night. Finally, collective activities refer to risk of crime encompassing participation in relevant community groups such as neighbourhood watch programs, informal groups and legislative action (Beaulieu *et al.* 2007, 338, Jackson and Gouseti, 2014).

2. 3 Social Factors of the Fear of Crime among the Elderly

2. 3.1 Vulnerability: The degree of fear of crime is strongly predicted by vulnerability among the elderly because it describes the potential to be harmed physically and psychologically. There are four groups who feel vulnerable themselves and also confront more problems due to their vulnerability, namely, elderly, women, poor and ethnic minorities (Powell and Wahidin 2007, 5 and On Fung, 2009, 34). Vulnerability refers to the default in living environment that is considered as threatening by the individuals. The basic assumption of the vulnerability states that such individuals who feel that they do not have strong social and physical means to protect themselves from the crime and its experience (Hale, 1996 and Vandeviver, 2011). There are theoretical advances on the meaning of vulnerability (Jackson, 2004). A study has found that there are social and physical aspects of vulnerability which are related to ‘dimensions of threat’ that include ‘exposure to non negligible’, ‘loss of control’ and ‘seriousness of consequences.’ It is expected that more serious consequences can be observed among the elderly, women and people in bad health, and victims without social support. Researchers have identified two types

of vulnerabilities, namely, physical vulnerability and social vulnerability (Skogan and Maxfield 1981, 69 and Franklin *et al* 2008, 207).

Skogan and Maxfield (1981) have elucidated that physical vulnerability is "openness to attack, powerlessness to resist attack and exposure to traumatic physical consequences if attacked." According to this, those who are physically weak feel more fear. For example the elderly and women are such groups in the society. It is thought that when people attain senility, the physical ability of the body normally declines which makes them powerless to resist attack. And women are not physically stronger than men. There are three dimensions of physical vulnerability, namely, physical ability, recovery and social support which decide the level of fear of crime among the elderly (Skogan and Maxfield 1981). It is held that as an individual grows old the physical ability of body decreases. Hooyaman and Kiyak (2008) have stressed that physiological compositions of the body begin to change with ageing with respect to muscles, fat tissue, skin and hair etc. Similarly, Payne (2011) has explained six physical changes which are responsible for ageing process and they potentially augment the vulnerability among the elderly. These physical changes are bone weakening, changes in sensory abilities, contractures, respiratory ailments and decrease in skin elasticity. Other capacities of the body also begin to change such as vision and hearing of the elderly. This slowdown in the ability of the human body and stamina bring illness and emotional problems which ensure the vulnerability of the elderly to fear of crime (Hooyaman and Kiyak, 2008 and Payne, 2011).

The most tragic outcome of illness is that it brings a feeling of burden on others. Becoming a burden may lead to a loss of social contacts, loneliness and loss of well-being which are seen as the causes of fear of crime (Geest *et. al.*, 2010). Skogan and Maxifield (1981, 71) have claimed that in supporting physical vulnerability, "an elderly may suffer physical disabilities or a general reduction in acuity which makes it difficult for them to evade attack or fend off these who would harass them. Further, they have explained that elderly people think they are less likely to survive an assault or a robbery without severe injury (Skogan and Maxifield 1981, 72). The elderly are more vulnerable to face physical injury due to violent act than other age groups. Minor injuries are the factors of serious and permanent damage to body among the elderly due to physical vulnerability (Payne 2011, 118). Social vulnerability speaks of the non-presence of

a network in the society that can cause fear of crime among the elderly (On-fung *et al.*, 2009). Besides it, history of crime, income levels and known villains living in the community also decide vulnerability. They are also determinants of fear of crime among the people (On-fung *et al.* 2009, 3). Moreover, vulnerability is also a strong predictor of fear of crime among the elderly. There are four groups who feel vulnerable themselves and also confront more challenges due to their vulnerability, namely, elderly, women, poor and ethnic minorities (Powell and Wahidin 2007, 5 and On Fung 2009, 34). Vulnerability entails defects in living environment that are perceived as threatening by the people. Physical vulnerability also mentions defects in the physical environment which create a space for an offender to commit a crime. For example, pipes outside respondents' buildings may serve as scaling ladders for offenders to enter the household (On-fung, *et al.* 2009, 3).

Social network performs a vital role in maintaining the security of the individuals. When social network is strong, individuals feel safer than those whose social network is not strong. Social vulnerability is used regarding elderly, women, poor and ethnic minorities which are at increased risk of facing adverse situations due to some circumstantial features. Social vulnerability also explains the features such as wellbeing, livelihood, self protection and social support of an individual or a group. Their situation decides their susceptibility to damage or injury such as abuse, social exclusion and natural hazards. Social vulnerability is deeply rooted in our social structure. Social vulnerability is related to social relations which focus on the wide range of relationships between families, peer groups and other cultural, political and social institution. These relationships play its role in establishing coping mechanisms and their depletion can lead to social vulnerability (Crooks 2009, 19). Social vulnerability is the consequence of weak social ties which affect the whole social structure. Esping-Anderson (2000) has explained the categories of social vulnerability, namely, universal, life course and intergeneration social vulnerability. Whereas social vulnerability is faced by all, life course social vulnerability refers to a certain stage in the life cycle, while intergenerational social vulnerability refers to generation gap between two generations. When the situation of the elderly is applied in this context, the elderly are more vulnerable to universal social vulnerability such as physical decline with increased age. Life course social vulnerability states the end of formal employment, age defined employment and ageism. Social vulnerability rises among the elderly due to loss of cohort friends and relatives who were in their life cycle.

Moreover, intergenerational social vulnerability refers to level of support for the elderly which is provided by the family. If the family members are not able to provide resources to the elderly according to their needs, family networks are weak, and difficulties like abuse and fear of crime begin to rise before the elderly in the long run (Crooks 2009, 20).

2.3.2 Incivility: The concept of incivility entails disorderly surroundings and cases of deviance in the social environment that individuals connect with violations of community values signaling a deterioration of social harmony and equilibrium in the society. The presence of incivility in a particular neighbourhood determines that people have a higher risk for the victimisation. This higher risk increases fear in the people (Vandeviver 2011, 11). Further, he has explained two types of incivility, namely, physical and social incivility. Physical incivility mentions untended property such as littering, run down houses and graffiti while social incivility includes disruptive behaviours and untended people such as loitering youths, drug use and tramps etc.

Philip and Smith (2004) have argued that the problem of incivility is one that demands thorough sociological analysis. Durkheimian perspective of incivility defines about it that “incivility is a breach of the normative way that tends the social ties (fabric) of the collective conscience. It generates powerful primary emotions such as anger and outrage. These lead in turn to interventions in the form of negative sanctions which, no matter how graduated in intensity, at some level express disapproval and exact a restitutive vengeance. In sum, by looking to the broader sweep of social theory we can locate a series of contending visions of emotional and behavioural response to incivility.”

There is an explanation for incivility that it is a coherent response to the higher crime rate in bigger towns which mean that city people have high risk of occurrence of crime. Moreover, increase in population density and heterogeneity within urban life lead to both isolation and loneliness and flourish anti-social behaviour. Fear of crime is related to the presence of incivility both social and physical in the neighbourhood. Generally, social integration tends to make people less fearful from criminal victimisation but if individuals perceive their social environment threatening they may have more fear about the criminal victimisation. Therefore, noisy neighbours, graffiti, teenagers tottering on street corners, drunks, tramps and beggars on

the street, rubbish and litter strewn around, boarded up abandoned houses and buildings with broken windows show that the neighbourhood is declining, disorderly, unpredictable and menacing (Hale 1996, 37). Feeling of actual or symbolic threats and feeling of immediate neighbourhood deteriorating do not produce only generalised anxiety but also produce specific fear of crime (Eve and Eve, 1984).

Hale has quoted Huter's (1978) and LaGrange's (1992) notions about incivility thus: "Fear in the social environment is above all a fear of social disorder that may come to threaten the individual. This fear results more from experiencing incivility than from direct experience with crime itself. Within areas of a community (city) incivility and crime may be empirically correlated. As such, incivility would then be a symbolic cue to the heightened possibility for more serious criminal victimisation. Incivility may still produce greater variation in fear than does crime because of its relative frequency in daily experience of the individuals."

Moreover, one of the main factors of fear of crime is the crime rate of an area. Miethe and Lee (1984) argue that the crime rate of a locality and varied types of crime trigger anxiety among the individuals. Further, they explain that people who live in urban areas tend to hold higher levels of fear of crime because there is higher crime rate in urban area in comparison to rural areas. The crime rate of an area creates anxiety, discomfort and fear among the individuals residing in that locality.

2.3.3 Prior Victimization: Prior victimisation refers to a victim of crime who has been victimised earlier. It has been stated through the rationalistic paradigm that fear of crime is strongly related to prior victimisation. Researchers as Dammert and Malone (2003) and Kanan and Pruitt (2002) have tried to establish a positive correlation between the fear of crime and prior victimisation because victims of crime have a higher level of fear of crime. Bennet (1990) has explained about the fear of crime and prior victimisation in the following words: "the victimisation perspective is based on the principle that fear of crime within a community is caused by the level of criminal activity or by what people hear about the activity- either from conversations with others or from the mass media." Prior victimisation shows that experience of any crime increases the level of fear of crime. An individual experience of crime is associated with perceptions of risk and worry about future victimisation. A study has claimed

that it is doubtful about what contribution of the experience of earlier victimisation makes to subsequent fear of crime because experience of any crime is not consistently associated with fear of crime (Brugge, 2006; Nalla *et. al.*, 2011 cited in Sampson, 2001). On the one hand, some researchers have explored that prior victimisation is related to high level of fear of crime. On the other hand, others have found no effect of prior victimisation in the augmentation of the fear of crime.

Moreover, there are two classification of prior victimisation, namely, direct or personal victimisation and indirect or victimisation. Direct victimisation refers to one's own experience of crime. Direct victimisation is not significantly related to fear of crime because the level of victimisation has different variations from victim's belief. The victims have several ideas and techniques to reduce the level of fear of crime as well as the impact of victimisation (Agnew1985, 222). Indirect victimisation refers to experience of crime through other sources such as knowing the victim of any crime, one's family members, relatives and neighbours victimisation. They create a positive association with their level of fear of crime (Ferraro, 1995). Fear of crime reflects from experiences of victimisation both from one's own and others' victimisation. Direct victimisation has little impact upon fear of crime while indirect victimisation contributes more predictions of fear of crime (On-fung 2009, 34). Both direct and indirect victimisation raise perceived risks of crime, perceived seriousness and fear of specific crimes, which flourish as common perception of fear of crime (Nalla *et al.* 2011,144).

2.3.4 Psychological Factors: The elderly face psychological problems as change in cognitive and other abilities surface. Reasoning becomes slower, memory is impaired, and enthusiasm decreases, cautiousness increases, and sleep patterns are altered. Psychological perception is one of the most important factors in the study of fear of crime. Hale (Hale, 1996 cited in Lawton *et. al.*, 1976) has shed some light on the psychological response of the elderly in relation to crime. On the one hand they have argued about traits. On the other hand these traits make them more vulnerable to crime; for example due to limitations in vision and hearing, the elderly may not readily recognise a threat. Yin (1980) has explained three psychological factors in the study of fear of crime. These variables are such as; (1) the perceived high probability of being victimised, (2) the perceived seriousness of the specific crime and (3) the perceived

inability to recuperate from the experience of a victimisation. To quote him, “these psychological factors are located within the subjective cognitive realm. Whether they are realistic or not is irrelevant; they may still affect fear of crime. These factors are relevant to fear among the elderly as vulnerability appears to be a fear of crime. Those elderly who perceive themselves as vulnerable may have higher levels of fear of crime than those who perceive themselves as less vulnerable.”

2.5 Different Approaches to Fear of Crime

2.5.1 Criminological Approach: Crime against the elderly has been studied through criminological approach. Criminology is the study of crime and its treatment. There are mainly three principles of criminology, namely, sociology of law, criminal etiology and penology (Sutherland and Cressey 2011, 3). Criminology sees the act of crime against the elderly as criminal event in the contemporary society. Sociology of law is the study of crime as a social phenomenon and it is the scientific analysis of social conditions which are responsible for the criminal behaviour. Criminology sees that crime or abuse against the elderly is a criminal behaviour which violates human rights and breaks criminal law. However, no matter what the degree of immorality and indecency of an act, any criminal or abusive activity is not a crime unless it is prohibited by the criminal law. Criminal etiology analyses the causes of crime including those conditions which lead to committing of crimes. Criminal etiology sees that living alone, lack of social and family support, migration, vulnerability, inner city neighbourhood, lack of communication and breaking of joint family system are major causes of crime and fear of crime among the elderly. Penology is the study of penal code and crime control and explores remedies which may help in the protection of victims.

2.5.2 Gerontological Approach: Gerontology is the study of the aging processes and individuals as they grow from middle age through later life. It is a multi-disciplinary field which includes social, psychological, and biological changes of the individuals as they age. Gerontology addresses many areas of social life and behavior which encompass family relationships, health and disability and social participation of the elderly. The social aspect of old age is an important part of gerontology. The social impact of caring for the elderly is closely examined by gerontologists. Gerontology studies the impact of socioeconomic,

political, and cultural forces on the conditions of the elderly population, and in the status and well-being of the elderly (Putney *et al* 2005, 90). The availability and administration of psychological and nutritional counseling, proper housing and health care facilities for the elderly and crime or abuse against the elderly are major areas of gerontological research. In gerontological approach, crime against the elderly may be explained in three terms, namely, it is the form of abusive and neglectful behaviour, it is the violation of human, legal and medical rights, and it is the deprivation of choices, decisions, status, finance and respect (Bavel, 2010, 16 and Shankardass 2012, 4).

2.5.3 Psychological Approach to Fear of Crime: Psychology is the scientific study of the human mind and its functions in social behaviour. Psychology explores the concepts such as perception, cognition, emotion, attention, and motivation, brain functioning and interpersonal relationships. Basically, psychology is applied to understand the assessment and treatment of mental health problems. It is also directed towards understanding and solving problems in different spheres of human activity. There is a branch in psychology which is known as geropsychology which is devoted to the study of ageing in psychological context. Geropsychology studies the normal ageing process and design and test psychological interventions that address problems that commonly arise before the elderly. One of the concerns with ageing is the negative impact of these changes on the psychological well being of the elderly (Thang, 2006). Old age is a stage of life which is characterized by short futures and long pasts. It is a time of loss: the loss of spouse, friends, jobs, standard of living, and health. Being old is that stage in the life-cycle when human beings regularly confront life's most stressful experience. The elderly also face many problems such as abuse, isolation and loneliness from the family and society. Psychological approach treats fear of crime among the elderly as a cognitive response to anxiety of criminal behaviour which affects the way of life and happiness of the elderly in later life. This approach argues that fear of crime is a descriptor of some people's emotions in the presence of immediate signs of danger.

2.5.4 Sociological Approach: Sociology is the scientific study of society and its networks. Sociology emphasizes that fear of crime among the elderly is the result of social changes as well as changes in traditional social structure. Our traditional social structure is declining fast day by day due to migration, urbanisation, modernization and technological development.

These factors are seen to impact the occurrence of elder abuse and crime against the elderly. Sociology sees that structural inequalities existing in the society in different forms such as low wages, unemployment, gender discrimination and elderly are being seen as a burden on family (Bavel 2010, 16 Shankardass 2012,6).

2.5.5 Victimological Approach: Crime against the elderly has been studied through victimological approach according to its subject matter. Victimology is the scientific study of victimisation, including the relationships between victims and criminals and it also establishes relationship between victims and criminal justice system (Paranjape 2011, 663). Victimology studies such people who have been victimised physically, psychologically, emotionally and financially (Paranjape 2011, 663). It also focusses its study on impact of victimisation in the increases of fear of crime. Victimology sees that elderly victims are victimised physically, psychologically, emotionally and financially in their family and in the society. The cause of emergence of victimology is attributed to the criminal activities which are based on victims and why such activities take place. This focusses on the development of victim typologies, whose motive is to identify common characteristics of crime victims. Henting (1948) has produced a typology suggesting thirteen characteristics associated with victims of crime. “The elderly” is one of the vulnerable categories in his typology. According to this, the elderly are physically and sometimes psychologically weaker than the young (Heap 2008, 5). However, gerontological study is marginalized within Victimology but it has taken an important place within victimological study. Victimological study argues that elder abuse is the violation of the elderly’s human and civil rights by any other person. This abuse may be interpreted physically, psychologically, emotionally and financially. Moreover, fear of crime and elderly is also a common area in victimological study. It has been found in victimological study that the elderly have higher levels of fear of crime than other age groups (Heap 2008, 11, 12).

2.6 Criminological Theories and Fear of Crime

2.6.1 Broken Window Theory: Broken Window theory has been introduced by Wilson and Kelling (1982) first time in The Atlantic Monthly. The concept of broken window entails that when social order is to be broken down, disordered and unfriendly; it offers valueless and

immoral force to deviance behaviour and criminality (Menna 2009, 1). Wilson and Kelling (1982) have defined Broken Window Theory in these words:

“If the first broken window in a building is not repaired, then people who like breaking windows will assume that no one cares about the building and more windows will be broken. Soon the building will have no window”. It means if weak norms and values in a social order are not repaired, people sense that nobody is active for the maintenance of social order. Consequently, norms and values become weaker and soon the whole social order have no norms and values. Social disorder starts due to this phenomenon. Social disorder is a process by which mutual relationship between the members of a society are broken. People are fearful due to social disorder and therefore, they do not involve in neighbourhood activities more. Because of that social network is assumed to be broken down which is the essence of broken window theory. Wilson and Kelling have explained social disorder as a phenomenon where “a single unrepaired broken window becomes a signal that no one cares about the property” or unrepaired social structure is an indication that nobody is concerned about the maintenance of the social order. Due to this serious criminal activities rise rapidly (Wilson and Kelling, 1982; Ross and Jang, 2000). Moreover, Wilson and Kelling (1982) have claimed that where disorderly behaviour is not checked, the level of fear of crime rises there because disorderly behaviour increases serious crime.

There is a close relationship between social disorder and fear of crime. The studies have explored that social disorder is a strong predictor of fear than serious crime. Moreover, researchers have examined that social disorder includes vandalism, graffiti, prostitution, aggressive panhandling, other social undesirable conditions and behaviours which are the strong predictors of fear of crime among the people (Wilson and Kelling, 1982 and Donder *et al.* 2005, 366). Wilson and Kelling have found in their study that disorder and crime are similar types of social problems in different forms. For instance murder and vandalism are two different crime but these are the part of same social environment. If our social order ignores small crime, serious crime will increase or ignorance of small crime will invite serious crime (Ross and Jang, 2000).

Broken window theory is not only an explanation of crime but it has also some value as it helps to explain the locations of high concentrations of crime. “Areas that appear disorganised and

lawless often are as they appear, acting as safe havens for at least some types of crime.” It is a fact that crime can be committed anywhere, only it depends on how it looks and which types of factors (social, economic) are involved than appearance of disorder (Ross and Jang, 2000; Abdullah *et. al.*, 2015). The present study includes social, environmental and psychological factors to examine fear of crime among the elderly under the broken window theory.

2.6.2 Social Bond Theory: The social bond theory has been derived and proposed by Travis Hirschi in the year of 1969. Although social bond theory has been used with relation to juvenile delinquency but in this study the social bond theory has been applied in relation to crime against the elderly, and fear among them because old age is one of the most critical times in the life of a human being. During this critical time an individual needs strong and positive social relation to represent society in the best way possible. Social bond theory is an important way of approaching social relation and also social problems. It also focusses on how relationships and problems should be explained in social context. Hirschi has given a classical definition of social bond theory that it "refers to the connection between individual and the society.” There are four elements of social bond- attachment, commitment, involvement and faith. The formation of social bond is a complicated process which begins to formulate from the family because family is the first value based structure of society. This formation of social bond establishes the informal relationship of an individual with family members, relatives, friends and neighbours. Hirschi argues that “weak social bond is synonymous with greater susceptibility to mental disorders in an individual’s life. Some disorders connected to a lack of social bond are depression, anxiety, anti-social behaviour and suicidal tendencies.”

Moreover, social bond theory states that when social bond is dissolved or declined, the crime rate rises fast and also neighbourhood becomes insecure. The social bond theory has dominant perspectives about criminal behaviour and its consequences. It is also most frequently tested and discussed of all the sociological theories of crime (Durkin *et al.* 1999, 451). Moreover, a study has been conducted in Kwahu which is related to social bond and elderly, which found the lack of interest and respect of the young generation towards the elderly people (Geest 2004; 2007). Further, loss of social contacts is regarded as the clearest indication of unsuccessful ageing which increases physical and mental impairments, and cause practical problems and

psychological suffering. Loss of contact with children, relatives, friends and neighbours is felt as a personal defeat (Geest, 2011).

So far now I have discussed the basic concepts of social bond, now I will identify the elements of social bond theory. Attachment is the first and the most prominent element of social bond theory. It refers to the ties between an individual and other members of society and family. Attachment maintains the degree of relation in which an individual has emotional ties to other people of society. According to social bond theory those who have strong attachment, do not have fear about crime. Such people think that they will share every problem with others, which give them emotional support and bring them feeling of safety. Attachment to family members has more importance because the quality of attachment within a family secures an individual more.

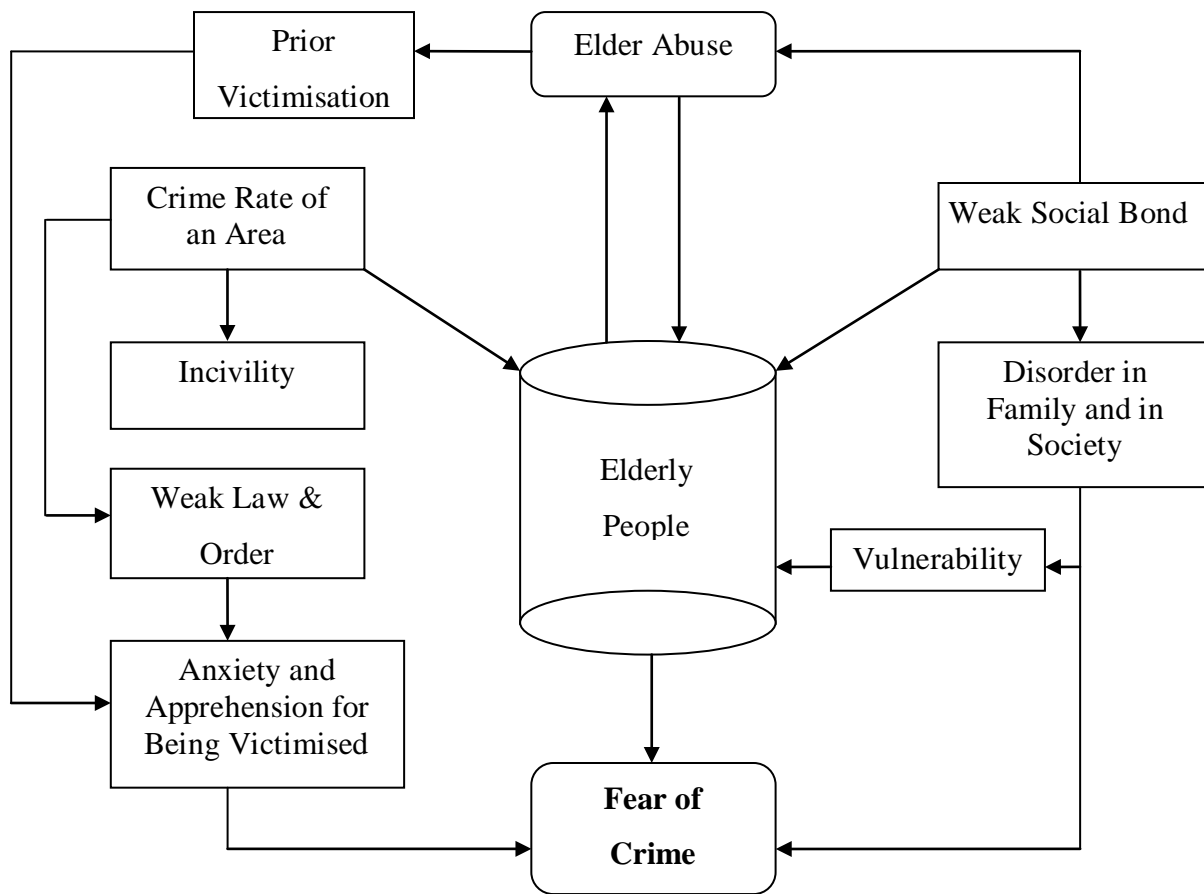
The second element of social bond theory is involvement. Involvement refers to the participation of the individuals in social or family activities. Involvement in social or family activities decides the level of social networks. When the individuals communicate their thoughts through social activities with others, they know about their social importance and have a “we feeling” which raises feeling of safety. Involving in social activities also removes isolation and loneliness. According to social bond theory when people do not involve in social activities, their social networks begin to weaken. Weakening of social networks augment fear and abusive behaviour in the community due to absence of social networks.

The third component of social bond is faith. Faith is a state or habit of mind in which trust is placed in some people. Faith is the acceptance of the conventional value system. Here conventional value system refers to family members, relatives, friends and members which regulates our social ties in a right way. According to social bond theory when our faith weakens from the conventional value system, social problems such as fear, isolation, loneliness and depression begin to rise. Moreover, weakening of conventional value system decreases the importance of social relation as well as family relation (Durkin *et al.* 1999, 452).

Commitment is the fourth and last component of social bond. Commitment refers to the sense

of a grounding force. It means when individuals commit themselves in a social group (social service, religious activity, yoga, informal group etc.), they are introduced to the reality of society and they get social force to face social problems. Commitment to a social group is a sense of social responsibility as well as duty.

Conceptual Framework



CHAPTER THREE

ELDER ABUSE

This chapter discusses elder abuse. Elder abuse may take the form of discrete neglect, street crime, verbal mistreatment, psychological and physical violence. These forms of elder abuse violate the social, legal and medical rights of the elderly. In this chapter, I have discussed on the history and the concept of the elder abuse. Moreover, the chapter talks about elder abuse in India within the framework of socio-cultural paradigm of elder abuse which covers the issues like ageism and elder abuse, social and economic vulnerability and caregiver stress and lack of regulation in care facilities. The chapter further discusses the different legislations which have been implemented for the protection of the elderly.

3.1 Elder Abuse

India is one of the world's most populous countries. Indian population has approximately tripled during the last 50 years, but the number of elderly has increased more than fourfold (Chatoraj and Sinha, 2007; Raju, 2011). It is the need of hour to emphasise on the policies and the practices which may improve the life style of the elderly in coming years. Elder abuse is one of the growing concerns for the elderly. Abuse, neglect and exploitation of the elderly are an emerging social problem in Indian society. It is not easy to measure the degree of elder abuse, neglect and exploitation because most of these cases are undetected and under-reported. There is a broad cultural variation in all societies that what would be considered as abuse both by the victim and the perpetrator. The burgeoning ageing population and gradual changes in the traditional social system of India have affected the respect, dignity and care of the elderly in contemporary times. The lack of proper health and social services could potentially increase elder abuse in India. Chronological ageing brings certain life cycle changes, some of which are physically imposed, while others are culturally defined. Among these life cycle changes are abuse, declining health status, declining roles and status in the family and the society (Yap *et al.*, 2005). Consequently, it may increase social rejection, broken family ties and embarrassment and which may also be responsible for the fear of crime among the elderly. It is difficult to recognise the degree of elder abuse. It is also not easy to how the risk factors of

elder abuse would be identified and mitigated and what strategies should be implemented to reduce the incidences of elder abuse. In this chapter, I endeavour to understand what comprises elder abuse in a cross-cultural context with a special focus on the elderly in Indian context.

3.2 A Brief History of Elder Abuse

There is a problem with detecting elder abuse because the definition lacks clarity. It comes up from the facts which are under recognised and are not sufficiently acknowledged in our country as a societal concern. The elder abuse was first recognised as a troubling social issue in 19th century but it was not considered as a matter of grave concern until 1980. The recorded instances of elder abuse began to surface in the decade of seventy in United Kingdom and other European countries (Burston, 1975). The mistreatment of elderly was referred as ‘elder abuse’ in British Scientific Journal in 1975 under the term ‘granny battering’ (Latha 2008, 468). The issue focused its attention for developing socio-political and legislative action to solve the problem of elder abuse through the pioneering work of Eastman Mervyn (1984). Similarly, a few legislations have been implemented to understand and tackle the issue of elder abuse at the federal level in United State of America. As a result, terminologies such as physical, financial abuse (Wolf and Pillemer, 1984) and mistreatment (Hudson, 1984) or self neglect have been used to understand elder abuse. Moreover, Australian perspective of elder abuse focuses that abuse and neglect of the elderly began from family members. Soon elder abuse came to be considered as a social, medical and legal problem in both residential care and the community (Kurrle, 2003).

Furthermore, in India elder abuse has been started as an academic concern in the decade of ninety. But it began receiving attention as a subject worthy of serious inquiry in 21st century. The rapid growth of elderly population is being considered as a significant group in the whole population (Shankardass 2008, 429). Hence the problems typical to them started being discussed in academic circles.

3.3 Conceptualisation of Elder Abuse

Listed here are some of the definitions related to elder abuse before embarking on further discussion. First of all I would like to define the concept of abuse which has been given by

Oxford Dictionary (2006). “Abuse is treatment with cruelty or violence, for a bad purpose, addressing in an insulting and offensive way.” Webster dictionary defines, “abuse is reproach, to disparage a person in the most violent terms, to take unfair or undue advantage of, to injure, hurt and damage and treat without consideration of fairness, to be physically harmful and maltreat.” World Health Organisation (2002) has explained that “abuse is a single or repeated act or lack of appropriate action, occurring within a relationship where there is an expectation of trust, which causes harm or distress to an elderly.” National Center on Elder Abuse (2008) has defined “Elder abuse or crime against the elderly is a term referring to any knowing, intentional or negligent act by a caregiver or any other person such as family members or relatives that causes harm or serious risk of harm to a vulnerable adult”(Gupta and Chaudhari 2008, 375). Further, International Network for Prevention of Elderly Abuse has stated that elder abuse or crime against the elderly is “neglect, violation of human legal and medical rights and deprivation of the elderly”. Here the violence is not just physical but also psychological and economic (Ganapathy, 2011).

Significantly, the term elder abuse has not found a place in the dictionary. This issue is concerned with the care of the elderly and probably because of rising cases of abuse of the elderly and lack of proper care, the term elder care has become more popular. It is also a new agenda for the policy makers. The essence of this term denotes that in the absence of care of the elderly, abuse and neglect increase against the elderly. The term elder care promotes a solid platform for delineating the rights of elderly concerning their participation, independence, self-fulfillment and dignity. Oxford has included ‘elder care’ in its publication Dictionary of New Words in 2004. According to this “care of elderly or infirm, provided by residential institutions, by paid daily help in the home or by family members is increasingly lacking or is inadequate and inappropriate.”

The term elder abuse is also used in India in the place of elder abuse. The legislation like The Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act 2007 is also based on elder care. In this legislation the word 'elder care' has been used regarding elder abuse. The Bill states that there is a possibility of children both biological or adopted and grand children not taking proper care of their aged parents or grandparents. This legislation attempts to guarantee financial,

emotional and social security to the ‘uncared’ elderly by the family (Shankardass 2008, 425). The Older Persons Bill states that the decline in the respect for the elderly, shifting roles at the family level and the work level, shortage of accommodation in cities and increasing trend of individualism and materialism in recent times are weakening the emotional ties in the family as well as in the society. Moreover, the positive notion attached to dependency on adult children is on the wane leading to rising financial and social insecurity among the elderly (Government of India, 1999).

The first united work on elder abuse carried out by the international community including World Health Organisation, International Network for prevention of Elder Abuse, Help Age International and researchers from across the world such as Argentina, Austria, Brazil, Canada, India, Kenya and Sweden have considered that elder abuse is perceived by the elderly in three forms: (a) Neglect including isolation, abandonment and social exclusion, (b) Violation of human legal and medical rights and (c) Deprivation of choices, decisions, status, finance and respect. Moreover, marginalisation of the elderly has been explored in recent studies which provides documented instances of elder abuse and neglect emerging from political violence, armed conflict, disasters and displacement, where needs of the elderly are rarely provided for in relief plans and rehabilitation programs (Shankardass 2008, 428).

3.4 Socio-Cultural Paradigm of Elder Abuse

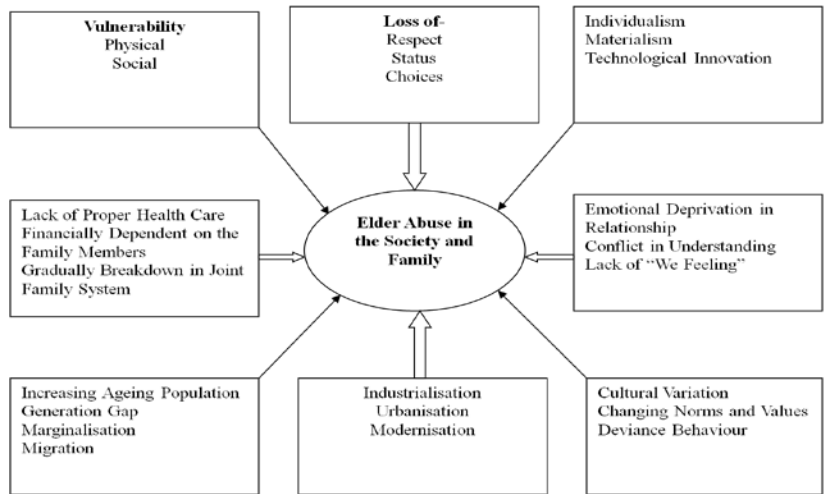
Maguire (1987) has explained the about the concept of paradigm in these worlds that “the power of the paradigm is that it shapes perceptions and practices within disciplines. It shapes what we look at, how we look at things, what we label as problems, what problems we consider worth investigating and solving and what methods are preferred for investigations and action. Likewise, a paradigm influences what we choose not to attend to; what we do not see.” The traditional description of elder abuse typically found in previous literature has been summarised as, “elderly people become frail, difficult to care for, and sometimes demanding. These characteristics cause stress for their caregivers; as a result of this stress, the caregivers become abusive or neglectful toward the elder” (National Research Council 2003, 98).

Elder abuse has been characterised and conceptualised within a socio-cultural paradigm where the elderly are seen as dependent and vulnerable. There is an underlying assumption that those

who are victim of any abusive behaviour are not able to speak for themselves. Generally, elder abuse can be considered from a domestic violence angle applying a feminist perspective of power and coercion in a relationship (Penhale, 2003; Straka and Montminy, 2006). Similarly, elder abuse can also be explained from the care giving and receiving perspective because Korean study found that fluid and complex nature of intergenerational relationships diversify family relations and affect family support and care of the elderly (Yap *et al.*, 2005).

The unprecedented socio-economic transformation is leading to a number of problems and changes among the ageing population in the later life. We have discussed a diagram to understand socio-cultural paradigm to elaborate the problem of elder abuse and probable causes of elder abuse. In this diagram we have described vulnerability, family conditions, changing socio-economic aspect, changing demographic scenario and cultural variation as factors contributing to elder abuse. The major factors such as gradual changes in the joint family, erosion of morality in the society, changes in the value system, migration of children are responsible for the marginalisation of elderly in India. Moreover, changing socio-economic scenario has cast their shadow on traditional values and norms in the society. Many emotional and interpersonal facets of ageing influence the social functioning and well-being of the elderly in different ways. Furthermore, generation gap contributes to marginalisation of elderly and their wisdom by the younger generation leading to conflicts, lack of respect, and decline of authority, neglect and abuse (Khan, 2004; Raju, 2011).

Socio-Cultural Paradigm of Elder Abuse



The study endeavors to understand the nature and extent of elder abuse within the framework of socio-cultural paradigm (which is captured diagrammatically in above figure) in Indian social context. The diagrammatic model tries to explain different factors responsible for elder abuse. No one single factor causes elder abuse in general. This model informs that there are different causes of elder abuse in different situations and of different older persons. One factor or more than one factor can trigger elder abuse in case of single older person. Under this paradigm elderly are seen as dependent and vulnerable (social and physical). The elder abuse can be explained from the domestic violence angle applying a feminist perspective of power and coercion in a relationship (Penhale, 2003; Straka and Montminy, 2006). The elder abuse is based on cultural norms related to the family relationships, including expectations of family responsibility and loyalty (Taylor *et al.*, 2014). With a shift away from traditional care in India there is an increased demand on the family members for the care of the elderly in contemporary society. The lack of proper health and social services could potentially increase elder abuse in India (Khan, 2004; Shankardass, 2008; Jain, 2008). On the one hand, the rapid growth of the elderly population has raised a number of problems on the households with limited resources, particularly in the absence of formal social support systems (Help Age India, 2013). On the other hand, increased urbanisation and weakening of joint family system have inflated the various psychological problems including abuse against the elderly (Chokkanathan *et al.* 2013, 61). Abuse does not only make worse and disabling conditions for the elderly, but it also makes the individuals more dependent, vulnerable and marginalised. Consequently, it may increase social alienation, social embarrassment and weaken the family ties. It has become critical to understand the extent of prevalence of elder abuse, identify and mitigate the risk factors and provide prevention strategies to reduce incidences of elder abuse.

India is a country with an ancient culture and a proud history (Chatoraj and Sinha, 2007) where the elderly enjoyed a reputable position in the society. Old age and wisdom have been recognised as synonymous in the traditional social system of India. The elder care has never been seen as a problem in India. But in the last few decades the fast pace of industrialisation, urbanisation and modernisation have undermined the position and status of the elderly, making them more vulnerable in the society which was enjoyed by them earlier (Knodel *et al.*, 1992; Jamuna, 2000; Mehta, 2013). The advents of industrialisation, modernisation and urbanisation

have had negative impact on our socio-cultural paradigm which is rooted in our traditional institutions like family and society. The family ties are being seen as weakening due to gradual changes in the joint family system, emigration of children in the search of jobs and participation of women in labor market. These factors are leading to the deterioration of the higher socio-cultural values of Indian society. Moreover, the elderly have become more vulnerable in the society due to rapid transition in the structure and functioning of the family (Knodel *et al.*, 1992; Knodel and Chayovan, 2008; Jain 2008; Mehta, 2013).

The socio-cultural norms of the family as an institution of care of old people have already gone to the risk zone. The dynamics of relations in the family have undergone through unprecedented changes because these changes are responsible for the structural changes in family arrangements which affect the way elderly survive their way of life (Mehta, 2011). Moreover, family patterns has shifted from intergenerational to conjugal bonds between husband and wife and changing employment opportunities result in changing value system that has affected the elder care and attention from the family (Mehta, 2011). As a result, the emotional bondage, the source of keeping the family intact, united and fully functioning, are changing not only in joint families but also in nuclear families (Jain, 2008).

The growth of individualism in modern generation has brought the individual self to the forefront of day to day life. Consequently, people are in a great hurry to have every source of pleasure ignoring others consideration. The changing family sizes, roles and relationships within the family are also some likely consequences of this and individual self (Khan 2004, 174). Moreover, greater mobility and new modes of economic production under the new global division of labor represent other factors that affect the way of life of individuals, families, and communities (Yap *et al.*, 2005). These changes have led to indignity, disgracefulness, embarrassment, dishonor, disheartening, disregard, injustice, lack of care and psychological torture towards elderly (Khan 2004, 174). These changes have also affected the family system and led to break-down of strong bondage of emotional relations. These have created emotional deprivation among the elderly, who have a different outlook on the family system (Jain 2008, 449). Significantly, the breakdown of trust can occur within the family, community and institutional settings, through social interactions and contractual relationship (Khan, 2004; Jain, 2008).

3.5 Typology of Elder Abuse

The typology of elder abuse is more or less universal. Elder abuse has four basic typology which are, namely, emotional, financial, neglect and physical. Besides it, sexual abuse, spouse abuse and medication abuse are also more prevalent in recent times and researchers have paid significant attention to these abuses (Shankardass 2008, 427). The scientific literature has also identified other specific forms of elder abuse such as loss of respect, scapegoating, etc. In this section the types of elder abuse are explained.

3.5.1 Emotional Abuse: The emotional abuse is difficult to explain and examine because many of the behaviours that are the examples of the emotional abuse 'are not concrete' (Johnson 1995, 221). This is the infliction of mental or emotional anguish such as humiliating, intimidating or threatening, isolation, deprivation, feeling of shame, indignity and powerlessness (Kurrle *et al.* 1992, 674 and Latha 2008, 467). The emotional abuse is not easy to identify unless monitored. The person who is abused in this way, s/he can show agitation, fear and changes in the behavior.

3.5.2 Financial Abuse: The financial abuse can be defined as the illegal taking, misuse and concealment of funds and property of vulnerable elderly without their consent. The elderly are abused financially by four agents such as by the relatives, caregivers, neighbours or friends and professional groups. The financial abuse includes material abuse, financial exploitation, fiduciary abuse, exploitation of resources, economic victimisation, financial victimisation, fraud and theft. The studies have included some specific types of financial abuse which are flourishing in recent times such as misappropriation of money, credit card fraud and illegal property transfers and forgery (Payne 2011, 83).

3.5.3 Neglect: Neglect is also one of the forms of the elder abuse and it entails the failure of the caregiver to provide the basic needs. Neglect can be divided in two forms, namely, intentional and unintentional. Intentional neglect refers to conscious and deliberate attempt to injury such as verbal abuse and battering and unintentional neglect refers to ignorance, inexperience and the lack of ability of caretaker to provide proper care to the elderly (Latha 2008, 470).

3.5.4 Physical Abuse: When an individual thinks of elder abuse, s/he is likely thinking of harmful physical acts which are committed against the elderly. Physical abuse mentions a host of severe acts such as pinching, slapping or hitting which are committed against the elderly and also affect their body. Moreover, physical abuse also covers physical intimidation of an elderly. Such kind of threat also robs them of their basic needs. The physical abuse can also be classified in five parts, namely, parent abuse, spouse abuse, patient abuse, violent crimes and homicides. (Latha 2008, 469 and Payne 2011, 65). All these severe acts have been defined as crime across the world. But these are not always treated as crime because many cases are not highlighted and do not come to attention of the authorities.

3.5.5 Sexual Abuse: When an elderly is forced into sexual relation without his/her consent, it is known as sexual elder abuse. It also includes activities such as showing pornographic material to an elderly person, to force the elderly to watch sex acts and to force the elderly to undress. The sexual abuse is considered as a physical abuse because victim has different type of experience from sexual assaults. Mostly, elderly females are victimised in sexual abuse. There are five types of elder sexual assault, namely, stranger sexual assault, partner sexual assault, incestuous abuse by relative, caregiver sexual assault and peer sexual assault (Payne 2011, 80).

3.5.6 Self-Neglect: Self-neglect is also considered as a form of abuse. This type of abuse is different from other types of abuse because there is no abuser involved. Vulnerable adults are not able to provide proper care for themselves. Self-neglect includes the serious physical, mental, emotional harm and substantial damage to or loss of assets within a short period of time. Moreover, an elderly may be depressed, has poor health, has cognitive problems and be physically unable to care for self.

3.6 Elder Abuse in India

The elder abuse is the result of long-term family conflict between parents and children in India. There is a need to understand the relationship between domestic violence and elder abuse (Mandal, 2011). There are a few studies (Group for Economic and Social Studies, 2009; Agewell Foundation, 2013; Helpage India, 2014) which examined the phenomenon of elder abuse as a domestic violence which significantly influences the status, dignity and rights of the

elderly. These studies have also found that the elder abuse is the continuance of long-term domestic violence in old age. A full understanding of elder abuse must also move beyond individual risk factors, and concentrate upon the problem as a function of broader social structural issues such as poverty, isolation, disabled and gender.

Age Well Foundation (2011) conducted a study on elder abuse and human rights of the elderly in India. It was carried out in 300 districts of 25 States and Union Territories of India. The study draws attention to the violation of human rights of the elderly of both rural and urban areas. Age Well Foundation found that most of the elderly are living in inhumane condition and the rise in nuclear families is leading to gross violation of the human rights of the elderly in India. The insensitivity shown towards the elderly, in turn, has a negative impact on their emotional and physical well being.

The study further reported that in today's fast paced life even the basic needs and rights of many of the elderly people are not being given adequate attention and care by the family members. Social marginalization, isolation, abuse and even negligence in old age lead to violation of their human rights. The breakdown of the joint family system is found to be the prime reason for violation of their basic human rights. It is also found that the incidence of human rights violation among the elderly of rural areas is higher in comparison to urban elderly.

Age Well Research & Advocacy Centre (2011) conducted a survey to assess the human rights and status of elderly women in India. The survey was carried out in six regions (Delhi & NCR, North India, South India, East India, West India and Central India) covering 25 states and Union Territories of India. The study found that 87.2% of the elderly women are facing age related discrimination in their life. Due to Illiteracy, poverty, lack of awareness about their rights and less exposure to mainstream of society, their basic human rights are violated from time to time. The study also revealed that there are 81% elderly women who had to face harassment and elder abuse.

It is apparent from these studies that elderly face economic and social problems (loss of employment, income deficiency, social insecurity and maladjustment) and physical and physiological problems (health and medical problems, nutritional deficiency and the problem of

adequate housing, etc.). These problems of the aged require socio-legal interventions to curtail them (Mandal, 2011).

3.7 Protection of the Elderly through Indian Laws: There are several laws which have been implemented for the protection of rights of the elderly. These laws cover the social, economic and legal rights of the elderly. These laws may be described in detail in following section.

3.7.1 Constitutional Protection: Indian constitution makes effective provision for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in cases of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement, and in other cases of undeserved want. Constitution also promotes the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the society with special care and protects them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. These provisions are mentioned in Directive Principles of the State Policy of the Indian Constitution. Article 37 of the Constitution declares that "Directive Principles shall not be enforceable by any court, but the principles therein laid down are nevertheless fundamental in the governance of the country and it shall be the duty of the state to apply these principles in making laws." The courts however cannot enforce a Directive Principle as it does not create any justifiable right in favour of any individual. It is most unfortunate that state has not made even a single Act which is directly related to the elderly (Mandal, 2011).

3.7.2 Protection under Hindu Law: A Hindu is obligated all along his or her life-time, to maintain his or her legitimate/illegitimate children and his or her aged or infirm parents. The Section 20 of the Hindu Adoption and Maintenance Act, 1956 deals with the statutory provision for the maintenance of parents. This is the first law in India which makes it obligatory on the adult children to take care of their parents. The law dictates that it is not only the responsibility of the sons but also of the daughters to look after the elderly parents.

3.7.3 Protection under Muslim Law: The Muslim law also makes it obligatory for the adult children to take care of their parents. Even if the poor parents are making a living on their own, the children are obliged to support their parents. But a son who is struggling to make ends meet is compelled to support his mother financially even if the mother is not infirm. Moreover, a

poor son is obligated to look after his non-earning father (National Human Rights Commission 2011).

The Hanafi law dictates that the impoverished parents and grandparents are eligible for financial support from their children and grandchildren, even if they are capable of making a living. Hence Muslim law makes it mandatory for both adult sons and daughters to look after their elderly parents (Mandal 2011).

3.7.4 Protection under Christian and Parsi Law: There is no personal law among the Christians and Parsis regarding providing for maintenance of the parents. The aged parents, however, can claim maintenance under the provisions of the Criminal Procedure Code (Cr.P.C) (Rajput 2013).

3.7.5 Protection under Criminal Laws: The Criminal Procedure Code (Cr.P.C), 1973 is secular in nature and law and regulates conduct of people from all religious communities. The provision for maintenance of parents under the code was brought in Section 125(1) of the Code of Criminal Procedure in 1973. The law states that “if any person having sufficient means neglects or refuses to maintain his/her parents, a magistrate of the first class may upon proof of such neglect or refusal can order such person to make a monthly allowance for the maintenance of his/her parents (father or mother), at a monthly rate as the magistrate thinks fit, and to pay the same to such person as the magistrate may from time to time direct” (Mishra 2005).

3.7.6 The Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act, 2007: This Act was enacted in December 2007 to ensure need based maintenance for parents and senior citizens and their welfare. The Act grants for the maintenance of Parents/ senior citizens by children or relatives, made obligatory and justifiable through tribunals. Aged parents who cannot support themselves through their income and have no property can seek financial support from their adult children. This Act allows the elderly to demand nutritious food, shelter, proper clothing and medical treatment from their children. The elderly who is sixty years and above and who is childless can also demand support from relatives who possess or are likely to take over their property through this Act (Government of India, 2007).

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses and analyses the findings of the study conducted in the rural and the urban areas of Lucknow district. Lucknow, one of the historic cities of northern India and the capital of Uttar Pradesh is located in the central region on the bank of Gomati River. This chapter is divided into four sections.

The first section provides the biographical details of the 220 rural and urban respondents. The details include the age distribution, the marital status, the living arrangement, the property and the savings of the elderly respondents.

The second part of this chapter examines the relationship between the elderly and their family members, relatives and neighbours within the framework of the social bonding. This section discusses the social bonding of the elderly using the concepts of attachment, involvement, belief and commitment. Their contacts with children, relatives, friends and neighbours through mutual understanding are also investigated. Their feelings of satisfaction or dissatisfaction about the care and respect they get from their family members and from the young people in the community also form the part of this section.

The third section discusses elder abuse in socio-cultural context. This section tries to understand the nature of abuse in Indian families and explores the causes and consequences of elder abuse. I have described physical, emotional, financial and verbal abuse and have also looked at the effect of abusive and neglectful behaviour on the elderly. Moreover, the study focuses on the perpetrators of elder abuse.

The fourth section describes the factors affecting fear of crime among the elderly. I have covered the social, environmental and psychological factors of the fear of crime among the elderly. Social and environmental factors cover prior victimisation, vulnerability, incivility, crime rate and crime news while psychological factor includes stress, phobia and happiness to examine fear of crime among the elderly. Tables have been used in this chapter to present the

collected data clearly which has been discussed in the texts. Tables have been used not only to make a comparison between the rural and urban elderly but also between the male and female respondents in the context of fear of crime among the elderly.

4.1 Biographical Details of the Respondents

I interviewed two hundred twenty elderly respondents for this study. I conducted face to face interviews with these respondents who were staying in both rural and urban areas of Lucknow District. Looking at the age group of the elderly (Table 4.1), it is found that most of the elderly are in the 70-79 year age category. There are 45.9% (101) such elderly in that age group. There are 36.3% (80) elderly respondents who belong to the age group of 60 to 69 years and 17.8% (39) elderly belonging to the age group of above 80 years.

Further the gender distribution of the respondents shows that there were higher numbers of female respondents (137) who constituted 62.3% of the total sample in comparison to 83 male respondents who formed 37.7% in all three age groups. When the age groups of rural and urban respondents are compared, almost negligible difference is found. Moreover, equal numbers of elderly respondents (110) have been interviewed from both the rural and urban areas.

The study found that 19.1% elderly were farmers which were followed by government/medical officers (15.5%), teachers (14.5%), clerk (10.0%), businessmen (7.3%) and street vendors (5.9%). Nearly 27.7% of the elderly interviewed were unemployed and were financially dependent on their children. Further, the study also found that 25.9% elderly earned 1000-5000 rupees per month while 15.9% earned 16000-20000 rupees, 14.5% earned 11000-15000 rupees, 8.2% earned 21000 rupees and 7.7% earned 6000-10000 rupees. While 27.7% were such elderly, who did not have any income resources.

Table 4.2 details the marital status of the respondents. It shows that out of the total number of respondents, the married respondents constituted 59.1% of the total sample. The higher percentage of married respondents (65.5%) was found to be in rural areas in comparison to urban areas (52.7%). Only 1.8% of the respondents (four) were found to be single. None of the respondents was found to be unmarried in Rural Lucknow. The Table further reveals that the widows/widowers constituted the second highest percentage (39.1%). The data also shows that there were more widows (50.6%) than the widowers (32.1%). It is because in India there are

higher incidences of widowhood among the female respondents than among the male respondents. Similar incidence of higher widowhood rates among women than men were also reported by Ravishankar (2010) in the study on ageing and family support in the South India. The percentage of widowhood is higher among women because in India, invariably, men marry women younger than themselves. Thus with substantial age difference between the couple and differing proportion of old men and women who marry and increased life expectancy in their case gives rise to a large proportion of widows in a social group (Bharti 2011). It was also reported by Central Statistical Office (2011) that the women are having a longer life span than men. During (2002-2006) in India the life expectancy at the age 60 was found to be about 18 years (16.7 for males & 18.9 for females). This means that most of the Indian elderly females spend their advanced age as widows with or without children.

The study found (table 4.3) that 92.7% elderly had children and table 4.4 shows that only 53.2% elderly were staying with their children. The rural-urban difference suggests that 60.9% rural elderly were staying with children as compared to 45.5% urban elderly who were residing with their children. Further, table indicates that slightly higher percentages of elderly males (57.7%) were staying with their children as compared to elderly females (45.8%). The table 4.4.1 indicates that those elderly who were not staying with their children were either living with their spouses (57.2%) or in old age homes (26.2%) or were living alone (16.6%). The study found that there were various reasons for the elderly not staying with their adult children. These reasons were migration of children, conflict between the elderly and their sons and daughters-in-law and elderly were widowers or widows. Similarly, it was found in a study that there were elderly couples living by themselves either due to the death of their adult children or unwilling aged parents resisting living with their adult children due to their self respect and dignity or to avoid conflicts with their daughters-in-law (Jamuna, 2000). The table 4.5 reveals that 61.8% of the elderly (136) had property such as land (39.7%), shop (13.9%), house (26.5%) and other property related things such as cattle (19.9%). Moreover, table 4.6 indicates that 80.0% (176) of the elderly had savings in different sources such as bank account (45.5%), life insurance (22.7%), post office accounts (16.5%) and *kisanpatra*, a small plan for the farmers by Government (15.3%).

Biographical Details of the Respondents

F- Frequency; P – Percentage

Table 4.1- Age Distribution

Age	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
60-69	46	33.6	34	40.9	80	36.3	33	30.0	47	42.7
70-79	64	46.7	37	44.6	101	45.9	54	49.1	47	42.7
Above 80	27	19.7	12	14.5	39	17.8	23	20.9	16	14.6
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.2- Marital Status

Marital Status	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Married	92	67.2	38	45.8	130	59.1	58	52.7	72	65.5
Unmarried	1	.7	3	3.6	4	1.8	4	3.6	-	-
Widower	44	32.1	-	-	44	20.0	24	21.8	20	18.2
Widow	-	-	42	50.6	42	19.1	24	21.8	18	16.4
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.3- Detail of Children

You have Children	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	130	94.9	74	89.2	204	92.7	96	87.3	108	98.2
No	7	5.1	9	10.8	16	7.3	14	12.7	2	1.8
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.4- Living with Children

Living with Children	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	79	57.7	38	45.8	117	53.2	50	45.5	67	60.9
No	58	42.3	45	54.2	103	46.8	60	54.5	43	39.1
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.4.1

If No, Where (out of 103)	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Spouse	37	64.9	22	47.8	59	57.2	24	38.7	35	85.4
Old Age Home	11	19.2	16	34.8	27	26.2	27	43.6	-	
Live alone	9	15.9	8	17.4	17	16.6	11	17.7	6	14.6
Total	57	100	46	100	103	100	62	100	41	100

Table 4.5- Property Detail

You have Property	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	91	66.4	45	54.2	136	61.8	48	43.6	88	80.0
No	46	33.6	38	45.8	84	38.2	62	56.4	22	20.0
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.5.1

If Yes, Describe (out of 136)	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Land	39	41.9	15	34.8	54	39.7	20	38.5	34	40.4
Shop	11	11.8	8	18.6	19	13.9	12	23.0	7	8.3
House	25	26.8	11	25.7	36	26.5	20	38.5	16	19.0
Other	18	19.5	9	20.9	27	19.9	-	-	27	32.3
Total	93	100	43	100	136	100	52	100	84	100

Table 4.6- Saving Detail

You have Saving	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	112	81.8	64	77.1	176	80.0	103	93.6	73	66.4
No	25	18.2	19	22.9	44	20.0	7	6.4	37	33.6
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.6.1

If Yes, Describe (out of 176)	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Saving in Bank	55	45.5	25	45.5	80	45.5	46	48.9	34	41.6
Fixed	30	24.8	10	18.2	40	22.7	27	28.7	13	15.8
LIC	17	14.0	12	21.8	29	16.5	21	22.4	8	9.8
Post Office	8	6.7	5	9.0	13	7.4	-	-	13	15.8
Kishanpatra	11	9.0	3	5.5	14	7.9	-	-	14	17.0
Total	121	100	55	100	176	100	94	100	82	100

4.2 Elder Abuse

Elder abuse is a neglectful and abusive behaviour which includes physical, emotional, verbal and financial abuse against the elderly and such behaviour deprives the elderly their respect and dignity.

4.2.1 Abused in the Family: The table (4.7) illustrates abused in the family. Overall 51.4% elderly admitted that they were abused in their family. Gender differences indicate that while 65.1% female respondents said that they were abused in their family, 43.1% males told that they were abused in their family. The basic reason for the higher percentage of female respondents to feel abused was their lack of proper access to food, clothing and shelter. Many of the female respondents depend on their family members for these basic needs. When they ask about these things, they have to bear abusive behaviour by their sons and daughters-in-law. The third section of the table (4.7) shows the comparison of rural and urban areas. The difference is minimal as 50.9% rural elderly confided that they were mistreated in their family as compared to 51.8% urban elderly who replied that they were abused in the family.

Table 4.7- Abused in the Family

Abused in the Family	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	59	43.1	54	65.1	113	51.4	57	51.8	56	50.9
No	78	56.9	29	34.9	107	48.6	53	48.2	54	49.1
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

4.2.2 Abused in Neighbourhood: In a sample of 220, I found in the table (4.8) that 26.4% elderly were abused in their neighbourhood. The gender ratio indicates that 28.5% elderly males felt that they were abused in their neighbourhood as compared to 22.9% elderly females who were abused in their neighbourhood. Moreover, when the rural-urban context is examined regarding elder abuse, it is found that 38.2% rural elderly were abused in their neighbourhood while 14.5% urban elderly stated that they were abused in the neighbourhood. I found that living alone is the major factor of abuse among the rural elderly. The adult children have migrated to the urban areas for the purpose of jobs leaving behind their elderly parents. Taking

advantage of their lonely existence, the unruly boys in the neighbourhood tease them and call them with bad names. This emotionally hurt the elderly. One thing I observed during my field survey is that there is gradual decline in respect and status for the elderly in rural areas. This is also one of the reasons for elder abuse in both rural and urban neighbourhoods.

Table 4.8- Abused in the Neighbourhood

Abused in the Neighbourhood	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	39	28.5	19	22.9	58	26.4	16	14.5	42	38.2
No	98	71.5	64	77.1	162	73.6	94	85.5	68	61.8
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

4.3 Types of Abuse: In this section I have discussed the different types of abuse such as verbal, emotional, financial and physical abuse.

4.3.1 Verbal Abuse: I found in the table 4.9 that 31.8% elderly respondents told that they were abused verbally. As far as the gender difference is concerned, there was almost no difference as 32.5% elderly female stated that they were verbally abused as compared to 31.4% elderly male who were verbally abused. Moreover, 38.2% rural elderly replied that they were abused verbally in their homes and neighbourhood as compared to 25.5% urban elderly who admitted to being verbally abused. The reasons for the elderly being subjected to more verbal abuse now a days in both rural and urban areas could be that the position and status of the elderly have been undermined due to decline in joint family system, ideological conflict, lack of proper interaction between the elderly and their family members.

Table 4.9- Verbal Abuse

Verbally Abused	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	43	31.4	27	32.5	70	31.8	28	25.5	42	38.2
No	94	68.6	56	67.5	150	68.2	82	74.5	68	61.8
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

4.3.2 Emotional Abuse: The elderly were asked whether they are emotionally abused and neglected. 36.4% elderly were emotionally abused as the table (4.10) shows in this study. Further, when the rural-urban differences were taken into account, it was found that slightly higher percent of rural elderly (39.1%) experienced emotional abuse as compared to 33.7% urban elderly. However the gender difference is minimal as 35.7% elderly males were abused emotionally as compared to 37.3% elderly females. The respondents mentioned that the most common forms of emotional abuse which was experienced by the elderly in their family and neighbourhood were that the elderly were subject to degrading and filthy verbal language in the form of shouting and life threats. They were also not allowed to meet relatives and friends and were not permitted to take decisions in the family.

Table 4.10- Emotional Abuse

Emotionally Abused	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	49	35.7	31	37.3	80	36.4	37	33.7	43	39.1
No	88	64.3	52	62.7	140	63.6	73	66.3	67	60.9
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

4.3.3 Financial Abuse: There were 22.7% respondents who reported that they were abused financially. When it comes to gender, the percentage of female respondents (26.5%) facing financial abuse was slightly higher than the elderly males (20.4%). Similarly, the percentage of urban elderly (23.6%) experiencing financial abuse is marginally higher than the rural elderly (21.8%). The majority of elderly told that they were not allowed to purchase things which they wanted. Abusers misuse and take away their valuable things such as property, ornaments, money, utilise their pension and misuse the signature of the elderly to withdraw money from bank accounts.

4.3.4 Physical Abuse: There were 29.5% respondents who reported that they were abused physically. When this abuse was seen in the context of gender, 27.0% elderly males were abused physically as compared to 33.7% elderly females who were abused physically. Moreover, 29.1% urban elderly were abused physically while this figure (30.0%) is slightly

higher in the case of rural elderly. The elderly respondents reported different kinds of physical abuse which were experienced by them in their family and neighbourhood. They responded that they experienced hair-pulling, pushing, kicking, punching, slapping, beating and objects being thrown at them.

4.4 Abusers

4.4.1 Abused by Son: There were 20.9% elderly who were mistreated by their sons as mentioned in the table 4.11. However the gender difference is minimal as 19.7% elderly males were mistreated by their sons as compared to 22.9% elderly females who were abused by their sons. Further, table (4.11) shows equal percentage (21%) of both rural and urban elderly was abused by sons at both places.

Table 4.11- Abused by Son

Son	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	27	19.7	19	22.9	46	20.9	23	20.9	23	20.9
No	110	80.3	64	77.1	174	79.1	87	79.1	87	79.1
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

4.4.2 Close Relatives: The elderly were asked if they were abused by their close relatives. There were 20.0% elderly who were mistreated by the close relatives. The gender difference shows that while 17.5% elderly males reported that they were abused by the close relatives, 24.1% elderly females said that they were abused by their close relatives. Moreover, only 12.7% urban elderly were abused as compared to 27.3% rural elderly who were abused by their close relatives. The study shows that rural elderly are abused more by their close relatives such as brothers and nephews than urban elderly. Those rural elderly who live alone and have no children are abused by their close relatives for property and land. Some of the rural elderly complained that the close relatives occupied their property and lands illegally. I learnt during the course of my fieldwork that those rural elderly women who were widows were abused more by their close relatives. The close relatives put pressure on the elderly to hand over their jewelry or transfer property to them or force them to give money. When the elderly refuse, they are mistreated by their close relatives.

4.4.3 Abused by Daughter-in-Law: The table 4.12 illustrate that there were 25.9% elderly who told that they were abused by their daughters-in-law. Further, when the gender is taken into account, it is found that 20.4% elderly males were victimised by their daughters-in-law as compared to 34.9% elderly females. Since the elderly females stay at home most of the time and are in regular interaction with their daughters-in-law, they are victimised much more by their daughters-in-law than the elderly male members of the family. It is also found that in many cases, the elderly females do not develop proper understanding with their daughters-in-law which is a factor of abuse with them. There are also cases where the elderly females are forced to work by their daughters-in-law and when the elderly females are not able to work properly, daughters-in-law insult them and use filthy language for them. Moreover, 22.7% rural elderly were abused by their daughters-in-law as compared to 29.1% urban elderly. Furthermore, the study also found that 1.8% elderly were victimised by their grandchildren. There were 3.6% urban elderly who were victimised by their grandchildren and there was no such case found among the rural elderly. Besides it, 2.9% elderly males were mistreated by their grandchildren while none of the elderly females reported abuse by the grandchildren.

Table 4.12- Abused by Daughter-in-Law

Daughter-in-Law	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	28	20.4	29	34.9	57	25.9	32	29.1	25	22.7
No	109	79.6	54	65.1	163	74.1	78	70.9	85	77.3
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

4.4.4 Abused by Neighbours: The table 4.13 points out that 20.5% elderly respondents claimed that they were abused by their neighbours. There are 28.2% rural elderly who were victimised by their neighbours as compared to 12.7% urban elderly. Moreover, 23.4% elderly males were victimised by their neighbours as compared to 15.7% elderly females who were mistreated by their neighbours.

Table 4.13- Abused by Neighbours

Neighbour s	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	32	23.4	13	15.7	45	20.5	14	12.7	31	28.2
No	105	76.6	70	84.3	175	79.5	96	87.3	79	71.8
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

4.5 Causes of the Elder Abuse

4.5.1 Elder Abuse Due to Property: The table 4.14 illustrates that the elderly who felt that they were being abused were asked about the causes of abuse. There were 30% elderly who cited the reason of not having property as a cause of abuse with them. Further, the study has found in terms of gender ratio that 25.3% elderly females were mistreated due to property as compared to 32.8% elderly males who were abused due to property. Moreover, comparison of rural and urban areas suggests that 30.9% rural elderly were mistreated due to property while this figure (29.1%) was slightly less in the case of urban elderly.

Table 4.14- Elder Abuse Due to Property

Elder Abuse Due to Property	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	45	32.8	21	25.3	66	30.0	32	29.1	34	30.9
No	92	67.2	62	74.7	154	70.0	78	70.9	76	69.1
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

4.5.2 Lack of Emotional Support: Emotional support refers to the emotional bonding with the members of family and society. The absence of emotional bonding creates a gap in the relationships of two individuals. Due to that individuals have to face many problems such as abuse, neglect and isolation. The table 4.15 shows that 30.5% elderly were mistreated due to lack of emotional support. Moreover, 25.5% rural elderly were victimised as compared to 35.5% urban elderly who were victimised due to lack of emotional support. I found that there was no gender difference in the study with respect to lack of emotional support.

Table 4.15- Elder Abuse Due to Lack of Emotional Support

Lack of Emotional Support	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	42	30.7	25	30.1	67	30.5	39	35.5	28	25.5
No	95	69.3	58	69.9	153	69.5	71	64.5	82	74.5
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

4.5.3 Lack of Basic Necessities: The basic necessities of life refer to an individuals' access to food, clothing and shelter which allows them to lead a normal life. In the current study 30.9% elderly felt that they were mistreated due to lack of basic necessities. Further, gender difference indicates that 41.0% elderly females were abused as compared to 24.8% elderly males who were abused due to lack of basic necessities. The study found that elderly males were financially stronger which, in many cases, allowed them to escape any mistreatment. The elderly males did have access to whatever basic needs of life they wanted. But the elderly females were dependent on their family members for basic necessities and due to that they were at the mercy of whims and fancies of their family members. Many a times their basic wants went unfulfilled as their requests were ignored. The female elderly in the study felt neglected due to this. In terms of rural-urban differences, 20.0% urban elderly stated that they were victimised as compared to 41.8% rural elderly who were abused due to basic necessities. It was found that urban elderly were financially stronger than their rural counterparts and were, in many cases, independent. They could fulfill their needs easily. The family members did not oppose their wishes and many times family members also fulfilled their needs. While maximum numbers of rural elderly were dependent on their family members for their basic necessities. In many cases, the family condition was so poor that if the rural elderly asked for anything, they had to face anger and abusive behaviour of their family members.

4.6 Interaction with Family Members: The elderly (table 4.16) were asked if their children and other family members spent time with them. Of the sample respondents, 36.4% elderly felt that their family members gave time to them. Further, 40.1% elderly males told that their family members spent quality time with them as compared to 30.1% elderly females. The rural-urban difference was apparent as 51.8% rural elderly felt that their family members gave time

to them as compared to only 20.9% urban elderly who stated that they were interacting with their family members on an everyday basis.

Table 4.16- Interaction with Family Members

Interacti on with Family Members	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	55	40.1	25	30.1	80	36.4	23	20.9	57	51.8
No	82	59.9	58	69.9	140	63.6	87	79.1	53	48.2
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.17- Frequency of Abused in the family/society

Frequency of Abused in the family/soci ety	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Everyday	13	9.5	12	14.5	25	11.4	13	11.8	12	10.9
Sometimes	47	34.3	42	50.6	89	40.5	44	40.0	45	40.9
During Celebratio n	20	14.6	10	12.0	30	13.6	11	10.0	19	17.3
Never abused but Feel	57	41.6	19	22.9	76	34.5	42	38.2	34	30.9
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

There is a cultural expectation in India that family members (particularly sons) look after their aged parents. But due to changes in the family structure over a period of time this has become difficult to imagine (Jamuna 2000, 24). When elderly need family support the most, they are living alone and feel isolated. The elderly in the study told the researcher that there is a big gap in family relations nowadays which is weakening the basic structure of the family. Its effect can be seen most on the elderly because they have been the focal point and power centre of the family from the ages. It can be also said that when the family members meet and talk to their

old parents, it gives the feeling of emotional bonding. An emotional bonding is the source of keeping the family intact, united and fully functioning which is declining fast in our society as results are showing in this study. The busy way of life raises emotional deprivation among the family members and also leads to break down of the family system (Jain 2008, 449). Both physical and psychological distances are increasing for the elderly in Indian families. Such distance at family level can lead to indignity, disgracefulness, embarrassment, dishonor, disheartening, lack of care, disregard in the family towards elderly (Khan 2004, 173; Jain 2008, 449).

Traditionally, the elderly had a special place in the family and society in India. The elderly were respected and cared for their experience and wisdom. Their thoughts and opinions were accepted to be of immense value which was followed by young persons. But nowadays there has been slow and gradual erosion of this view of the elderly. Today, elderly are facing growing disagreement from the family and society on everyday issues. Such disagreement can lead to elder abuse or neglect. The elderly are exposed to a high risk of being abused and neglected due to retirement and loss of productive capacity. It is observed that this may lead to depression, weakening of norms and values and diminishing of the status of the elderly which, in turn, enhances the chances of becoming a victim of abuse or neglect.

Elder abuse is an emerging problem in our society which rises due to several causes and that often has roots in multiple factors including family situations, caregiver's issues, and cultural issues. Family situations contribute to elder abuse as in many cases the adult children do not provide proper food and medicines to the elderly. Family stress is another factor that can trigger elder abuse. When elderly parents become immobile due to age, then they depend on the other members of the family for activities of daily living. Their dependence becomes the source of abuse. In some instances, the financial burden on the adult children of paying for health care for their ageing parents or living in overcrowded quarters can lead to stress that can trigger elder abuse (Khan and Handa 2011, 10; Sanwal and Kumar 2011, 42).

The elder abuse is difficult to quantify since it occurs primarily in the privacy of the home in India. There is a problem in India that law enforcement agencies are not able to report mistreatment, neglect and cases of elder abuse in Indian society unlike in some western countries. Mala K. Sankardass has asserted that the abuse increases in the family because there

is absence of valid statistics and systematic collection of facts related to elder abuse and lack of conceptual and definitional clarity. HelpAge India (2013) conducted studies in nine major cities of India and reported different types of elder abuse cases in its report. This report revealed that 53.6% elderly are victimised by their sons and 43.3% elderly are victimised by their daughters-in-law. This abuse is verbal, emotional, physical and economic. Further the study has also found that elderly do not complain against anyone because of family reputation or their family members would frighten them away.

Similarly, I found in my study that the elderly were abused verbally (31.8%), emotionally (36.4%), financially (22.7%), and physically (29.5%). This abusive and neglectful behaviour were committed inside the home as well as outside. The study reveals that elderly (51.4%) were abused more within the family as compared to in the neighbourhood (26.4%). Within the family, the elderly were abused by their sons, daughters-in-law, brothers/nephews and relatives because of property, lack of emotional support, economic dependence and lack of adjustment. While outside the family, the elderly were abused by the neighbours and strangers. Moreover, the respondents from both rural and urban areas talked about emotional problems, feeling of insecurity and neglect and disrespect shown by the family members. The study found many causes which were behind the victimisation of the elderly. These factors were property (30.0%), lack of emotional support (30.5%), lack of basic necessities (30.5%) and lack of health care (20.0%). Further, I also found that the daughters-in-law were the primary perpetrator of abuse (25.9%), followed by sons (20.9%), neighbours (20.5%), brothers/nephews (20.0%), servants (4.1%) and grandchildren (1.8%). The victims of abuse cited reasons for their abuse. The respondents said that the sons abused them for money or told them to live separately. The daughters-in-law abused them by not providing basic needs and care. In many cases, their brothers and neighbours also abused them due to maladjustment and ageing problems.

Moreover, I found in this study that such multiple sources of abuse keep the elderly on the edge and is creating many problems for them. The emotional abuse is more common against the elderly, which raises the feeling of insecurity, depression and isolation. Emotional abuse also leads to physical ill-health. The study has found that in rural areas, the family members, invariably, do not provide proper food, clothing and medical facilities. That hurts the ageing

parents emotionally. Mostly, the rural elderly are dependent on their family members for basic needs because they are not economically strong. When they demand anything from their family members, many a times the family members ignore their wishes. This continued ignorance emotionally weakens them and brings many problems to them such as feeling of negligence, isolation and fear of abuse. Most of the urban elderly are dependent on their family members for care but they are financially independent. When they need care the most, they are living alone and are dependent on the caretakers and neighbours because their family members have migrated to other towns for job. Thus, they feel lonely and isolated. Their caretakers and neighbours take advantage of their helplessness and abuse them. This abusive behaviour affects their well-being and raises feeling of insecurity. Similarly, it has been found in a study (Knodel and Chayovan, 2009) that the elderly feel that they need children to depend on, particularly when they are sick. Such care is seen as repayment for having raised their children. The adult children generally share this view and feel a moral obligation to support and care for their parents out of gratitude

So far I have discussed about the abuse in family and neighbourhood, abusers, types of abuse and its causes. Now I would like to make some observations on rural-urban differences from my field study in the context of elder abuse. I found that rural elderly (38.2%) were abused more in comparison to urban elderly (14.5%). One reason behind greater abuse of rural elderly in their neighbourhood is relative decline in status and respect for the elderly. One more reason for more abuse of rural elderly is migration of their children to urban areas. The adult children leave behind their elderly parents. The elderly parents stay with or without their spouses taking care of family land and property. Consequently, these elderly are targeted by their neighbours for land and property taking advantage of their loneliness.

Moreover, I noticed in the study that urban elderly (35.5%) were abused more due to the lack of emotional support than the rural elderly (25.5%). One reason for lack of emotional support can be that the urban elderly are not given proper care and attention by their family members due to their busy way of life and hectic office schedule. This trend is fast emerging in the urban social life which is leading to greater alienation and isolation of the elderly from the family and society. Due to these changes emotional support is declining fast between the elderly and their family members and it is creating distance in relationships. Consequently, urban elderly feel

neglected and abused in the absence of emotional support by their family members. The instances of elder abuse are presented here in the form of selected case studies.

An elderly male narrated his story thus: *“I am 72 years old, retired from a government hospital. My wife passed away around ten years ago. Now I am staying in an apartment owned by me which is situated in urban Lucknow with my only son, daughter-in-law and two grandsons. I am an early riser and goes to bed early. I have to face many bad experiences at my home. I have to wait endlessly for the meals to be served. At times, I have to eat whatever is available. The timing of meals and the way it is prepared do not suit my age and taste. When I complain about this, my son and daughter-in-law scold me and verbally abuse and say ‘tumhari roj shikayat sunkar hum log pareshan ho gaye hain. Ager jyada pareshan karoge to ghar se nikal denge’ (we are disturbed listening to your daily complaints. If you will bother us, we will get you out from the house). I have to face this abusive and neglectful behaviour daily. One day I was suffering from backache. I told my son to bring an ointment from the market. On this my daughter-in-law told my son that there is no need to bring it and began to say ‘iss buddha ko roj kisi na kisi dava ki jarurat hoti hai, hamare pass itna paisa nahi hai. Humko anya kharche bhi dekhna hai’ (this old man needs medicines daily, we do not have lots of money. We have other expenditure also). This behaviour of my son and daughter-in-law hurt me. Similarly, one day I broke a tea cup unfortunately, on this my son beat me and daughter-in-law used foul language on me. she told me, ‘buddhe tere haath toot gaye, tune kitni chijon ko toda hai’ (your hands have weakened, you have broken so many things). Seeing this behaviour of my family, I began to weep and asked God to give me death. Moreover, once a party was held at the home on the birthday of my grandson. In the party my son did not introduce me with his friends and guests and told me not to come out from my room. But I was not feeling good in the room and came out from the room. My daughter-in-law began to insult me and scolded seeing me outside the room. All the guests were watching helplessly at the way my family behaved with me. This is how I am being treated at home.”*

Similarly, an elderly woman told her experiences of mistreatment: *“I am 75 year old, a widow, living in my own house with my elder son in rural Lucknow. I have three other sons who live in other cities. My source of income is my old age pension which is provided by government. I am also financially dependent on my sons. I need assistance for my daily routine activities because*

of her physical vulnerability. My son and daughter-in-law help me carry out the daily activities such as in cleaning, washing and going out. Although my son and daughter-in-law help me in all daily activities but they always speak in loud voice and use foul language. Mostly, my daughter-in-law tells me, 'budhiya marti bhi nahi hai, pata nahi kabtak isi tarah pareshan karti rahegi' (the old woman does not even die, do not know how long this old lady will bother us?). These words always hurt me. If I say anything to my son about this, he does not pay any attention to it and tells me that he is not interested to know about my petty complaints. I have never discussed these problems with others in the neighbourhood or in the extended family. In spite of it, my son and his wife blame me for discussing the family matters with others."

An elderly man disclosed the mental torture he is subject to by his nephew: "I am 64 years old, a farmer. I and my wife are living in own house near my brother's family. After my brother's death my nephew wants to sell my house and want to throw me out of the house. Whenever I complain about their behaviour, my nephew threatens me and my wife. My nephew physically abuses me and many times he pushed me outside the house. Once my nephew asked me if he could purchase my land and I agreed to this. But my nephew occupied my land illegally. Whenever I mention about land, he says 'kaun si jamin, ye to mere pitah ki hai' (Which land are you talking about? This is my father's land). These things have hurt me. I have lost all my faith in family members."

Furthermore, an elderly woman recounted her miserable state: "I am 65 years old widow, staying with my son for the last 10 years. My husband was a professor in a university. We lived a very happy and prosperous life with our two sons and two daughters. My sons were very obedient and sincere in their childhood. Their hard work and our blessings have made them successful in their life. My elder son, Ramesh, is an assistant director in U.P. Electricity Corporation and is married to a girl, who is a clerk in a Bank. He lives in Gorakhpur with his family. My younger son is also in a Government job. Everything was fine and we lived happily. As soon as my husband passed away, entire scenario of the family changed. I felt that my status was reduced and my daughter-in-law was displeased with my presence. I participate in household chores like cooking, escorting my grandchildren to school in the morning and to park in the evening, go to buy vegetables, etc. One day in the presence of my son, my daughter-in-law slapped me after a serious argument. After this my son locked me in a room and refused

to serve meals to me. I have to bear this abusive and neglectful behaviour day to day in my family.”

From the four case studies, it becomes abundantly clear that love, affection and care no longer characterise familial relationships. There is an emergence of contractual and utilitarian relationships. Family members look after their old parents not out of a sense of respect but out of selfish motives to occupy their property. It is argued that significance of elder abuse can be understood through the familial and social parameters (lack of adjustment, lack of emotional support, neglect, abusive behaviour etc.) which give rise to the fear of crime among the elderly. The findings of case studies show that the family members prefer to live their own life without any concern for the emotional, physical and personal needs of their old parents. These case studies show a glimpse of elder abuse and its effects on the mental health of the elderly. These case studies highlight growing elder abuse in Indian families ranging from psychological torture to physical torture which covers insult, humiliation and neglecting the need of the elderly for food, clothing, shelter and medical help.

4.7 Factors of the Fear of Crime

4.7.1 Social Factors

4.7.1.1 Status of the Crime Rate of an Area during last Five Years: The elderly were asked about the status of crime rate during last five years in the area they reside. The table 4.18 shows that 72.7% elderly thought that crime rate has increased in the area during last five years. When rural-urban differences are taken into account, it is found that 78.2% urban elderly consider that crime rate has emerged as a problem in the area during last five years as compared to rural elderly (67.3%). Moreover, gender differences indicate that 75.9% elderly females opined that increasing crime rate is a major problem in the neighbourhood and 70.8% elderly males thought that crime has increased in the neighbourhood.

Table 4.18- Crime rate during last 5 years

Crime rate during last 5 years in the society	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	97	70.8	63	75.9	160	72.7	86	78.2	74	67.3
No	40	29.2	20	24.1	60	27.3	24	21.8	36	32.7
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Sources of the Crime Information: In this section, I have focused on the sources of crime information. The elderly have reported multiple sources of crime reporting. These sources of crime information are radio, newspapers, television and other sources such as social activists and NGOs. The elderly respondents were then asked their sources of crime reporting. The table 4.19 points out that 34.0% elderly have received crime information through news papers which are followed by television (25.9%), radio (20.9%) and other sources (19.0%).

Table 4.19- Sources of the Crime Information

Sources of the Crime Information	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Police	30	21.8	12	14.5	42	19.1	22	20.0	20	18.1
News Paper	51	37.2	24	28.9	75	34.1	35	31.9	40	36.6
Radio/TV	32	23.3	25	30.1	57	25.9	37	33.6	20	18.1
Other Sources	24	17.7	22	26.5	46	20.9	16	14.5	30	27.2
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Feeling of the Fear of Crime in the Neighbourhood: The elderly who take a walk in the neighbourhood were asked if they have fear of crime in the neighbourhood while walking. 54.1% elderly replied that they feel fear about recurrence of crime with them in their neighbourhood during walking. The study found (table 4.20) that elderly females (78.3%) feel fear of crime more in comparison to elderly males (39.4%). Moreover, study revealed that rural elderly (37.3%) have less fear about the recurrence of crime with them as compared to urban elderly (71.8%). Increasing crime rate and lawlessness are the major reasons behind the fear about the recurrence of crime against the urban elderly during walking in the neighbourhood.

Table 4.20- Feeling of the Fear of Crime in the Neighbourhood

Feeling of the Fear of Crime in the Neighbourhood	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	54	39.4	65	78.3	119	54.1	79	71.8	41	37.3
No	83	60.6	18	21.7	101	45.9	31	28.2	69	62.7
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Feeling of the Fear of Crime at the Home: The elderly were asked if they have fear about the recurrence of crime with them when they stay at the home. The table 4.21 shows that 51.8% elderly opined that they have fear about the recurrence of crime against them when they stay at

home. Further, the study revealed that 62.6% elderly females feel more fear about the recurrence of crime against them as compared to elderly males (45.2%). Moreover, study found that 52.8% urban elderly have more fear being victims of crimes as compared to rural elderly (34.6%). I found during field survey that loneliness and isolation are the major reasons behind the fear of crime among the elderly.

Table 4.21- Feeling of the Fear of Crime at the Home

Feeling of the Fear of Crime at the Home	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	62	45.2	52	62.6	114	51.8	58	52.8	38	34.6
No	75	54.8	31	37.4	106	47.2	52	47.2	72	65.4
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Nature of the Crime: In this section, I have discussed the nature of crime which has been reported by the elderly. The elderly reported in the table 4.22 that crime such as theft (23.1%), murder (20.0%), rape (17.3%), robbery (13.7%), abuse (15.9%) and chain snatching (10.0%) are seen as a problem in the neighbourhood. Similarly, Mishra and Patel (2013) have found in their content analysis study about the different crimes such as murder, robbery, hurt, abuse, chain snatching and fraud, which are committed against the elderly in their neighbourhood.

Table 4.22- Nature of Crime

Nature of Crime	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Theft	36	26.7	15	18.0	51	23.1	19	17.2	32	29.0
Chain Snatching	9	6.5	13	15.6	22	10.0	15	13.6	7	6.3
Robbery	20	14.5	10	12.0	30	13.7	17	15.4	13	11.8
Rape	13	9.4	25	30.1	38	17.3	22	20.0	16	14.3
Murder	33	24.0	11	13.5	44	20.0	24	21.9	20	18.6
Abuse	26	18.9	9	10.8	35	15.9	13	11.9	22	20.0
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

4.7.1.2 Prior Victimization: Prior victimisation states that those who have been victimised earlier and have experience of victimisation from a crime. This section focuses on prior victimisation in which study examines crime against the body, crime against the property and emotional crime. The elderly were asked about the crime committed against their body.

Crime against the Body: The table (4.23) shows that 24.1% elderly reported that crime against the body has been committed against them. Further, gender difference indicates that 28.5% elderly males have more experience of crime against the body as compared to 16.9% elderly females. I observed during field survey that elderly males have more chances of victimisation because when they visit outside their home, they can be easily targeted by the offenders. Since elderly females hardly go out and mostly stay at home, they are less victimised in comparison to elderly males. Moreover, the rural-urban difference shows that urban elderly (30.9%) had more experience of crime against the body as compared to rural elderly (17.3%). During the field study it came to my knowledge that the rich elderly who are staying alone in urban areas are easy targets for crime. I found that migration of children and lack of respect in the family are the causes for the elderly staying alone in their home. Similarly, it was found in a study (Das, 2009) that those rich elderly who have been deserted by their sons or whose sons have left them for the sake of their occupations leaving behind their old parents suffer psychological trauma silently. The elderly who stay alone lack family support and such elderly feel lonely, bored and depressed. Ultimately taking advantage of this, offenders commit crime against them.

The majority of the elderly (62.2%) reported in the table 4.23 that they have been targeted for grievous hurt earlier and 20.7% elderly have been targeted for attempt to murder. While 16.9% of cases were related to sexual harassment in which elderly females have been targeted by the criminals.

Table 4.23- Crime against the Body

Crime against the Body	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	39	28.5	14	16.9	53	24.1	19	17.3	34	30.9
No	98	71.5	69	83.1	167	75.9	91	82.7	76	69.1
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.24- Types of the Crime against the Body

If Yes, Crime against the Body (out of 53)	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Attempt to Murder	9	28.1	2	9.5	11	20.7	3	12.5	7	24.1
Sexual Harassment	-	-	9	42.9	9	16.9	8	33.3	1	3.4
Grievous Hurt	23	71.9	10	47.6	33	62.2	13	54.1	20	68.9
Total	32	100	21	100	53	100	24	100	29	100

Crime against the Property: The elderly respondents were asked about their experiences of crime against the property (table 4.25). The table indicates that 36.4% of 220 elderly respondents have been victimised for property. Further, rural-urban difference indicates that rural elderly (33.6%) are relatively fewer victims of crime against the property as compared to urban elderly (39.1%). Besides it, there is not much gender difference as 37.3% elderly females have been victimised earlier for the property and 35.5% elderly males have been victimised earlier. These property crimes which have been committed against the elderly can be further sub-divided into cases of theft (41.2%) which was followed by 23.8% cases of fraud, 17.5 cases of vandalism, 10.0 cases of land dispute and 7.5% cases of robbery (table 4.26).

Table 4.25- Crime against the Property

Crime against the Property	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	49	35.8	31	37.3	80	36.4	43	39.1	37	33.6
No	88	64.2	52	62.7	140	63.6	73	67.9	73	66.4
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.26- Types of the Crime against the Property

If Yes, Crime against the Property (out of 80)	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Robbery	4	8.1	2	6.4	6	7.5	4	9.3	2	5.4
Theft	23	46.9	10	32.2	33	41.2	13	30.2	20	54.0
Fraud	12	24.4	7	22.5	19	23.8	13	30.2	6	16.2
Chain Snatching	2	4.1	6	19.3	8	10.0	8	18.6	-	-
Vandalism	8	16.3	6	19.3	14	17.5	5	11.6	9	24.3
Total	49	100	31	100	80	100	43	100	37	100

Mental Abuse: Basically, mental abuse refers to abusive behaviour which includes verbal and emotional abuse and neglect and mistreatment. The elderly were asked about the mental abuse experienced by them. Out of 220 elderly (table 4.27), 53.2% elderly reported that they have been mentally victimised by known and unknown persons. When the study focuses on rural-urban differences, it finds that urban elderly (57.3%) had more experience of mental abuse as compared to rural elderly (49.1%). The study found that lack of proper adjustment and lack of respect are major factors of mental abuse against the urban elderly. Further, result shows minimal gender difference as while 54.2% elderly females had experiences of mental abuse, 52.6% elderly males had experiences of mental abuse. The mental abuse (categorised in the table 4.28) committed against the elderly was in the form of verbal abuse (28.2%), emotional abuse (24.7%), neglect (23.0%), and mistreatment (23.8%).

Table 4.27- Mental Abuse

Mental Abuse	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	72	52.6	45	54.2	117	53.2	54	49.1	63	57.3
No	65	47.4	38	45.8	103	46.8	56	50.9	47	42.7
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.28- Types of the Mental Abuse

If Yes, Types of Mental Abuse (out of 117)	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Verbal Abuse	23	31.5	10	22.7	33	28.2	12	21.8	21	33.8
Emotional Abuse	17	23.2	12	27.2	29	24.7	18	32.7	11	17.7
Neglect	16	21.9	11	25.0	27	23.0	10	18.1	17	27.4
Mistreatment	17	23.2	11	24.9	28	23.8	15	27.2	13	20.9
Total	73	100	44	100	117	100	55	100	62	100

Types of Offenders- Strangers (table 4.29) and Known Persons (table 4.30): The elderly who have been victimised by the criminals were asked about the criminals. The findings indicate that 20.5% elderly of the total respondents have been victimised by strangers (unknown persons). While 56.8% (125 cases) elderly reported that they have been victimised by known persons. These known persons were family members (44.0%), neighbours (39.2%), servants (8.8%) and relatives (8.0%). I got to know during the field survey that elderly were targeted by the known persons for mental abuse. It is also found that disgracefulness, dishonor, injustice, lack of care, psychological torture and negative behaviour and attitudes are exhibited by the family and society towards elderly in contemporary times. Such attitude of the family and wider society can be seen as causes of crime against the elderly. These causes have also weakened the social ties which have increased psychological and social distancing among the elderly from the family and society.

Table 4.29- Crime committed by Strangers

Crime committed by Strangers	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	29	21.2	16	19.3	45	20.5	25	22.7	20	18.2
No	108	78.8	67	80.7	175	79.5	85	77.3	90	81.8
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.30- Crime committed by Known Persons

Crime committed by Known Persons	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	80	58.4	45	54.2	125	56.8	60	54.5	65	59.1
No	57	41.6	38	45.8	95	43.2	50	45.5	45	40.9
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.31- Crime committed by Known Persons (Types of Known Persons)

If Yes, Crime committed by Known Persons (out of 125)	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Family Members	25	31.6	30	65.2	55	44.0	30	50.0	25	38.4
Relatives	8	10.1	2	4.3	10	8.0	5	8.3	5	7.6
Neighbours	37	46.8	12	26.0	49	39.2	14	23.3	35	53.8
Servants	9	11.3	2	4.3	11	8.8	11	18.3	-	-
Total	79	100	46	100	125	100	60	100	65	100

The tables (4.23, 4.25 and 4.27) show that actual risk and risk of victimisation are also related to fear of crime. The study reveals that the elderly who perceive themselves at high risk of victimisation are not actually at risk. The rationalistic paradigm entails that fear of crime is inextricably linked with victimisation as the experience of victimisation itself increases the fear of crime (Donder *et al.*, 2005). There are studies which have established that there is a positive correlation between the fear of crime and prior victimization (Hindelang *et al.*, 1978; Bishop and Kelcka, 1978; Linquist and Duke, 1982; Miethe and Lee, 1984; Kanan and Pruitt, 2002; Dammert and Malone, 2003). Those who are the victims of any crime, have higher level of fear

of crime. Existing literature also suggests that self-perceived vulnerability to victimisation and certain personal characteristics may mediate both the effects of past victimisation and the fear of crime.

The elderly who are surrounded by other individuals experience a sense of safety, security and feelings of protection by being not alone. In the absence of people in the immediate environment, the elderly may become an easy target for criminal victimisation and, further, a sense of loneliness may create an awareness that nobody is available to come to the rescue of such elderly should he or she be attacked. In addition, previous victimisation contributes to people being substantially more fearful of criminal harm than people who have never been attacked before. Each monistic crime has its own individual elements (e.g. *mens rea*, i.e., criminal intent in committing the act), unlawfulness, illegality, violent action, absence of consent, etc.) and is committed differently by criminals. Put otherwise, each crime requires its own *modus operandi* from criminals to be successfully committed. Henceforth, each victim experiences the crime committed against him or her differently in terms of psychological impact or otherwise.

The tables (4.23, 4.25 and 4.27)) show that crime against the body (attempt to murder, hurt and sexual harassment) property (robbery, theft, fraud, bag snatching and vandalism) and mental abuse (verbal abuse, emotional abuse, neglect and mistreatment) were committed against the elderly. These crimes were the most prominent forms of crimes through which respondents were previously victimised. It was found in a study that there is a relationship between fear of crime and age of the elderly expressing greater fear about the occurrence of crime (Fattah and Sacco, 1989). Although the elderly are the least victimised group, yet they seem to be more afraid of crime than younger age group. Miethe and Lee (1984) have divided the fear of crime into two types, namely, fear of personal crime and fear of property loss. I have found in my study that a third type of fear of crime exists, i.e., fear of mental abuse. These three types of fear are strongly related to one another, but they have different factors of fear of crime. The prior victimisation can also be divided into two types, namely, direct and indirect prior victimisation. The direct victimisation of experience states personal victimisation and an indirect victimisation of experience tells about the victimisation of other people (known persons). Those who have been victimised directly, have more fear about the occurrence of

crime than people who have only heard about the victimisation experience of someone else (Miethe and Lee, 1984).

In my study there were 43.6% elderly respondents, who were fearful due to indirect victimisation. The elderly replied that they knew such people in their neighbourhood who have been victimised earlier. When these victimised people interacted with them and shared their feeling of victimisation, it brought feeling of fear about occurrence of crime among them. Similarly, it has been found in the studies that crime related experience of the friends of the elderly is a strong predictor of fear of crime among the elderly. The interaction with the friends and the neighbours about the crime constitutes another probable source of fear of crime. The fear of crime is being created and perpetuated by a subculture among the elderly who reinforce each other in labeling crime as a threat to their daily life. (Bishop and Klecka, 1978; Yin, 1980).

The current study has found that more mental abuse (53.2%) was committed which were followed by crime against the property (36.4%) and crime against the body (24.1%). It is seen that the trend of nuclear families and lack of proper understanding are the major reasons of increasing victimisation against the elderly in India. The elderly miss the cushion of love, support and security which a joint family provides. It is easy to attack an elderly person living alone. It gives courage and opportunity to criminals as the lone elderly is a soft target for them. Elderly live in the constant fear and feel insecure with each gruesome incident.

Further, I found gender differences in the current study in relation to prior victimisation. The table (4.23) shows that crime against the body (attempt to murder, hurt and sexual harassment) were committed more against the elderly males (except sexual harassment) than elderly female respondents (females have been targeted for sexual harassment) over a two-year period. Crime against property (robbery, theft, fraud, bag snatching and vandalism) and mental abuse (verbal abuse, emotional abuse, neglect and mistreatment) were committed slightly more against the elderly females than elderly males. It has been found in the study that property related crime and mental abuse had been committed more against the elderly females than crime against the body. In case of property related crime against the elderly females I found that the elderly females (37.3%) who were widowed and stayed alone in their homes had been victimised more. Such elderly females had property, jewellery and land which were illegally occupied by

offenders (neighbours, relatives, servants and strangers). Similarly, elderly females (54.2%) were more subject to emotional abuse than property and body related crimes. These mental abuses were verbal abuse, financial abuse, neglect and mistreatment. It was observed that the elderly females, who were staying with their children, were victimised emotionally. Lack of understanding, respect, generation gap and changes in norms and values of society were the major causes behind the mental abuse. Such elderly females had to bear abuse in their family.

I have included here a few case studies related to crime against the body, crime against the property and mental abuse.

An elderly man shared his victimisation experience: *“One day I was returning around 4 pm from the bank carrying cash, I saw a stranger coming behind me. I ignored him and began to walk. Suddenly, he came with his friends as I reached a lonely place and demanded money I was carrying and they threatened to kill me otherwise. I was very afraid of them and I gave them the cash. After which they all left. I am very fearful due this mishappening.”*

Similarly, an elderly female recounted her victimisation experience related to a robbery.

“Once my niece-in-law was staying with me at the time of the incident. One day some strangers stormed into my house and asked us to hand over the keys of the cupboard. When we resisted, we were dragged to the bedroom where we were tied up and gagged. The criminals also brandished a country pistol and a dagger to threaten us. The criminals ran away after robbing jewellery and cash. When police came for enquiry, we told the police that one of the criminals looked like a carpenter who had fixed the door in our house. The police drew a warrant against him and within seven days the police arrested him with his three friends. The police recovered the entire cash and jewellery from them. After investigation it was found that carpenter would carefully track the movements of every member of house while working. He particularly targeted houses with single women and elderly. After this case we became very alert and always carry a fear of victimisation.”

Another elderly female shared with me about the mental abuse, she was subjected to: *“I am old and unable to earn money for myself. I have two sons and one daughter. All of them are married. My sons and daughters-in-law never listen to me and always argue with me unnecessarily. They use to give me food on turn basis. My elder son provides me lunch and*

dinner for one month and younger son provides food for the next one month and for this, most of the time they also abuse me and hit me physically. One day my son told me, 'why are you not dying? In this village, none of the elder women of your age is alive now, except you.' Whenever my daughter came to me, I explained her about my condition and asked her to take me with her but she also would not listen to me. Further my daughter told me that 'maa (mother), you are old enough what will you do with me? Why do not you pray to God to take you away from this world?' Many times I do not even get sufficient food to fill my stomach. Since my husband died, my sons have taken all of my savings and property and are neglecting me. I am constantly in a state of fear due to this abusive and neglectful behaviour of my family members."

4.7.1.3 Vulnerability: Vulnerability can be defined as diminished capacity of an individual to anticipate and recover from the impact of the physical or social problems. There are two types of vulnerability, namely, physical and social vulnerability.

Physical Vulnerability: Physical vulnerability refers to individuals' physical disability and because of which they are not able to protect themselves from the victimisation. The questions were put to the respondents to know their physical vulnerability. I asked how physical capability of the elderly and their poor health affect their well-being in day to day life. Of the total number of respondents, 89.1% elderly felt that they were physically vulnerable. The gender differences indicate in the table 4.32 that 96.4% elderly females felt more physically vulnerable as compared to elderly males (84.7%). Moreover, rural-urban differences show that 94.5% rural elderly thought that they were physically weaker as compared to urban elderly (89.1%).

Table 4.32- Physical Vulnerability

Physical Vulnerability	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	116	84.7	80	96.4	196	89.1	92	83.6	104	94.5
No	21	15.3	3	3.6	24	10.9	18	16.4	6	5.5
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Social Vulnerability: Social vulnerability refers to weak social ties. Due to weak social ties individuals feel isolated and alienated in the family and the society. I also asked questions to gauge the social vulnerability of the elderly respondents. Here I focused on societal and family relations of the elderly and how weak relations bring feeling of insecurity among the elderly. The table 4.33 shows that 57.7% elderly felt socially vulnerable. Further, gender differences show that 66.3% elderly females felt socially vulnerable as compared to 52.6% elderly males. Moreover, rural-urban difference indicates that urban elderly (62.7%) felt more socially vulnerable in comparison to the rural elderly (52.7%). The concept of 'family self' (Khan, 2004) exists in rural society. Because of it, rural elderly are more interactive with their family members and are familiar with their neighbours which make their social ties stronger. But in

the case of urban society, ‘individual self’ (Khan, 2004) is stronger than family self. Hence the elderly do not get to interact much with their family members and neighbours. Consequently, the urban elderly have weaker social ties. Moreover, urban societies are very heterogeneous with people coming from different regions, districts, states, etc. Due to heterogenous social structure, people tend to ignore each other. If they interact, it is mainly for professional purposes. Such formal relationship never breeds ‘we -feeling.’ This makes people socially vulnerable in urban areas.

Table 4.33- Social Vulnerability

Social Vulnerability	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	72	52.6	55	66.3	127	57.7	69	62.7	58	52.7
No	65	47.4	28	33.7	93	42.3	41	37.3	52	47.3
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

There is a wide agreement that old age is a period of increased vulnerability (Joseph *et. al.*, 2005; Grundy, 2006). This view that old age is linked with vulnerability is strongly associated with normative expectations of poor health and increasing need for health care with advancing age (Joseph *et. al.*, 2005). Ageing is also associated with various social and economic changes including the end of work, reduced income and widowhood for many (Arber *et. al.*, 2003). It is the interaction of these various age-related changes that help to construct old age as a time of risk and uncertainty for many. However, elderly vary considerably in their biological, physiological, psychological and social situations (Hooyman and Kiyak, 2005) which lay the groundwork for the study of differential vulnerability in old age. In most vulnerability studies, the elderly are unfailingly presented as being among the high-risk populations. Vulnerability shows risk of experiencing negative outcomes because they lack the capability to protect the wellbeing of an individual. This focus on the elderly as a vulnerable group is not unfounded, since some features of the aging process constitute risk factors.

The researchers have assessed vulnerability through different yardsticks. Physical vulnerability is judged by gender and age whereas social vulnerability is assessed by socio-economic indicators and ethnicity (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Maxfield, 1984; Sacco and Glackman, 1987; Killias and Clerici 2000; Kanan and Pruitt 2002; McCrea *et. al.*, 2005; Franklin *et. al.*, 2008; Jackson, 2004). I have also used proxy measures for studying physical and social vulnerability. These proxy measures are gender, age, health, social network and social interaction. The basic argument of vulnerability states that individuals who perceive that their social and physical conditions are not good enough to protect them from the resultant effect of criminal victimisation will experience a greater fear of crime (Killias, 1990; Hale, 1996; Jackson, 2004). The literature talks of two very important dimensions of vulnerability, the physical and social dimensions of vulnerability which are connected with segments of threat that entails exposure to those risks that are of non-negligible nature, a loss of control and seriousness of consequences. For example, more serious damages are expected to happen amongst women, the elderly and individuals lacking good health (physical factors), as well as among victims who are deprived of strong social support networks (social factors) (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Killias, 1990; Franklin *et. al.*, 2008).

The studies have found that some social groups (elderly, women, children and ethnic) may feel less safe than others due to the lack of the physical ability. Such individuals who are physically vulnerable have fear of crime because they will recuperate slowly from physical injury and will experience higher stress of recurrence of crime (McCoy, 1996; Greve, 1989; Killias and Clerici, 2000). The idea that old age entails physical and mental ailments is embedded strongly in the society and many of the physiological and psychological afflictions which are treatable are seen as natural and unavoidable by the elderly (Raju, 2000).

Since physical capacity tends to drop with age, the elderly are less likely to go to remote or secluded places. Most of the respondents in the current study felt that it would be dreadful if there were no one to help or support them when they were in need for any reason. The respondents also agreed to the fact that the elderly had comparatively poor physical ability and some of them even suffered from chronic ailments. So it is of paramount importance for them to have the access to external help if and when they need it. Subsequently, the respondents pointed out that a deserted or isolated place was another problem that spiked up their sense of

vulnerability. Moreover, with the increment in age, due to falling physical abilities, the body tends to become more susceptible to illnesses and many elderly start to suffer from multiple chronic diseases in their old age such as paralysis, eye sight problem, heart ailment, blood pressure, arthritis and diabetes. The elderly become weak due to these diseases and these diseases have reduced their physical capability. Due to such physical vulnerability, they are not able to protect themselves from any mishappening or criminal assault. The possibility of becoming a prey to crime is higher among the elderly due to their physical weakness than other age groups.

Regarding physical vulnerability, Franklin *et. al.* (2008) established in a study that the elderly are likely to feel less capable of physically protecting themselves when compared to those that are younger. Vulnerability (physical) relates to the perception of high risk of physical assault. It arises from the decreased ability to protect oneself from a physical attack due to lack of mobility, physical strength and/ or competence.

Social vulnerability tells about the absence of social support which is a significant outcome of fear of crime among the elderly (On-fung *et. al.*, 2009). The weakening of family ties, individualism, income levels, changes in social structure and ignoring of norms and values determine social vulnerability. Besides it, crime rate of an area, the anti-social elements living in the community also play an important role in determining social vulnerability. They also influence fear of crime among the people (On-fung *et al.*, 2009). Jackson's (2004) study on social and cultural significance found that people perceive a greater risk and fear of crime when they find the presence of anti-social elements in the community because they are perceived as troublemakers or potential offenders. They are also potential law breakers who behave in unpredictable ways that cause harm to the innocent as well as to the society as a whole (On-fung, 2009).

Social support plays an important role in maintaining security of the individuals. When social support is strong for individuals, they feel safer than those whose social support is not strong. The index of social vulnerability is used in case of the elderly, women, poor and ethnic minorities who are at increased risk of facing adverse situations due to some circumstantial features. Social vulnerability also explains the features such as wellbeing, livelihood, self protection and social ties of an individual or a group.

It has been found in western studies that high crime neighbourhood, individuals lacking the material resources and financial losses in the event of victimisation may lead to increased social vulnerability. The individuals with low material and social resources and political network and those who are not able to cope successfully with anxiety-provoking situations are likely to experience increased social vulnerability. As a result, racial and ethnic minorities, people living in poverty and those with lower education levels may report higher levels of fear of crime (Skogan and Maxfield, 1981; Covington and Taylor, 1991; Will and McGrath, 1995; Franklin *et. al.*, 2008). The elderly also experience social vulnerability in the forms of weak social ties, individualism and anti social elements. It can be a factor for fear of crime among the elderly in Indian context. Social vulnerability has its roots in the family and social ties. It is related to and is measured by social relationship which covers a wide range of relationship between the family, relatives, friends and neighbours. This social relationship acts as a source of support and coping mechanism for the individuals and its depletion leads to vulnerability among the individuals. For example, the adequate care and attention of the elderly is being ignored by their family members due to changes in family and social ties. This trend is fast emerging partly due to growth of individualism in present era. Materialistic thinking is also affecting younger generation and the norms and values of society. These changes lead to greater alienation and isolation of the elderly from their family and society at large which brings feeling of social vulnerability among the elderly. When the elderly begin to think socially vulnerable themselves, feeling of insecurity grips them.

I found that the elderly feel more physically vulnerable than socially vulnerable. The elderly reported that they were suffering from many chronic diseases which have affected their physical capability and mobility. This reduced their mobility in the neighbourhood. Many elderly respondents confided in me that they were not able to get proper treatment because they depended on their family members for financial support. When they talked about their diseases with their family members for treatment, their family members ignored and did not give proper care. These diseases caused their health to decline and weakened their body. Hence they were not able to protect themselves. The glimpses of vulnerability among the elderly are presented here in the form of selected case studies.

An elderly woman shared her views about the physical vulnerability: “*I have two sons and four*

daughters. I lost my husband around twelve years back. All the four daughters got married. After that, all of them went to their husband's families. My elder son is a primary school teacher and is staying in his independent household, which is near my home. The younger son has migrated to Dubai. The wife of the emigrant son is staying at her ancestral home. I stay alone at my home. I am a diabetic patient for seven years and my eye sight is very poor. I can't identify the things easily during night. Therefore, I do not go outside after evening. My son, who lives nearby my home, never takes care of me and he and his wife come to meet me rarely. I always feel insecure in my home during night."

Another elderly male narrated about physical vulnerability: "I am 80 years now. I have two sons and three daughters, all married and well settled. My sons live in another city with their families. I live at my home with my wife. I have enjoyed good health and very active life in my earlier days. Now I am suffering from knee pain and my health has deteriorated. Now I face problem to go anywhere because of my knee pain. Whenever I go to market, I become tired and I have to take a pause at least twice before I complete my journey. Therefore, mostly I do not go to market. Whenever I need anything from the market, I tell my nephew to bring them. Seeing my poor health, I feel regret and feel physically vulnerable and think that if thieves attack my home, I will not be able to protect myself."

An elderly male recounted his story about social vulnerability: "I am 71 years old man, staying with my wife in my home. I have two daughters and one son, all married and settled. My son is staying separately with his family in the other area of this city. I am a retired principal from a college. When I was young, I met my friends regularly and relatives used to come to meet me in my home and people believed in having relationship and always tried to maintain relationships. But now nobody comes to meet me. Even my son does not care to visit me. Everything has changed. Now everyone has relationship only for selfish motives. Nobody wants to interact with anybody. These changes have weakened the social network. I have a personal experience about this. One day, I was suffering from fever, I told my neighbours to bring medicines from the market. But he made some excuse. I was hurt seeing this behaviour of my neighbour. When I was young, I never ignored instructions of my elders and respected them. I think that people have forgotten the norms and values of society which has affected the elderly to a large extent. Thus I feel socially vulnerable myself and have a feeling of insecurity."

Another elderly male expressed his opinion thus: *“I am 79 years old man, staying with my son. I am a retired professor. I think that the norms and values of society are weakening fast due to materialism and individualism in recent time. They are affecting the way of life and sense of wellbeing of the elderly because now days giving respect and providing care for the elderly by their family members is on the wane. These changes have taken control of the societal values to a large extent and that is responsible for the social vulnerability. One day a boy hit me with his bike when I was coming from the market. When I told that fellow to drive carefully, he began abusing me, telling me that I was a blind and that I could not walk carefully. I did not see such behaviour before this. There were people standing in the street and watching the young boy abusing me. They did not do anything. I feel that people have become more individualistic and have lost the idea of we-feeling which existed in our society earlier. Furthermore, another incident happened with me in my neighbourhood. One day I was walking in the park with my wife. I saw that there were three boys of my neighbourhood, who were smoking. I scolded them. But these boys reacted very badly to my admonish saying that they were smoking with their money not mine and I should mind my own business. Seeing the behaviour of the current generation, I felt that respect, honour and dignity of the elderly are declining fast in the society. The elderly have become socially more vulnerable and insecure.”*

4.7.1.4 Incivility: Incivility denotes the defects in immediate social surroundings and in immediate neighbourhood which breaches the community values signaling a decline of social order and control in the neighborhood. There are two types of incivility, namely, physical and social incivility.

Physical Incivility: The respondents were asked about physical incivility in their neighbourhood. Physical incivility covers issues such as defects in living environment and isolated and remote areas where elderly live. In the table 4.34, 50.5% elderly reported that physical incivility was a serious problem in their neighbourhood. There were no significant gender differences in terms of physical incivility in the neighbourhood. But there is slight difference marked between the respondents from rural and urban areas. While 54.5% rural elderly commented that physical incivility was a serious problem in their locality, 46.4% urban elderly subscribed to this view. The respondents replied that physical incivility in the form of littering (35.1%), rundown houses (41.4%) and graffiti (23.4%) existed in their neighbourhood (table 4.35).

Table 4.34- Physical Incivility and Table 4.35- Types of Physical Incivility

Physical Incivility	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	71	51.8	40	48.2	111	50.5	51	46.4	60	54.5
No	66	48.2	43	51.8	109	49.5	59	53.6	50	45.5
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

If Yes, Types of Physical Incivility (out of 111)	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Littering	25	34.7	14	35.8	39	35.1	17	32.6	22	37.2
Rundown House/Al one	31	43.0	15	38.4	46	41.4	20	38.4	26	44.0
Graffiti	16	22.2	10	25.6	26	23.4	15	28.8	11	18.6
Total	72	100	39	100	111	100	52	100	59	100

Social Incivility: Social incivility refers to anti-social elements which are active in the neighbourhood and affects norms and values of the society. Regarding social incivility, 60.0% elderly respondents thought that social incivility was a serious issue in their neighbourhood. When the rural-urban differences are taken into account, it is found in the table 4.36 that 66.4% rural elderly considered that social incivility was a serious problem in their neighbourhood as compared to 53.6% urban elderly. No gender difference was detected in the responses of the elderly. Moreover, the elderly respondents reported (in the table 4.37) many forms of social incivility which were existing in their neighbourhood. They included loitering youth (43.9%), tramps (24.3%) and drug abusers/alcoholics (31.7%).

Table 4.36- Social Incivility and Table 4.37- Types of Social Incivility

Social Incivility	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Yes	83	60.6	49	59.0	132	60	59	53.6	73	66.4
No	54	39.4	34	41.0	88	40	51	46.4	37	33.6
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

If Yes, Types of Social Incivility (out of 132)	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Loitering Youths	29	31.8	18	43.9	47	35.6	21	35.5	26	35.6
Tramps	30	32.9	10	24.3	40	30.3	22	37.2	18	24.6
Drug Use/Alcoholic	32	35.1	13	31.7	45	34.0	16	27.1	29	39.7
Total	91	100	41	100	132	100	59	100	73	100

Incivility indicators have a direct and positive relationship with crime and fear of crime (Wilson and Kelling, 1989; Parker and Ray, 1990; Raudenbush and Sampson, 1997). Incivility indicates social and physical conditions of the society that is viewed as troublesome and potentially threatening by its residents and users of its public space. Incivility includes public drunkenness, loitering youths, graffiti and littering as the deciding variables of the crime and

fear of crime (Lewis and Salem, 1986; LaGrang *et al.*, 1992; Ferraro, 1995; Taylor, 1997). Biderman argued that such inappropriate actions can be interpreted as a sign of the social disorder and moral decay, which are symbols of crime in their immediate surroundings and hence, people have heightened fear of victimisation (Hale, 1996). It has been found in the studies that incivility predicts in crime levels and other changes relating to the more general deterioration of the society and residential location (Skogan, 1990; Sampson and Raudenbush, 1997). Past studies have found that incivility provokes fear of crime because it emphasises the fact that things are not as they should be in the society. Drunkenness, loitering youths, graffiti and littering bring images of crime in the mind of people just as robbery, theft and assault do (LaGrang *et al.*, 1992). Societal incivility brings feeling of fear of crime more readily than real crime because people in bad social environment must encounter incivilities every day but actual crime happens rarely (Hunter, 1978).

Incivility plays an important role in increasing fear of crime among the elderly which is determined through perceptions of crime risk. Social disorder emerges as the most powerful predictor of fear of crime, whether measured as perceived risk or measured as worry of victimisation (Franklin *et. al.*, 2008). In the current study, it has been found that this disorder spreads due to physical and social incivility. When the elderly respondents were asked if they felt fear of crime due to incivility (social and physical), majority of them answered in affirmative. They opined that now days anti social elements have disturbed the social environment through their unruly activities. Such disorderly activities by certain sections of the society are weakening the social structure. The elderly respondents claimed that their immediate neighbourhood was swarming with loiters, unruly teenagers, gangs, beggars and alcoholics. These rowdy elements were looking for opportunities to commit a crime. Infact, according to the respondents, they did commit crimes and would, invariably, give threat to the elderly residents in the neighbourhood.

Such incivilities in the neighbourhood have been reported by the researchers where the residents associate their surroundings with crime and danger and become conscious of their vulnerable position in that specific context. Incivilities also symbolise the presence of a variety of sub-cultural groups whose public behaviour is seen as different with different values and norms. (Covington and Taylor, 1991; LaGrange *et al.* 1992; Ferraro, 1995).

The study has found that more than physical incivility (50.5%) the elderly feels fear of crime due to social incivility (60.0%). The elderly respondents felt that physical incivility provided only an opportunity in the form of run down houses, littering and graffiti to criminals to commit the crime while social incivility included such anti social elements such as loitering youths, gangs and drunkard who committed crime and created a disruptive environment in the society. The elderly respondents replied that such unruly boys come out in the society due to lack of care and attention because parents of such boys are busy in their personal life and they do not perform their duty properly in the character building of their children. In this situation, they deviate from their norms and values and follow illegal ways to achieve their goal. The elderly were asked about the age group of such people. They replied that it was the age group of 15 to 35 who created trouble in the neighbourhoods. These people invariably target the houses of the elderly for stealing knowing very well that they would not be able to protect themselves. The newspaper reports also confirm this fact as the elderly who are staying alone or only with spouses are the usual victims of such crimes. Studies indicate that “the distinction between social and physical incivilities seems to be a fruitful avenue to pursue further, especially as these two concepts fit into the reactions to crime. But social incivility is more strongly linked to perceptions of risk than physical incivility. The implication is that disruptive social behaviour elevates one’s personal assessment of crime more than disorderly physically surroundings (Wilson and Kelling, 1985; LaGrange *et al.*, 1992).”

An elderly respondent shared his views on the incivility in the following words: *“I am 62 year old, staying in the out skirts of the city with my wife. I am a retired employee of a bank. I have two daughters, who are married and settled in other parts of this city with their respective families. Presently, where I am residing, there is a rundown house in that area. Often I see that unruly boys come there and smoke and play cards, and many times they abuse each other after drinking. Seeing them I am afraid that someday they may attack me and my wife. Some boys of my neighbourhood are also involved with those unruly boys. They must have discussed about me and my house. I have observed that since the last few days they stare at my house. Since my house is situated behind the main street, hardly anybody takes that road after sunset. I do not go anywhere after seven o’clock. One day someone knocked on my door around 11 p.m. Through the window I saw that four boys were standing and were discussing on targeting my house for burglary. Listening to these words, I became very afraid and next day I went to police*

station and informed them. Police came to the area and caught those unruly boys and now there is police patrol in my area during night. After this incident I always fear about the recurrence of crime.”

Similarly, an elderly reported about the effect of social incivility on his sense of well-being: “I am 69 year old man. I have two sons and one daughter. Sons are married and are settled in other cities. They are government employees. My daughter is unmarried. I am a businessman; I have a grocery shop that is situated in the ground floor of my home. There is a drunkard in the neighbourhood. He hurls abuses at people after drinking. One day he demanded money for drinking but his family members refused to give money. He became very angry and sold his bike for money. One day he entered my shop after drinking and he began to tell me that this is his shop and ordered me to leave the shop or else he said he would kill me. I and my neighbours had to reason with him and after sometime he went from my shop. I was afraid seeing this behaviour of that person and began to think that he could attack me in future.”

Furthermore, an elderly woman narrated the incidents involving the unruly boys of her neighbourhood: I am 75 year old widow, staying with my son in this city since last twenty years. I remember an incident which was committed by the unruly boys. One day some unruly boys beat my grandson when he was returning from the school. He came home weeping. When asked he told that some boys of the neighbourhood took away his ball and pen and beat him. I went out looking for these boys. When I told these boys to return the things they have taken from my grandson, they began to quarrel with me and threatened me with dire consequences. After this incident they began to bother me and my grandson. These rowdy boys are creating a raucous every day in the neighbourhood. Mostly, they target girls and misbehave with them. They use bad language for the girls. Seeing this lawlessness, everyone has fear of victimisation in the locality.

4.7.2 Psychological Factors

Anxiety due to Criminal Activities: The table 4.38 talks about the anxiety due to criminal activities in which 45.0% elderly admitted having anxiety due to criminal activities. There was no significant difference found between respondents of both gender and rural and urban areas in relation to anxiety due to criminal activities.

Table 4.38- Anxiety due to Criminal Activities

Anxiety due to Criminal Activities	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Agree	60	43.7	39	47.0	99	45.0	52	47.2	47	42.8
Neutral	9	6.6	7	8.4	16	7.3	6	5.5	10	9.1
Disagree	68	49.7	37	44.6	105	47.7	52	47.3	53	48.2
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Phobia: The elderly were asked in the table 4.39 that they had phobia about recurrence of crime. In a sample of 220, 71.4% elderly said to have phobia about recurrence of crime. Gender difference shows that 78.3% elderly females had phobia about recurrence of crime as compared 67.2% elderly males. Moreover, rural-urban difference reveals that urban elderly (77.3) were slightly more phobic about recurrence of crime as compared to rural elderly (65.4%).

Table 4.39- Phobia about the Crime

Phobia about the Crime	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Agree	92	67.2	65	78.3	157	71.4	85	77.3	72	65.4
Neutral	3	2.2	2	2.4	5	2.3	4	3.6	1	0.9
Disagree	42	30.6	16	19.3	58	26.3	21	18.1	37	33.7
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Effect on Happiness due to Crime: I asked the elderly in the table 4.40 that their happiness was affected due to crime. There were 56.4% elderly who felt that their happiness was affected

due to crime. Gender difference indicates that 62.6% elderly females felt that their happiness was affected due to crime as compared to 52.5% elderly males. There was no difference between the rural and urban elderly regarding this issue.

Table 4.40- Effect on Happiness due to Crime

Effect on Happiness due to Crime	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Agree	72	52.5	52	62.6	124	56.4	63	57.3	61	55.4
Neutral	11	8.0	8	9.6	19	8.6	13	11.8	6	5.5
Disagree	54	39.5	23	27.8	77	35.0	34	30.9	43	39.1
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Crime Rate of an Area: One can argue that the new socio-economic relation in present development scenario is fast eroding basic human values and is criminalising Indian society. Lucknow which is the study site of the current research has grown very fast in last twenty years and employment opportunities have risen because of it. Lucknow has the highest proportion of intrastate migrants (Census, 2001), especially from Barabanki, Hardoi, Raibareli, Sitapur and Unnao. The migration and job opportunity have created many problems such as uncontrolled population, inner city neighbourhood, and heterogeneous environment. One can argue that these factors are directly or indirectly linked to the rise in level of victimisation and fear of crime. A number of cases of crimes have been committed against the elderly in Lucknow in last five years. These cases are related to murder, robbery, theft and elder abuse. The elderly respondents in my study also reported that different types of crime were the major problems in the neighbourhood and were responsible for fear of crime among the elderly. These crimes were theft (23.1%), murder (20.0%), rape (17.3%), robbery (13.7%), abuse (15.9%) and chain snatching (10.0%). Similarly, National Crime Record Bureau (2013) recorded in its report that crime rate is increasing fast in Lucknow. These crimes are theft (33.9), robbery (31.5%), kidnapping (19.7%), rape (14.5%), hurt (12.1%), attempt to murder (12.0%) and murder (10.4%).

An elderly respondent commented that not all the migrants get employment in Lucknow and these jobless migrants deviate into antisocial activities. Another elderly respondent expressed

the same opinion about the rise in crime in Lucknow, and attributed it to the migrants from other districts. Nalla *et al.* (2011) contend that economic growth has brought to India problems inherent to the growth, migration from rural to urban areas, high level of poverty, and inner city neighbourhood. Our traditional social system has become disorganised due to these problems and they have brought crime and criminals in the society. Consequently, these problems give rise to insecurity and lack of safety in the region and neighbourhood and the victimization of the elderly. Such rise in victimization of the elderly has led to the fear of crime.

Fear of crime is an emotional response to signals of danger in the environment for some researchers while to others it is a manifestation of a general uneasiness about the world. It is surprising that, in comparison with the output from other disciplines, there has been relatively little work from social psychologists on the specific issue of fear of crime. Whatever work social psychologists have done in the field of fear of crime, they have mostly included factors such as alienation, anomie and unease over the rate of social change, interpersonal trust and dissatisfaction with the neighbourhood (Ward *et al.*, 1986; Hale, 1996).

The current study has focused on psychological factors such as anxiety due to criminal activities and effect on happiness due to crime. The study has observed that psychological factors affect way of life of the elderly. The elderly respondents stated that they had anxiety due to increasing crime rate. The respondents felt that there had been a steady rise in anti social activities in their neighbourhood in the last five years. These activities had disrupted their way of life and sense of well being in the society to a large extent. The selected case studies mentioned below is a testament to the psychological factors of fear of crime among the elderly.

An elderly woman described a murder which was committed before her in her neighbourhood two years ago. This incident affected her happiness and she always has anxiety about recurrence of the crime. She stated: *“I am a 64 year old woman, staying with my husband in the crowded area of this city. I have no children. My husband is retired from Indian Railways. Once I went to worship in a famous temple of this city with my husband in the evening. This temple is situated around 15 kilometers from my house. The temple is located in an isolated area. Hardly there was any person hanging around there in the evening. When we were coming back from the temple, we saw a gathering of crowd at a place. I asked a man about it. He told that a man was murdered with a sharp weapon. As we heard this incident, we went to see the*

dead body lying there. Seeing the dead body we became very scared. The murderer had mutilated the face of the victim so much that nobody could identify his face. After this incident I have fear of crime and always think somebody may kill me. Now we do not go out in the late evenings. Often we worry thinking about this incident and we have fear that somebody can target us. Our life has been affected after this incident. I have nightmares about someone being killed. Often I feel at night that somebody is coming to kill me.”

Another elderly told the researcher about a robbery committed in his neighbourhood. This incident has affected his sense of well being and he has fear of crime. He said: *“I am 77 year old man, staying with my son who is in Indian Air Force. Mostly, he comes home two or three times in a year. His wife and children stay at home. I am also retired from army. My wife died last year. The area where I am staying, a robbery was committed there around two months ago. This incident occurred nearby my house. The robbery took place in the house of an elderly couple. Their son and other family members live in other city. The robbery took place during the day. The robbers took jewellery and money and also they tied up the elderly couple. Hearing this news, I went to the house of the elderly who is a friend of mine. We met every day in the park. They were very afraid after the incident and were not able to speak anything. When I returned home, I began to feel fear of crime and began to think that robbers can also rob my home. Whenever anyone discusses this incident, I worry that if this incident happened with me, what we would I have done. I have also phobia of robbery after this incident and I do not go anywhere. My sense of well being has been affected due this incident.”*

Going through these case studies, it becomes apparent that criminal activities affect way of life and happiness of the elderly. The case studies indicate that the elderly form fear of crime whenever a crime is committed in the neighbourhood. The occurrence of crime in the area affects the daily routine of the elderly. These case studies suggest that whenever anti-social elements are active in the neighbourhood and they commit crimes, fear of crime and anxiety grasp the elderly to a large extent causing a fracture in their psychological well-being.

4.8 Social Bond and Fear of Crime among the Elderly: Social bonding is one of the basic components of any social order. It plays an important role in the establishment of value based social structure. Social bond is deeply rooted in Indian way of life and is also related to the respect for elderly. The elderly play not only a nurturing role but also maintain the social norms and values on the basis of social bonds. Social bond provides a congenial social environment for the elderly which ensures a smooth transition from middle age to old age. Social bond also fulfils the needs of the elderly with respect to social and psychological security (Kujur and Ekka, 2010).

It has been found in many studies that roots of the traditional Indian society has been undermined by the fast pace of changing socio-economic scenario (Jamuna 2000; Khan, 2004; Raju, 2011). These changes have affected the way of life and sense of well-being of the elderly to a large extent causing a fracture in their social bonding from the society as well as the family. The studies (in Indian perspective) imply that weakening of social bond is surfacing as an emerging issue among the elderly in India. Weak social bonds are affecting our value based social system. The social bond between the elderly and their family members and the elderly and the society is on steady decline. Such decline in social bonding contributes to various socio-psychological problems among the elderly. These problems include rising crime, alienation, loneliness and depression and because of it, fear of crime has been rising among the elderly. In this section I have examined the fear of crime among the elderly respondents through elements of social bond such as attachment, involvement, commitment and faith.

Attachment: Attachment refers to the social linkage between the individuals and other people of the family and the society who reside around them. I found in the table 4.41 that 70% elderly respondents felt that attachment was weakening to the family members as compared to 28.2% respondents who felt that attachment was strong to the family members and 1.8% respondents did not answer the questions on attachment. There were 61.8% respondents who argued that nowadays attachment to the relatives was declining as compared to 34.1% elderly who did not agree that attachment to relatives was declining and 4.1% elderly were neutral on the issue of attachment to the family members and relatives. Majority of the elderly respondents, i.e., 80.5%, asserted that attachment to the neighbours was decreasing fast whereas 16.4% elderly did not feel so and 3.2% elderly did not react to this question. Moreover, 69.1% urban elderly felt that attachment to the relatives weakened as compared to 54.5% rural elderly, who felt that

attachment to their relatives is diminishing in current times. Furthermore, table 4.42 shows that 71.1% elderly women thought that attachment to the relatives was declining while 56.2% elderly men felt that there was conflict in ties with the relatives due to decline in attachment. This table also shows that overall 61.8% elderly felt that attachment to the relatives is diminishing as compared 34.1% elderly who felt that attachment to their relatives was still strong.

The table 4.43 talks about the attachment with the neighbours. 80.5% elderly replied that neighbours have become so busy that it left little scope for social interaction with them. Hence they did not have any attachment to their neighbours. There were 16.4% of the elderly who felt they had strong attachment to their neighbours. These elderly said that they understood the importance of the social attachment to each other. The difference between the respondents from rural and urban areas were minimal as 86.4% urban elderly felt that nowadays attachment to the neighbours was declining fast as compared to 74.5% rural elderly who stated that they had weak attachment to their neighbours. The gender difference was also not very significant as 76.6% elderly men stated that attachment to the neighbours was decreasing compared to 86.7% elderly women who felt that that the attachment to the neighbours was on decline.

Table 4.41- Attachment with Family Members and Table 4.42- Attachment with Relatives

Attachment with Family Members	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Agree	51	37.2	11	13.3	62	28.2	29	26.4	33	30.0
Neutral	3	2.2	1	1.2	4	1.8	4	3.6	-	-
Disagree	83	60.6	71	85.5	154	70.0	77	70.0	77	70.0
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Attachment with Relatives	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Agree	53	38.7	22	26.5	75	34.1	29	26.4	46	41.8
Neutral	7	5.1	2	2.4	9	4.1	5	4.5	4	3.6
Disagree	77	56.2	59	71.1	136	61.8	76	69.1	60	54.5
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.43- Attachment with Neighbours

Attachment with Neighbours	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Agree	27	19.7	9	10.8	36	16.4	10	9.1	26	23.6
Neutral	5	3.6	2	2.4	7	3.2	5	4.5	2	1.8
Disagree	105	76.6	72	86.7	177	80.5	95	86.4	82	74.5
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Involvement: On the issue of involvement, which is another dimension of social bond, it was found in the table 4.45 that 46.8% elderly respondents were involved in family matters for important discussions and decisions-making as compared to 30.5% respondents who did not feel that they were involved in any family decision making. There were 22.8% respondents who chose not to answer this question. On neighbourhood activities, 29.1% of elderly replied that they were being called to participate in neighbourhood activities and they also enjoyed decision making power in social activities as compared to 56.4% elderly who did not think they were involved in any way in such social activities. Around 14.5% of the elderly did not have any comment on the issue of involvement.

Moreover, I found in the table 4.47 that 56.3% rural elderly did not participate in any decision making of the local community while 56.3% urban elderly did not participate in such activities. In the context of gender difference, it was found that slightly higher percentage of female elderly (65.0%) did not involve themselves in decision making of the community compared to 51.1% elderly male who did not participate in decision making of the society. The reason is not far to seek as elderly females are not given decision making authority in the Indian society due to the patriarchal system. The male members have been preferred for the leadership in the family and society since antiquity.

Table 4.44- Involvement in Family Activities

Involvement in Family Activities	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Agree	97	70.8	43	51.8	140	63.6	63	57.3	77	70.0
Neutral	13	9.5	15	18.1	28	12.7	13	11.8	15	13.6
Disagree	27	19.7	25	30.1	52	23.6	34	30.9	18	16.4
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.45- Involved in Family Decisions

Involve in Family Decisions	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Agree	72	52.6	31	37.3	103	46.8	42	38.2	61	55.5
Neutral	27	19.7	23	27.7	50	22.7	23	20.9	27	24.5
Disagree	38	27.7	29	34.9	67	30.5	45	40.9	22	20.0
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.46 - Involved in Neighbourhood Activities

Involve in neighbourhood activities	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Agree	92	67.2	41	49.4	133	60.5	61	55.5	72	65.5
Neutral	16	11.7	17	20.5	33	15.0	19	17.3	14	12.7
Disagree	29	21.2	25	30.1	54	24.5	30	27.3	24	21.8
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.47- Involved in Neighbourhood Decisions

Involve in neighbourhood Decisions	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Agree	52	38.0	12	14.5	64	29.1	30	27.3	34	30.9
Neutral	15	10.9	17	20.5	32	14.5	18	16.4	14	12.8
Disagree	70	51.1	54	65.0	124	56.4	62	56.3	62	56.3
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Faith: Faith is a state of mind of the human behavior which decides the dimensions of the relationship towards the family members, relatives, friends and neighbours. The table 4.48 has pointed out that 63.2% elderly respondents felt that they did not have faith on family members as compared to 35.0% respondents who said they had faith on family members and 1.8% respondents did not answer the question. Further, when the gender comparison is made regarding faith, 57.7% elderly male felt that they have less faith in the family members as compared to 72.3% elderly female who think that their faith in the family members is declining. Moreover, there is almost no difference in the opinion patterns of elderly respondents from rural and urban areas as 63.6% urban elderly replied that their faith was declining in the family while 62.7% rural elderly felt the same.

When the issue of faith on relatives is discussed, it is found in the table 4.49 that 67.7% elderly respondents expressed the opinion that now a days the level of faith on relatives has weakened as compared to 30.0% elderly who did not subscribe to this view and 2.3% elderly were neutral on this issue. The gender difference regarding faith on relatives shows that 74.7% elderly female felt that their faith on relatives has reduced while 63.3% elderly male felt the same way. Further, the study has found that 73.6% urban elderly said that their faith on relatives has decreased in relatives while 61.8% rural elderly responded that they had very less faith in their relatives.

As far as faith on neighbours is concerned, the majority of the elderly respondents (79.1%) felt that faith on neighbours was decreasing fast. There were 17.3% respondents who said that they had faith on neighbours. The rest of the elderly respondents (3.6%) did not have any opinion regarding faith on neighbours. There is a slight difference found in the opinion of the respondents in rural-urban context as 82.7% urban elderly stated that their faith was decreasing in the neighbours in current times as compared to 75.5% rural elderly who had less faith in their neighbours. Further, gender difference states that 76.6% elderly male felt that faith on neighbours is decreasing as compared to 83.1% elderly female who felt the same way.

Table 4.48- Faith on Family Members

Faith on Family Members	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Agree	58	42.3	23	27.7	81	36.8	40	36.4	41	37.3
Neutral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Disagree	79	57.7	60	72.3	139	63.2	70	63.6	69	62.7
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Table 4.49- Faith on Relatives

Faith on Relatives	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Agree	47	34.3	19	22.9	66	30.0	26	23.6	40	36.4
Neutral	3	2.2	2	2.4	5	2.3	3	2.7	2	1.8
Disagree	87	63.5	62	74.7	149	67.7	81	73.6	68	61.8
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

Commitment: Commitment is an important component of the social bond because it grips the individuals directly in the social institutions like family and society. These institutions include social service, religious activities, political activities and *chaupal* (it is a kind of get-together of villagers at village centre). But due to the lack of commitment in the social institutions, many problems such as isolation and alienation are faced by the individuals. In my study, 62.3% elderly respondents (in the table 4.50) answered that they were part of social activities such as social service, religious activities, political activities, yoga and informal groups as compared to 36.8% respondents who were not committed to social activities and 0.9% respondents were neutral about this. Further, I found that 35.5% urban elderly were not committed in social institutions while 64.5% urban elderly were committed in social institutions. Similarly, 38.2% rural elderly did not have any commitment to social activities but 60.0% rural elderly said that

they were committed in social activities and 1.8% rural elderly were neutral on this issue. Moreover, there was not much to choose from male and female elderly as 34.3% elderly males were not committed in social institution while 41.0% elderly female did not have interest in committing themselves to any social activities. Further, I found in the table 4.51 that of the elderly who were committed to different social institutions, 38.6% elderly were committed to religious activities and 35.0% elderly were committed to *chaupal*. Besides it, many elderly were committed to social service (8.7%), political activities such as campaigning and meetings (8.1%) and yoga (9.4%).

Table 4.50- Commitment and Table 4.51- Commitment to Social Institution

Commitment	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Agree	90	65.7	47	56.6	137	62.3	71	64.5	66	60.0
Neutral	-	-	2	2.4	2	.9	-	-	2	1.8
Disagree	47	34.3	34	41.0	81	36.8	39	35.5	42	38.2
Total	137	100	83	100	220	100	110	100	110	100

If Agree (Out of 137) (Commitment to Social Institution)	All Elderly						Urban Elderly		Rural Elderly	
	Male		Female		Total		F	P	F	P
	F	P	F	P	F	P				
Social Service	9	9.8	3	6.5	12	8.7	7	15.5	5	5.8
Religious Act	33	36.2	20	43.4	53	38.6	20	44.4	33	38.3
Political Activities	7	7.6	4	8.6	11	8.1	7	15.5	-	-
Yoga	11	12.1	2	4.3	13	9.4	11	24.4	-	-
Chaupal	31	34.1	17	36.9	48	35.0	-	-	48	55.8
Total	91	99.8	46	100	137	100	45	100	86	100

The weakening of social bond in the family and the society and its impact on the elderly is an important issue in contemporary times. The study of social bond provides an empirical and theoretical analysis of the social relations of the elderly. The social bond is concerned with the elements of relationships within which an elderly is located. It means that the elderly persons form some relations to strengthen their social bond including family members, relatives, friends and neighbours. These relations are bonded with attachment, involvement, faith and commitment. One needs to differentiate between social bond and relationships because they are related to an elderly (Victor 2005). While social bond explains social ties which are based on attachment, involvement, faith and commitment, relationship refers to the formal and informal interaction between an elderly and family members, relatives, friends and neighbours.

Victor (2005) explains the social bond of the elderly in the following paragraph: “Over the life course the elderly belong to a variety of social groups all of which bring interactions and relationships with family, relatives, neighbours and friends. These relations root the social bond deeply in social structure and they carry out many major social roles which are enjoyed by the elderly in decision making. The availability of and quality of family and social atmosphere are very important factors in deciding valuable social bond which are experienced by elderly. These social bonds provide a major resource with which elderly may remove their problems like fear of crime, isolation, loneliness.”

Similarly, Thang (2006) states that, “support from the family, friends, neighbours and acquaintances affect the quality of lives of older persons with family often seen as the primary source of social and emotional support.” Moreover, support from the family, friends, neighbours and acquaintances (social support system) provide avenues for the elderly to play a meaningful role in familial and social activities which removes the sense of loneliness to some degree (Mehta, 1997).

The study shows that fear of crime is prevailing among the elderly in India because their attachment, involvement, faith and commitment in the family and society are declining fast. Loneliness and lack of attachment are significant sources of fear of crime among the elderly in contemporary times (Farrall *et al.*, 2007). Similarly, the elderly respondents have stated about the decline in attachment as a responsible factor in this study which has affected social bond

more. The elderly replied that family members, relatives and neighbours do not have as much attachment with the elderly as people had attachment with elderly earlier. They think that the technological innovations and electronic gadgets have been instrumental in bringing about a rise in materialistic values and changing priorities among the modern generation where the “we” concept has changed to the “I” concept (Kalvar *et. al.*, 2013). In such changing situation, the essence of social bond is declining automatically and these have affected the elderly the most.

An elderly respondent replied, *“My son never asks about my health and wellbeing and if I try to discuss my health condition, he and his wife scold me. One day I went to a neighbour for help, but he closed the door on me. Due to this I feel that attachment is declining from the society and family and nobody is concerned about the elderly.”* Responding to questions related to faith, which is one of the elements of social bond, another elderly respondent held that, *“my personal experience tells me that we cannot believe relatives anymore. My younger brother illegally occupied my land and house and he always bothers me and my wife. Due to this I feel fear and hesitate to go anywhere.”* These personal experiences go on to reinforce the loss of faith the elderly have on their relatives and consequent rise in feeling of fear. Conklin confirms this fact when he suggests that faith in the family members and neighbours where an individual lives is an important factor affecting fear of crime (Toseland, 1982).

The concept of involvement of the elderly in social activities is another important element of social bond theory. An elderly respondent replied, *“I involve myself in family and social activities and people share their problems with me. It gives me a sense of security. I feel there are people to fall back on if something goes wrong.”* Similarly, Yin (1980) has observed in his study that those (elderly) who are in constant touch with their neighbors and family members and involve in social activities, they feel low level of fear of crime than those who do not have regular contact with the neighbours and family members and do not involve in social activities. Further he claims that those who regard their neighbours as stranger, their feeling of fear of crime is much more. Moreover, fear of crime depends on decision making ability and involvement in leadership of activities of the society. Social activities are carried on more informally and on a personal relationship basis than formally and impersonally (Makwana,

2011). Where all these are weak, there the possibility of fear of crime increases. When social bond is weak due to growing age, isolation and vulnerability from the family and society, then the social activities decrease automatically. Consequently, loneliness increases among the socially isolated and socially vulnerable and they have highest level of fear of crime (Donder *et. al.*, 2005).

Further, the elderly respondents have shared their views on commitment to social activities. An elderly reported: *“I participate in religious activity. Religious activity gives me mental peace because of it I feel happiness and whenever I am in trouble; I meditate which solves all of my problems.”*

Another elderly respondent replied: *“I attend an informal group daily. When I go in group, I meet my friends and there we talk about everything that happens in that day, week or month. During this period we talk about family and social problems. Meeting with friends gives us the sense of emotional attachment. It is the reason that we do not have fear of crime.”*

Similarly, the studies have found that commitment in social activities and religious activities reduce someone’s level of fear of crime (Yin 1980 and Kalvar *et. al.*, 2013). A study has found that those elderly who claim to have inner strength and feeling of contentment, they have low level of dissatisfaction and lesser fear of crime. Inner strength and contentment are derived from participation in meditation, yoga and religious activity (Kalvar *et. al.*, 2013).

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

This study sets out to examine the fear of crime among the elderly respondents in Lucknow district. In the first chapter, the area of research has been contextualised and then the objectives of the study have been put forward. The method adopted for the study as well as the related works have been discussed. In the second chapter, the conceptual framework of fear of crime has been explained. The historical origin of fear of crime, its definition, factors, approaches and theories form the main focus of this chapter. The third chapter discusses the nature of elder abuse in socio-cultural context and its typologies. Further, the chapter also outlined the government protections for the elderly in India. In the fourth chapter, the findings of the study have been analysed and discussed.

In this chapter, the main issues, which have emerged in the course of the study have been identified and discussed. Some suggestions regarding safety and security of the elderly respondents both in the rural and the urban areas have been put forward. This chapter also includes some of the limitations of the study. Finally, the issues that could be followed up for further research have been laid down.

5.1 Main Issues

Elder Abuse

In this section of the study I have examined the extent of elder abuse and its causes and consequences which lead to fear of crime among the elderly (see chapter 4, section 2).

The study, conducted in the rural and urban areas of Lucknow, explored the level of fear of crime through elder abuse in socio-cultural context. The study looked at such issues of elder abuse which affect the life of the elderly and bring the feeling of insecurity among the elderly. The study implies that the traditional social system of India has been undermined due to changing socio-economic scenario fostering the ideas of materialism and individualism. They

have weakened our traditional values causing fractures in our social bonds which serve as a bridge between the elderly and society. The materialism and individualism are one of the major factors that have given rise to the abuses against the elderly. The study has found that elder abuse leads to various socio-psychological problems among the elderly. These problems include alienation, loneliness and depression; and because of it, sense of well-being and way of life of the elderly is considerably affected. Further, study has found that respect, honour, status and authority which were enjoyed by the elderly in the traditional society, have gradually started declining. The changing social situation has put the elderly in a vulnerable spot in the society. Overall the study finds a close relationship between elder abuse and changed socio-cultural structure.

The closer examination of the situation of the elderly in the current study reveals that a few of the elderly are childless or they are left alone by their children. Some of them are very depressed due to harsh attitude of their children. These elderly did not want to discuss anything regarding their children or avoided talking about them. Even living under the same roof, the parents and children had separate living arrangements. They are abused or mistreated either by their sons or daughters-in-law or both. Hence the elderly are facing adjustment problems with their grown-up children and the interpersonal relationship between the children and the most of the elderly in the study are in a deteriorated state.

Regarding the care and the respect, large proportion of the elderly feel that they do not get care and respect as they deserve from their children. Some of the elderly stated that they were not at all happy with the attitude of their children. Their children especially daughters-in-law did not respect them and invariably ill-treated them. Mostly, they were made to feel that they were redundant because of their old age. There are also few respondents who remained silent when questioned about care and respect provided by their children.

I have observed that the known persons such as family members, relatives and neighbours have been involved in many cases of elder abuse. This is a significant finding as the elderly have, in general, relied upon the family members and relatives for physical and mental support. Their dependence on family members is based on trust, reciprocity and to some extent helplessness.

But various kinds of abuse committed by the family members and relatives have put the elderly in a very vulnerable situation, infact, rendering them very helpless.

Factors of Fear of Crime

Here in this part, I have discussed the factors of fear of crime among the elderly. The study assesses the various factors instrumental in fear of crime among the elderly. The factors such as environmental (crime rate of an area, nature of crime), social (prior victimization, incivility and vulnerability) and psychological (anxiety and phobia) give rise to feeling of fear of crime among the elderly (see chapter 4, section 3).

I found in my study that the elderly have victimisation experience because different crimes such as physical, financial and emotional crimes have been committed against the elderly. These lends credence to concepts of prior victimisation, vulnerability, incivility, and as all these concepts, more or less, talk of weaknesses in physical environment, lack of proper social network, the presence of anti-social elements in the neighbourhood and poor vigilance by the police. It has also been observed that the known persons such as family members, relatives and neighbours have been involved in elder abuse in many cases of crime. This is a significant finding as the elderly have, in general, relied upon the family members and relatives for physical and mental support. Their dependence on family members is based on trust, reciprocity and to some extent helplessness. But as these cases of crime attest, the elderly have been victimised, in many cases, at their own homes. The different forms of elder abuse obtained in this study such as attempt to murder, hurt, theft, cheating, kidnapping and mistreatment highlight the social vulnerability experienced by the elderly. The concept of social vulnerability points to the absence of meaningful social attachment between the elderly and other family members and between the neighbours to some extent. This definitely raises concern among the elderly as occurrences of such cases generate feeling of fear of crime among them.

One of the main factors of fear of crime is the crime rate of an area. The more is the crime against the elderly in an area, the more it creates anxiety, discomfort and fear among the elderly residing in that locality. The study also suggests that the elderly are bound to feel more anxious and live in a state of fear as there is high occurrence of crime against the elderly in urban areas.

The elderly develop this fear of crime through their exposure to crime against the elderly reported in newspapers, magazines, radio and television news channels.

Social Bond of the Elderly

I have examined the elements of social bond such as attachment, involvement, belief and commitment. Each of these elements covers the various aspects of the relationship between the elderly and their family and the society. In the absence of strong social bond, social relationship of the elderly weakens. Due to this, alienation and loneliness surface and affect the safety and security of the elderly. Here I highlight the social bond of the elderly respondents from each of these elements and, also discuss the fear of crime among the elderly due to weak social bond (see chapter 4, section 4).

The current study contends that weakening of social bond is appearing as an emerging issue among the elderly in India. Weak social bonds are affecting our value based social system. Attachment, which is one element of social bond, is declining towards the elderly by the family members and society. The majority of the elderly are not having attachment with their family members, relatives and neighbours. Mostly, they are the elderly females who have a strained attachment with their family members, relatives and neighbours. Maximum number of the elderly from the urban areas is not satisfied with their family members, relatives and neighbours regarding attachment. Though the elderly try to keep in constant touch with their family members, relatives and neighbours but they do not want to interact with the elderly. Decline in attachment contributes to various socio-psychological problems among the elderly. These problems include rising crime, alienation, loneliness and depression and because of it, fear of crime has been rising among the elderly.

Due to weak social bond, respect, honour, status and authority, which were enjoyed by the elderly in the traditional society, have gradually started declining. In such changing situation, the elderly are in a vulnerable position in our society. The study has found that fear of crime is not only rising among the urban elderly but it is also being experienced by the rural elderly. The migration and job opportunity have affected rural way of life because it has been found during the study that many elderly are either living alone or only with their spouses. Such

elderly have informed that their sons and daughters-in-law have migrated to city for employment. They come to visit them once or twice a year. The elderly have also expressed their views on their relatives and neighbours by saying that they are selfish and they come to meet the elderly when they need something. Thus, it may be argued that social bond is diminishing from the family and society, which has affected the way of life and sense of well being of the elderly to a large extent causing a fracture in social bond. Such weak social bond is resulting in fear of crime among the elderly.

The involvement of the elderly, another element of the social bond, in social activities and decision making in family matters is limited. There is significantly lesser percentage of the respondents in my research who do not involve in social activities and decision making in the family and community. I found in the study that the rural elderly engage more in social activities and decision making in family and community issues in comparison to the urban elderly. The findings of my study illustrated that elderly who involve more in social activities and decision making have lesser fear of crime as compared to those who do not involve more in family and community matters. Moreover, the elderly who are not having involvement in family and community matters, they think that they are excluded from the society and family which consequently weakens their social bond.

I also found in my study that the elderly have lesser belief on their family members, relatives and neighbours. The elderly shared their experience about the fact that they had been cheated many times for the property, savings and other costly assets by the family members, relatives and neighbours. Further, I showed in the study that the majority of the elderly are committed to social institutions such as social service, religious activities, political activities, yoga and *chaupal*. I observed during the field survey that elderly who were involved in social institutions, had lesser feeling of insecurity. Such elderly told that involvement in social institutions gave happiness to them and promoted healthy way of life.

The changing condition of familial dynamics has an effect on social bonding of the elderly in the present scenario. I have highlighted the point that weakening of social bonding is an emerging issue among the elderly in India. Weak social bonds are affecting our value based family system. The family members and the society at large have lesser attachment with the

elderly. The belief of the elderly in their family members is declining as well. Such decline in attachment and belief contribute to various socio-psychological problems among the elderly. These problems include alienation, loneliness and depression; and because of it, the elderly are experiencing indignity, disgracefulness, embarrassment, dishonour, disregard, injustice, lack of care and psychological torture. The changing situations have made the elderly more vulnerable in our society which has led to a feeling of insecurity among them.

Here I have identified three main issues that have come up in the various stages of my research. I have elaborated some of these issues with the help of the findings from my field work.

Protection for the Elderly in India

Since independence there have been constitutional, legislative and government protections for the elderly in India. Earlier priority was not given by the government to the protection of the elderly. The traditional joint family system and strong values placed on the virtues of old age were the reasons for the government to ignore the needs of the elderly. But owing to the tremendous growth in the elderly population in the last two decades, an increase in life expectancy and changes in the perspectives of the family and kinship organisation, the rising inadequacy of traditional arrangements for providing protection and services to the elderly became apparent. Therefore, realising these, both the central and the state governments initiated a few programs such as constitutional and legal provisions for the security and the safety of the elderly. These programs are discussed below.

Constitutional Provisions: The Constitution of India envisaged a new social order by doing away social and financial inequalities through a policy of compensatory discrimination (Chatoraj and Sinha, 2007). Constitution directs the State for improving the sense of well being of its senior citizens. Right to equality and right to protection of life and personal liberty have been guaranteed by the Constitution. Article 41 of Directive Principles of State Policy stipulates that “the State shall, within the limits of its economic capacity and development, make effective provisions for securing the right to work, to education and to public assistance in case of unemployment, old age, sickness and disablement and in other cases of undeserved want.

Legal Provisions: Special laws have been implemented by the Government of India for the protection and dignity of the elderly from time to time. In the year of 1956, Hindu Adaptation and Maintenance Act was established which stipulates that maintenance of aged and infirm parents is obligatory on the adult children. Section 125(1) of the Criminal Procedure Code (CrPC) in 1973 lays down that “if any person having sufficient means neglects or refuses to maintain his/her parents, a magistrate of the first class may upon proof of such neglect or refusal can order such person to make a monthly allowance for the maintenance of his/her parents (father or mother), at a monthly rate as the magistrate thinks fit, and to pay the same to such person as the magistrate may from time to time direct” (Mishra 2005). Further, Government of India has taken a big step for the protection and the welfare of the elderly and established The Maintenance and Welfare of Parents and Senior Citizens Act 2007. The Act includes a legal obligation on children and relatives to maintain the parents and senior citizens.

It is observed that above mentioned provisions are not able to fulfill the requirements of the elderly to a large extent in the present scenario. There is a problem in the implementation of these provisions. I have found during the field survey that most of the elderly are not familiar with these legislations which exist for their safety and security. Therefore, it is the need of the hour that government should adopt a specific mechanism for the implementation of these legislations in collaboration with the Police and the NGOs for the safety and the security of the elderly from the crime and the fear of crime.

5.2 Suggestions

The suggestions I have enlisted mostly pertain to the better social condition of the elderly in the society. These suggestions have grown out of my field experience with the elderly and the problems encountered by them in their day to day lives. I could gather information regarding their problems through my extensive interviews and field observations. These suggestions relate to the social security for the elderly, role of the younger generations towards the elderly, preventive strategies to reduce social isolation and loneliness of the elderly, health care, government grants and protection strategies. The suggestions aim at improving the lives of the elderly.

Elderly Policy Council: Elderly policy council should be set up by the government in each state of the country to conduct policy analysis, promote intergenerational solidarity and influence public opinion. It should be an autonomous body and it should have no link with government except for financial aid. Civil society should be authorised for its supervision because civil society can play a more crucial and effective role than the government can. It should have a uniform purpose such as helping family in responsible parenthood, serving as a voice for the elderly, promoting elderly helpline and elder-friendly community. It should also play a role to control crime against the elderly in collaboration with police. Elderly policy council should run programmes such as neighbourhood watch programs and group activities with the elderly. Engaging the elderly in these programmes might promote we-feeling among the elderly which can reduce their fear of crime.

Age-Friendly Community: The World Health Organisation (2007) introduced this concept for the first time and tried to develop the supportive communities for the elderly. The Age friendly community focuses on encouraging active ageing by optimising opportunities for health, participation in social activities and security in order to enhance the quality of life of the elderly. Age friendly community involves local authorities, NGOs, individuals and families who want to make their society a better place to live in. The goal is to protect the people and their properties and to reduce the fear of crime by means of improved home security, greater vigilance and accurate reporting of anti social elements to the police.

I found in the literature that the researchers have promoted the age-friendly community for the positive way of life and the sense of well-being of the elderly (Buffel *et. al.*, 2013; Scharlach and Lehning, 2013). Observations during my field survey and discussions with the elderly respondents led me to feel that such age-friendly programmes should be run by the government in collaboration with the NGOs which may have positive impact on the life style of the elderly and step up healthy ageing. Such programmes may bolster social bonding and remove fear of crime among the Indian elderly.

Preventions of Social Isolation and Loneliness for the Elderly: In every three to five months, programmes should be organized by the Non Government Organizations (NGOs) or Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) which encourage the elderly to have a purpose in life and practicing their hobbies as it is an effective way of preventing loneliness and social isolation,

which further helps the elderly in reducing their fear of crime. They must be persuaded to make creative use of leisure, participate in cultural activities and be encouraged in imparting their skills in community work and welfare activities.

Regular group counseling programs should be arranged for the elderly (who are in emotional distress) with a view to making them flexible by discarding their stereotypical attitudes towards their adult children. This can also help them increase their confidence and capacities to manage the pre-existing conflicts with the family.

Befriending schemes must be developed which can help the elderly to provide companionship and emotional support to lonely and isolated people. Group housing of the elderly with common service facilities for meals, laundering, and common room entertainment should also be encouraged. All these interventions are inherently social and can provide wider social network for the elderly.

Nationwide Intervention Programmes: Government should initiate nationwide intervention programmes with the help of the NGOs or *Panchyats* for generating awareness among the elderly about their rights and needs since many elderly are not aware of state interventions for them. Every year in schools and colleges on the Elder Abuse Awareness Day which is observed on June 15, activities that emphasise respect for elders and treating them with humanity and dignity need to be undertaken.

Role of the Young Generation towards the Elderly: The young members in the family should be reminded to cultivate, manifest and communicate love to the elderly and must provide assistance to the elderly and shower them with affection. The young generation needs to be sensitized to the problems and feelings of the elderly. It has been found in a study (Makwana, 2011) that young generation is more capable in the society to perform functions, solve problems, and set and achieve goal. Right from childhood, the children should be taught to value and respect the elderly. The children should be encouraged to spend time with their grandparents. This will foster intergenerational bond and will help the elderly get rid of depression and isolation.

Crime Statistics: I have felt that there is a need of an annual report based on crime against the elderly which may focus on causes and consequences of crime against the elderly. Whatever crimes are being committed against the elderly within home and outside, should be published in an annual publication “Crime in India” which is published by National Crime Record Bureau under the Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India. A separate chapter should be included related to crime against the elderly in “Crime in India” report. No law enforcement agency in India has paid direct attention towards crime against the elderly till now. The incidents of crime against the elderly are not highlighted due to absence of crime statistics on the elderly. Many countries such as America and the United Kingdom publish annual publication related to crime against the elderly. The law enforcement agencies take cognizance of these published data on crime against the elderly and take appropriate action for the security and the safety of the elderly.

Moreover, some suggestions should be followed by police in reducing of fear of crime among the elderly (Das, 2009; Deswal, 2011). These suggestions are: (a) Senior citizens cells should be established by the police in every police head quarter of the district. (b) The police should start elderly helpline through which elderly may register their problems (c) The police should pay attention to the security of life and property of the elderly who are living alone (d) The effective patrolling should be done by the police both during the day and the night to check the undesirable elements, who are loitering in the parks, the neighbourhood and the market places (e) The police personnel should be given training sensitizing them to the needs of the elderly (f) Police should punish those family members, who abuse and neglect the elderly (g) The police should prepare separate crime statistics related to the elderly for better understanding of the elderly issues. (h) The friendly vigil should be started by the police. The police in collaboration with the voluntary sector and the network of the elderly persons can make videos on the needs and rights of the elderly as well as on the redressed mechanism and safety measures available to them and air them through television channels.

5.3 Limitations of the Study

There are certain limitations of this study. I have selected only the Lucknow district of Uttar Pradesh for my study on fear of crime among the elderly. I could not take all the districts of Uttar Pradesh due to the constraint of time and money.

I could not choose all the wards and villages of Lucknow. I used convenience sampling to collect data from the rural and urban areas of Lucknow. I collected data from those elderly who were willing to be interviewed and who were capable of spending one to one and half hours for the interviews.

I did not conduct interviews with equal number of respondents who were staying with their family and who were staying alone because I was refused permission by the family members in many cases as they felt that the interviews would disturb the elderly or the family members or the elderly would reveal unpleasant truths of the family. Equal number of elderly from each category could have allowed for more representativeness and precision of the data.

Since the total number of elderly respondents was small and I focused on the elderly people in a particular area of a state, it would be difficult to make generalizations from this study considering that there is great diversity of experience and difference in perception among the elderly even within a particular state.

5.4 Directions for Further Inquiry

This study highlights the importance of paying attention to fear of crime among the elderly which has affected the way of life and happiness of the elderly due to weak social bond, elder abuse, prior victimisation, vulnerability and incivility. It would be interesting to investigate the family linkage from the children's perspective. The expectations of the children from their elderly parents and their reasons for having conflicts with their parents are issues that need to be taken up for further studies regarding elder abuse and fear of crime among the elderly.

The elderly who have been victimised, invariably, have higher level of fear of crime. Their experience and feeling would certainly be different from those elderly who have not been victimised. These needs to be looked at in future studies and a comparison between victimised

and non-victimised elderly can be worked upon and the causes and consequences of fear of crime among the victimised and the non victimised elderly can also form an interesting topic of study.

Research should be designed to focus on how law enforcement agency can reduce fear of crime among the elderly and which type of legal mechanism should be implemented to report the crime against the elderly and for the safety and the security of the elderly. Moreover, the future study should take into account the official complaints of abuse experienced by the elderly respondents from their family members. This fact will elaborate the social embarrassment faced by the elderly in lodging complaint against their own family members.

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APPENDIX

Fear of Crime among the Elderly: A Study of Lucknow District in Uttar Pradesh

Questionnaire No.....

(For the Research Purpose)

Name:

Address:

1. Place of Residence: Urban

Rural

2. Gender : Male

Female

3. Age

60 to 69 years		70 to 79 years		Above 80 years	
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4. Education:

5. Occupation:

6. Income

1000-5000		6000-10000	
11000-15000		16000-20000	
Above21000		No Income	

7. Marital Status

Married		Widow	
Unmarried		Divorced	
Widower		Single	

8a. Do you have children?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

8b. If yes, Number of Children

Sons		Daughters	
------	--	-----------	--

9a. Are you living with children?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

9b. If Yes, with whom

Son		Daughter	
Sometime with son, sometime with daughter			

9c. If No, why.....

9d. If you are not staying with children, whom are you staying with?

Spouse		Old age home	
Relatives		Others	

10. The house in which you are presently living, is this your own house, someone else or you have to pay rent?

Own		Rent	
Someone else			

11. Type of house

Street based house/cemented		Mud-made house	
Flat based house		Other	

12a. Do you have property?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

12b. If yes, please mention

Land		House	
Shop		Other (Cow, Buffalo etc.)	

13a. Do you have any saving?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

13b. If yes, please mention

Saving account in bank		Post office account	
Fixed deposits		Kisan patra	
LIC premium etc.		Others	

Section A: Elder Abuse in the family/society

14. Do you feel fear at your home/in your society due to different types of abuse?

Family	Yes		No		Society	Yes		No	
--------	-----	--	----	--	---------	-----	--	----	--

15a. You have been/are abused in the family/society?

Family	Yes		No		Society	Yes		No	
--------	-----	--	----	--	---------	-----	--	----	--

15b. If yes, please mention.....

Verbally		Physically	
Emotionally/Mentally		Neglected	
Financially		Other	

15c. Why have you been/ are you abused.....

16. You are/have been abused in the family/ in the society

Everyday		During celebration at home	
Sometimes		Never	

17. Who abuses you

Son		Daughter in law	
Nieghbour		Grand-son-Grand-daughter	
Relative		Servant	

18. What are the causes of abuse in family which are faced by you

Due to property issues		Lack of adjustment	
Lack of physical space in the home		Lack of basic necessities	
Lack emotional support		Disrespect by own children	
Lack of health care		Nothing	

19. Interaction with Family Members

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

If no, why.....

Section B: Factors of Fear of Crime

Social Factors- Neighbourhood, Prior victimization, Vulnerability and Incivility

20a. Do you think that crime is rising as a serious problem in the society?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

20b. If yes, why.....

21. What is the Nature of Crime in the society?

1	Theft		4	Rape	
2	Chain Snatching		5	Murder	
3	Robbery		6	Abuse with Elderly	

22. What is the source of crime information?

1	News Papers		3	Radio/Television	
2	Police		4	Other Sources	

Sl. No.	Statement	Yes	No
28	Feel fear during Night in the neighbourhood		
29	Feel fear during Night at the home		

23a. Your friends/relatives/neighbours have been victimised ever

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

23b. If yes, please mention

1	Hurt		5	Mistreatment	
2	Fraud, cheating		6	Bag snatching	
3	Theft		7	Vandalism	
4	Robbery		8	Others	

24. Do you ask a neighbour to keep a watchful eye on your property while you are away?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

25. If you were attacked/ robbed/ stolen/ abused from while at home, do you think your neighbours would come to your rescue/ assistance if they had knowledge of such attack?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

Prior Victimization: During the past years, have any of the following crimes happened to you

26a. Has crime been committed against the body?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

26b. If Yes, Please mention

1	Attempt to murder		3	Grievous hurt/Beating	
2	Sexual harassment/Molestation		4	Others	

27a. Has crime been committed against the property?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

27b. If Yes, Please mention

1	Robbery		3	Theft, Bag snatching	
2	Fraud, cheating		4	Others	

28a. Have you been ever abused?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

28b. If Yes, Please mention

1	Verbal abuse		3	Physical Abuse	
2	Emotional abuse		4	Financial abuse	

29. Have strangers committed crime against you?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

30a. Have known persons (family members, relatives, servants and neighbours) committed crime against you?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

30b. If Yes, who has committed-----

Vulnerability- Physical and Social Vulnerability

31a. You feel that I am physically vulnerable (your body is not able to protect own selves and your physical location is also weak).

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

31b. If Yes, Why do you feel this way---

32a. You feel that I am socially vulnerable (your social network is not strong and feel that I am neglected from the family as well as society and income).

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

32b. If Yes, Why do you feel this way—

Incivility- Physical and Social Incivility

33a. You see disorderly surroundings in your neighbourhood (physical)

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

33b. If Yes, please mention

Littering		Graffiti	
Run-down house		Others	

34a. You see disruptive behaviors in your neighbourhood (social)

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

34b. If yes, please mention

Loiters		Unruly Teenagers	
Beggars		Others	

Psychological Factors- Worry or Perceived Risk

Sl. No.	Statement	A	N	D
35	You worry or you have anxiety about specific crimes (murder, robbery etc.)			
36	You have phobia being victim from the criminal activities			
37	Your happiness affects due to crime/abuse			

Section C: Social Bond and Fear of Crime

A= Agree, N=Neutral D= Disagree,

Sl. No.	Statement	A	N	D
38	Your family members have attachment with you			
49	Your relatives have attachment with you			
40	Your neighbours have attachment with you			
41	You involve in your family activities			
42	You involve in your family decision making			
43	You involve in your neighbourhood activities			
44	You involve in your neighbourhood decision making			
45	You have faith on your family members			
46	You have faith on your relatives			
47	You have faith on your neighbours			
48	You have commitment with an institution			

49a. If Agree in Ques.48, which type institutions.....

Social Service		Religious activity	
Political activity		Yoga	
House club		Chaupal (Informal group)	

49b. If Disagree in Ques. 48, why.....

50a. Who is most close with you in family/society.....

50b. Who is most faithful for you in family/society.....