

**A SOCIO-SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF CRIMES IN INDIA
A CASE STUDY OF DELHI**

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The dissertation entitled "A Socio-Spatial Analysis of Crimes in India : A Case Study of Delhi" submitted by Mary Jos is in fulfilment of six credits out of a total requirements of twenty-four credits for the Degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil.) of the University. It is her original work according to the best of my knowledge. It may be placed before the Examiners for their consideration.


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CHAPTER I

I N T R O D U C T I O N

I.1 GENERAL

Every society has certain approved patterns of conduct for its members. Breaches of these approved patterns arouse social disapproval. Certain of these breaches are socially punished; others are checked merely by the pressure of public opinion. It is the breaches that are punished which belong to the class of crimes (Thouless 1960). Reckless (1955) puts it very aptly when he states anti-social behaviour as crime. Urban crime is one of many social problems which is increasingly becoming the focus of attention for social geographers (Dawson and Davidson 1982).

Crime is a perennial problem for all societies (Hartes 1974). Both the incidence and pattern of crime vary from place to place. (Dutt and Noble 1985). They vary not only from rural to urban situation but also from one city to another (Mc Lennan 1970). Generally it has been found that the total crime rates in large metropolitan areas is nearly two times higher than the other cities and almost three times higher than the rates in rural areas (Wolfgang 1972). Further, the incidence of crime tends to be significantly high in countries with high degree of economic prosperity and technological advancement, according to 1967 report on the World Social Situation. It has also been established from the history of every society that crime is normal and had always existed and that the crime rate has been increasing with the passing years (Durkheim 1966).

All over the world crime is increasing at an alarming rate for instance between period 1900-1979 in a developed country, like England, crime has increased over thirteen times, in Sweden the rate went up by 44 percent; in Netherland the quota increased by 54%; in Gemmany by 26%; in Austria by 25%; and in Italy by 40% (Radzin owiz and Leon, 1948). The fate of developing countries is no better. Thailand, South Africa, Korea, Yugoslavia, etc., have all shown tremendous increase in crime rate.

India, as a developing country, is in the same situation. Here the rate of increase is more than the increase in population (Smith and Dass 1971). For example in Uttar Pradesh alone it has been observed that cognizable crimes are committed in every 3 minutes, a riot every 45 minutes, an armed robbery every hour, a dacoity every two hours and two murders in every three minutes (Mehrajuddin 1984).

As a whole, larger the city higher is the crime rate for all serious crimes committed as well as for most offences (Wolfgang 1972). Although this observation is in regard to western society, at the risk of generalization, this may said to be of the Indian situation as well. According to a reporter, Indian Express 1980, crime has largely assumed alarming proportion in all metropolitan cities of India. Crime in the urban areas, especially in big cities like Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras is related

directly to the struggle for existence in a complex and often crowded society. In many areas, the population of a city increases manifold but the strength of the police force does not go up proportionately (Indian Express 1978). It is true that urban population is characterized by high population density, spatial mobility, ethnic and class heterogeneity, reduced family function and greater anonymity. When these traits are found in high degree combined with physical determination, unemployment, illiteracy, unskilled labour and poverty it ultimately leads to deviant behaviour pattern (Wolfgang 1972). Thus the incidence of crime is more after an urban phenomenon which is characterised by regional and religious diversities, mixed land use, high density of population, substandard housing, high dependency ratio and high proportion of females. (Murray and Boal 1979).

Many have come to the conclusion that crime rates are much higher in cities than in the countryside (Sorokin 1937 and Zimmerman 1929). Sutherland (1948) and Lottier (1938) have said that the number of crimes decreases as the distance from the large city increases. Crime and delinquency in USA are much less frequent in proportion to population in rural areas than in urban areas. (Kenawala 1959). Differences in rural-urban crime where urban rates are

higher have been attributed to heterogeneity of the urban areas as compared to the homogeneity of the rural areas (Kaplan and Kaplan 1973). Thus the city itself has an influence on the type of the inhabitants that tends to encourage and spread criminality (Vold 1941).

I.2 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In general, the literature on Geography of crime is scarce. However, scholars in different disciplines have contributed significantly to the study of general pattern of crime. In the following sections an attempt has been made to review the available studies from various sources. Since not much work has been done by geographers, a classification on the basis of geographical and non-geographical studies could not be possible. On reviewing the literature it becomes clear that most of the research done by various scholars can be classified under four main heads, viz.,

- (a) Studies concentrating upon the rural/urban differences in crimes;
- (b) Studies dealing with crime rate in cities and factors responsible for it;
- (c) Studies which seek to bring out the relationship between crime and geography; and
- (d) Studies based on role of police, political leaders and judiciary in the matters of crime.

I.2.1 Rural and urban crime

Vold (1941) analysed crime in city and country areas. He found that the number of crime decreases as

the distance from the large city increases. Also that rural crime differs from urban crime in type as well as frequency. The reasons that he gave for high incidence of crime in city areas as against the countryside is due to greater density of city population; greater opportunities for contacts and the larger number of regulatory ordinances together with professional police forces for law enforcement have all promoted and facilitated criminality.

Hallenback (1951) in his book "American Urban Communities" tried to find out there are more of crimes against property in the cities and more of crime against persons in the villages. This he attributed to the impersonal relationships in the city and also because cities are filled with property from vegetables and fruits to jewellery and bank notes. He argued that when standard of living is high in the cities then the urge for possession is great and this increases more of crimes against property in the city. According to him crime is related to economic conditions and that it fluctuates with cycles of prosperity and depression.

Caldwell (1959) has concluded in his paper that the urban rates are higher than the rural rates for all crimes except murder, manslaughter and rape. And that crimes in which economic harm is done to the victim are

higher in urban areas such as theft, robbery, etc.

Clinard (1964) in his paper entitled "The relation of urbanization and urbanism to criminal behaviour" has stated that the relative incidence of urban features of life accounts for much of the differential in crime rates between rural and urban areas. He found that predatory crimes, like robbery, increases with the extent of urbanization. And the primary features of urbanism are size, heterogeneity and impersonality and that all favour a higher criminal rate. He discovered that in many cases a single city offender committed more offences than a large number of farm and village offenders combined and this probably accounted partly for rural and urban differences in crime rate.

Wolfgang (1972) in his paper, "Urban Crime" has stated that the total crime rate in large metropolitan areas is nearly two times higher than the rates in other cities and about three times higher than in rural areas. That is, the larger the city, higher the crime rate.

A noteworthy study has been done by Dutt, Noble and Singh (1979) who in their paper, "Is there a North-Central subculture of violence in India" have attempted a district level study to examine the factors which have promoted violence in north-central India. They came to the general conclusion that it is one's environment, urban as well as

rural, that very often induces criminal conduct like a physically dilapidated neighbourhood setting, historic circumstances and high population densities. /

The news item of 24th August 1980 (Times of India) reports that urban crime is more than rural crime because with the removal of traditional joint family system, the present lack of communication between the members of the family and the love and respect for one another had totally disappeared.

Advani (1981) in her book "Perspectives on Adult Crime and Correction" had found that though the highest percentage of crime occurs in urban areas but highest percentage of offenders were from rural areas. In the rural areas she found that the social control was more effective due to greater homogeneity of the rural population, its lesser mobility, lesser population, lesser opportunities for criminals to hide their activities, and so on.

I.2.2 Factors influencing a high crime rate in cities

Winth (1928) has very aptly written that many characteristics of urbanism are size, density, heterogeneity and impersonality. And all the above factors favour a high criminal rate.

Hallenback (1951) had blamed the city for creating an environment which induced a higher crime rate. Since

*
cities are filled with all kinds of property the poorer people and the migrants get tempted to commit crime very easily.

According to the 1967 report on the World Social Situation it was found that higher the degree of economic prosperity and technological advancement higher the crime rate. Sectoral, regional and rural-urban imbalances in development increases the movement of people between country and towns which results in the unhealthy growth of urban communities. And as unemployment rises with education the accumulation of idle unemployed is a serious threat to law and order. Thus according to this report the root of all evil is urbanization.

Tarniquet (1968) found that the causes of high crime rate are poverty, greater population destitution and unemployment.

According to Mc Lennan and Mc Lennan (1970) in their book "Crime in Urban Society" certain crimes are concentrated mainly in big cities. These are in particular, narcotic law violations, gambling, prostitution and commercialised vice. There are two social factors which according to them are likely to be indirect influences on the extent of crime in urban areas. These factors are the cohesiveness and stability of the local community and the extent to which parents are able to provide children

with a standard of morality. In the first case stability is not attained due to high density of population in the cities and in the second case parents do not have enough time to see to their children. Thus the trend in the city social environment is likely to continue to contribute to the rising urban crime rate.

Wolfgang (1972) very clearly emphasized that the urban population is characterised by high population density, spatial mobility, ethnic and class heterogeneity, reduced family functions and greater anonymity. Further that when these traits are found in high degree combined with physical deterioration, unemployment, illiteracy, unskilled labour and poverty it ultimately leads to deviant behaviour pattern.

Ficken and Graves (1973) in their paper, "Deviance Crime and the Police" had studied the demographic composition of the population and how it affects crime rate. He pointed out that different types of crime are committed by people belonging to different age groups. But young people tend to commit more crimes than elderly ones. And almost all the cities in the world have no dearth of young people since young people from the villages keep coming to the cities for employment.

Taylor (1973) has blamed the city for its high density of population which increases the crime rate. Biologists have already proved that over crowding produces

increases in the death rate. According to Leyhausen and Lorenz (1973) density increases upto a certain point and then the trouble starts. That is, crime rate increases with increasing density.

Spector (1975) has proved the direct relationship between city size and crime rate. Prior to that Mounts(1919) Sutherland and Cressy (1970) Gronholm (1961) Clinard (1964) and UN report of 1971 have all agreed to the above said relationship. Denziger (1976) has pointed out in his paper, "Explaining Urban Crime Rates" that there is a positive relationship between population density and violence and unemployment and violence. His study was based on 222 Statistical Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA's) of U.S.A.

According to the news item of 24th August 1980 (Times of India) the increase in the number of crimes during the past several years is blamed on the stress and strains resulting from economic deprivation, deterioration in the social and moral mores and "cult of violence" being propagated by substandard films in the city.

Kulkarni (1981) in his book, "Geography of Crowding and Human Response" has also given that one reason for high crime rate in cities is because of high density of population. From his study on Ahmedabad city, he came to the conclusion that the greater occurrence of crimes

in urban areas is perhaps due to its heterogenous conditions, diversified economic activities and class structure, the latter being influenced by language, religion, caste and culture.

I.2.3 Geography of crime

Many scholars have given different reasons why crime is not equally distributed in the city and also how the different types of crimes are distributed in the city. Others have attempted to correlate geographical factors and human behaviour. In the following paragraphs several such studies are reviewed.

Dextor (1904) in his study of geography of crime proved that there is a positive relationship between crime and season, temperature, latitude and zone. According to him weather influences functioned either to repress or energize the organism. Dextor concluded that assaults increased with the increase in heat and seasonal variation. He explained by common sense for example burglary is more in winter due to longer nights. Falk (1952) have given importance to time of crime. They studied the relationship between season and crime and proved that crimes are committed more in summer.

Park and Burgess (1925) in their book, "The City" had described the different zones of a city. From their study on Chicago they concluded that certain types of

social deviation tend to be concentrated in specific areas. The highest crime rate areas are zone I and zone II and become successively lesser and lesser away from this area. White collar crimes are greater in zones IV and V. Gambling and prostitution are prevalent not only in zone II but sometimes even beyond the suburban fringe of the city.

Reckless (1933) in his paper, "Distribution of Commercialized vice in the city" has stressed upon the point that the crime rate is not equally distributed all over the city. As for example, commercialized vice according to him in the city has two locations, one at the centre and one at the circumference. The underworlds of vice and crime have usually been inseparable. On analysis he found that both crime and vice depend upon mobility and collections, both form of activity are legally and morally isolated and consequently must hide in the disorganized neighbourhoods in order to thrive.

Schmid for Minneapolis city (1937) found that various types of crimes tend to concentrate in the downtown and central areas and tend to disperse in the outlying and peripheral areas.

Cohen (1941) in his paper entitled, "The Geography of Crime" has explained how climate and seasons affect the crime rate. He found that the crimes against persons are always more numerous in the summer, and the crimes

against property are more numerous in winter: weather operates directly upon the emotional and physiological activities of the individual.

According to Shaw and Mckay's work on Chicago (1942) most of the crimes showed a definite gradient tendency. They stated that zones with high rate of truancy from school also had high rates for delinquency and adult crime. Not only that but the areas with the highest crime rates were physically deteriorated. Taking an example of juvenile delinquency he showed how the juvenile delinquency rates varied from place to place within the city. According to them the social conditions of a place are of greater importance as far as crime rate is considered. That is the areas having high industrial concentration, greater physical deterioration, economic dependency and high concentration of foreign born and Negro population has higher incidence of crime.

Reckless (1955) in his book "The Crime Problems" explained as how modern as well as ancient cities from time to time, have developed areas, that were notorious underworld of crime and vice. Many of these notorious bad lands had names, underworld characters and thieves lived, plied their trade and found recreation in the bad lands. Now these areas are losing their moral isolation and are becoming merely blighted areas where crime and delinquency are acutely rampant.

Mc Lennan and Mc Lennan (1970) in their book, "Crime in Urban Society" have concluded that crime rates are highest in the most deteriorated areas of the city and those areas are characterized by physical deterioration, declining population, high population density, economic insecurity, poor housing, family disintegration, conflicting social norms and an absence of constructive positive agencies.

Wolfgang (1972) in his paper, "Urban Crime" has explained how the different types of crime is distributed in the city. According to him, some types of crime occurs close to the places where the criminals live and some occurs far away from where the criminals live. Example of the first case are rape, homicide, assault, where the offender and the victim in these offences are usually of the same race and from the same neighbourhood and economic class. And in the latter case are more serious property crimes.

According to Ashok, Noble and Sitaram (1979) there is a seasonal rythm of dacoity in north-central India. According to them maximum is in September till harvest time. He explains that the reason behind this is that the crops in the field provide excellent cover. And that dacoity is maximum in autumn since quick escape is difficult due to muddy roads and soggy fields.

Kulkarni (1981) from his study on Ahmedabad came to the conclusion that crime rate of an area is based upon the proportion of illiterate population, proportion of people belonging to backward communities and the proportion of labourers engaged in industrial activity. According to him the less severe crimes (housebreaking, robbery, gambling, etc.) occur in more prospective areas (i.e. upper class residential areas). Lastly he discovered that the areas of constant and intense social interaction and friction are more prone to conflicts and crimes.

Sivamurthy (1982) in his paper, "The Spatio-temporal variation in the incidence of theft in Madras city" pointed out that in Madras city property crime environment exists in the areas where people of high occupation and status live and he therefore suggests that the occurrence of property crime is a function of physical characteristics and economic prosperity of an area.

In another paper, Ashok, Allen and Kamal (1985) studied the "Variation of the Spatial Patterns of Crime in Ajmer, India". They found that crimes do vary spatially in Ajmer and that there is a positive relationship between crime rates and population density. Also that percentage of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes and illiterates do play a positive role in increasing or decreasing the crime rate of an area of the city.

I.2.4 Level of crime - social control characteristics

In the following paragraphs a review has been attempted to find out the role of police, political leaders and the judiciary as far as crime is concerned.

How the police functions has been stated very nicely by Hallenback(1951). According to him the detection of crime and apprehension of criminals are complicated, technical and expensive in modern cities. They involve such things as a large and well organized police force, a staff of detectives, pickpocket squad, homicide squad, training schools, technical research laboratories, etc. Thus nowadays it is becoming less and less possible to get away with crime of major significance in cities though petty crime and racketeering still present difficulties.

According to Ferdinand (1967) from his study on Boston, has concluded that the patterns of deviant behaviour in the country as measured by the police arrests, depends basically upon 2 factors:- the attitude and effectiveness of the police and the occurrence of momentary events in the community that have the effect of disturbing and dislocating the established social routines.

Ficker and Graves (1971) have blamed the inadequacy of the police force for increasing but never in decreasing the crime rate. According to him the agencies that need immediate storing up with manpower, with equip-

ment with modern management methods with procedural innovation and with community concern and assistance are city police departments, city prosecutor's offices, city courts, city jails and the entire system of juvenile justice from intake offices through detention homes and courts and training schools to the probation and parole machinery. He concluded that the community is not protected against crime as it should be, nor are the persons accused of or convicted of crime treated as fairly as they should be.

Welford (1974) in his paper, "Crime and the Police" has stated that the level of crime of any place is dependent upon 4 main factors: ① Crime proneness (probability that a person will commit a crime) ② social characteristics (unemployment, etc.) ③ demographic characteristics (age composition) and ④ social control characteristics (police, etc.). From his study of 21 largest urban centres in U.S.A. he stated that the current range of police budgets and personnel does not account for much variation in crime rate and that crime rates are largely a function of demographic and social characteristics.

Jones (1974) has written a paper entitled, "The impact of crime rate changes on police protection expenditures in American cities". According to him, how much more or less cities spend on police protection this

year has nothing to do with how many more or less crimes occurred in the last one, two or three years. He reasoned that may be the decision makers consider the crime data invalid or they do not consider the casual relationship between shifts in police protection expenditures and later changes in crime incidence. American cities are not relying on past crime incidence experience in making present decisions on police protection expenditures.

According to a reporter (Indian Express 1978) the population of Delhi had increased many-fold over the years but the strength of the police force had not gone up proportionally. Kohli said that since Delhi was also the capital of the country, the police apart from carrying out their normal function of crime control and crime prevention had to guard important establishments and provide security to both foreign as well as other VIPs.

According to Saxena (1978) it had been proven historically that the strength and the efficiency of the police was never the sole factor in controlling crime. Other factors that were equally essential were the legislative, a system of justice which is simple, cheap and quick and a system of jail administration.

According to a reporter (Indian Express January 1980) inadequacy of the police force is so much in India that villagers have to take law into their own hands. Roughly

there is one policeman for every 800 persons in Indian cities whereas in England and America there is one for every 80 persons. Thus the average jurisdiction of a police station in India is around 200 sq miles, covering 100 villages and with 75000 persons. Barring places like Delhi and Calcutta sufficient facilities for scientific investigation are not available at State headquarters and the District headquarters. He further stated that political inference hampers and obstructs the investigation of crimes. In many cases criminals enjoy political patronage in exchange of votes. According to him the only solution to the problem is that the investigation wing of the police should be separated and placed under an independent authority of the status of the High Court or Supreme Court.

According to a reporter (Indian Express 1980) in his article, "Scientific approach to crime detection" had stated that the surest way to curtail crime is to ensure that crime does not pay. And with the latest developments in investigational techniques and the scientific aids now available for detection of crimes it may be asserted that it is virtually impossible for any criminal to escape undetected.

According to a Times of India correspondent (1980) political interference at every step of police functioning is

another factor undermining the efficiency of the police. Thus politicians can also be blamed partly for increasing the crime rate of an area.

According to a reporter (Statesman January 1982) malfunctioning of the police leads to higher incidence of crime. According to him often the crimes committed do not find a place even in police records. May be crimes are reported but not recorded by the police. Even then there is evidence of an increase in lawlessness which must cause grave concern. This could be because the police do not always have either the time or the will to take effective measures to criminal activity.

Greenberg, Kessler and Loflin (1983) in their paper have tried to find out the effect of police employment on crime. They found no evidence in their data that police employment reduces violence or property crime. It may be that police employment fails to reduce crime because some of it (e.g. homicide and burglary) commonly take place indoors, where police, who patrol in public, cannot see it. Suppose a criminal commits a crime in the street then he is sure to see that the officer is out of sight to avoid being caught. But the general knowledge that a police force exist may well discourage many people from breaking the law. Therefore abolition of the police could be met by sharp increases in crime even though marginal changes in the size of police force do not make much of a difference.

Dev (1987) had found that the police refuse to register about 65% of crime cases in the national capital, i.e. Delhi and that the policeman's repression and his corruption make a greater impact on the poorer individual than on the richer. It is always the rich who get undue attention. Anti-dacoity operation will have far greater chances of success if the link between the gangs and unscrupulous politicians is broken. Dacoity is not a mere law and order problem. It has a great deal to do with the administrative system, our approach to crime and with the kind of corruption, that prevails at various levels.



Thus I would like to conclude that the rate of crime and the strength of police force can be considerably reduced if the moral and temporal needs of the youth are taken care of through gainful employment, sports, TV, cinema, dance and drama. In other words, work, sports, food, clothes, shelter, education, entertainments, etc., will have to be nationalised in the immediate future to protect the people from various greeds and evil influences that lead to crime.

I.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Very few researchers have tried to treat variation in crimes as related to space. The present study is one such attempt towards this. The spatio-temporal analysis of crimes in Delhi provides a historical perspective into

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an understanding of urban society in general and metropolitan situation in specific.

The spatial aspect seeks to explore the relationship which might exist between high crime rates and specific regions in the city. In Indian cities, the spatially marginal areas are also socially marginal. Does this marginality have a bearing upon the occurrence of crimes is a question raised in this study. Further, the impact of segregation in the population on the crime pattern is assessed. Thus this study goes beyond identifying different aspects of distribution of various types of crimes into sorting out socio-economic correlation with crime.

1.4 OBJECTIVES

The objectives of this study are as follows:

- (i) To investigate the geography of crime in Delhi and to put Delhi in a proper perspective vis-a-vis other metropolitan cities;
- (ii) To look at the spatio-temporal variation in crime within Delhi metropolitan area;
- (iii) To identify a set of socio-economic parameters to help us to explain the observed pattern; and
- (iv) To statistically examine some of the hypothesized relations that exist between crime rate and the identified socio-economic parameters at micro level by taking the district of South Delhi for a detailed analysis.

1.5 HYPOTHESIS

Crime is a social deviance which often erupts to the surface largely as a result of underlying social

disharmony. The reasons for crime could be spatial, social, economic, psychological or a combination of these. Since not much work has been done in geography as related to crime, an attempt has been made to test as many hypothesis as possible. The hypothesis are as follows:

- (1) High density of population (i.e., overcrowding) leads to high crime rates.
- (2) Where the percentage of Scheduled Caste population and illiterate population to the total population is high there the crime rate is high and vice versa.
- (3) Where the percentage of marginal workers and non-workers to the total population is high there the crime rate is also high. Since non-workers include housewives, children and people above 60 years the percentage of male non-workers to the total population is also corelated with crime rates.
- (4) Where the segregation of Scheduled Caste population or non-Scheduled Caste population is high there crime rate is also high and vice versa.

I.6 DATA BASE

The present study is entirely based on secondary sources. There are three types of data. One set gives detailed information regarding population and various socio-economic variables that have bearing upon crime pattern. Second set pertains to details regarding various aspects of crime. And the third pertains to maps.

1.6.1 For the first set, data has been drawn from the following source:

Data regarding population and socio-economic variables for Delhi has been taken from District Census Handbook, Delhi. Census of India, 1981.

I.6.2 From the following sources it was possible to get data pertaining to crime:

- (1) Data for the study of crime in India (1950-1980) has been obtained from the publication, Crime in India which is published annually since 1954 by the Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India. This publication provides data on various aspects of crime in India and the States. Statistics are provided by the State Governments and are compiled in New Delhi by the Central Bureau of Investigations.
- (2) Year and monthwise data on crime for the six police districts of Delhi was taken from Research Cell Inspector, Police Headquarters, New Delhi. Crime data on Delhi was available for 1984, 1985 and 1986.
- (3) For the case study of South Delhi, police stationwise information was taken from the Headquarters of South District situated in Hauz Khas (1981 data).
- (4) In order to do correlation between the various socio-economic variables and crime for South Delhi it was necessary to have the list of charges, census towns and villages included in the beat of each police station. Thus the list of areas included in each police station of South Delhi was collected from the respective police stations. At present South Delhi consists of seventeen police stations (1988).
- (5) Some of the monthwise data (1972-1983) on crime for Delhi had been taken from the various volumes of Delhi Quarterly Digest—Economics and Statistics.

Note: All data on crime was collected for both total cognizable crime and the different categories of crime.

I.6.3 Maps were collected from the following sources:

- (1) Map of India with the State boundaries for the different years (1961, 1971 & 1981) has been taken from the Census of India, an India Government publication. It has been taken from Part II-A which deals with general population tables.
- (2) Map of Delhi Union Territory showing the village and census town boundaries was taken from the District Census Handbook, Delhi (1981).
- (3) The urban area of Delhi is divided into charges and census towns. Since the charge map was not included in the District Census Handbook, it had to be taken from the Deputy Registrar, Map Division, R.K.Puram, New Delhi. The charge map was taken according to 1981 census.
- (4) Delhi Union Territory is divided into six police districts. The map showing these districts was given by Research Cell Inspector, Police Headquarters, New Delhi (1987).

I.7 LIMITATION OF DATA

The crime statistics for India as a whole do not begin to cover the former Portuguese and French territories until 1964, viz., (1) Goa Daman & Diu; (2) Dadra & Nagar Haveli; and (3) Pondicherry. Accordingly the all India population figures for the period prior to that do not include the populations of these States. Secondly data was not available for urban and rural areas separately for the different States and Union Territories of India. Thus the differences in rural-urban crime pattern could not be analysed. Delhi Union Territory is divided into six districts. Crime data was available only at district

level. On the other hand socio-economic variables were available at the charge and village level. Hence this study would have been more meaningful if crime data too was available at charge and village level.

Why does under-reporting of crime take place?

While studying the criminal statistics at State level it is to be remembered that State Governments might interpret the law differently in different States. Secondly some State Governments may tend to under-report crime in order to avoid giving their States a bad image (Nayar 1975). Mc Lennan and Mc Lennan (1970) have attributed the variations in crime rates due to the fact that police practices and the quality of reporting vary from city to city. It is a basic criminological issue on which there is ample literature which establishes unequivocally that reported crime is only a small fraction of what really occurs. Even in developed societies where facilities for prompt and free reporting of crime is plentiful, it is estimated that the quantum of unreported or hidden crime is three to four times of what is officially taken cognizance of. The reasons for this phenomenon are manifold, and the devices for suppression ingenious. At the back of all hidden criminality lies the inherent secrecy of crime, its capacity to assume the mantle of respectability and the manipulations of the statistically oriented law-enforcement agencies. In our own society,

the magnitude of latent criminality is more because in addition to the reluctance of the average citizen to be involved with the police and the courts, the geographical and communication factors inhibit free reporting to a remarkable extent.

Leaving aside the miscellaneous category which is a mixture of various types of offences against person, property and the State and of varying degrees of seriousness, the bulk of crime relates to property, burglary and theft. They are reported only when the properties lost are substantial or when the offenders are known or caught in the act. The level of reporting differs in urban and rural areas. The more remote is the scene of crime from a police station, the less likely that the victim will undertake a long journey to the police station. The circumstances in which some crimes occur also inhibit free reporting as in the case of thefts on the railways, the reported figures of which constitute a very minute fraction of actuality. On the other hand, the exposure potential of serious crimes against person such as murder or grievous hurt is high because the victim experiences traumatic feeling and develops a desire for reprisal. Even so, the number of reported murders is only about half of what actually occur, a good many of them being treated as suicides or accidental or suspicious deaths. The

primitive medico-legal system in the country is partly responsible for this unfortunate situation. In remote rural tracts, caste loyalties, traditional inhibitions and the power structure successfully suppress a number of murders. Robberies are often converted into thefts: and dacoities which may involve wholesale ransacking of an entire village may be treated merely as a single crime. Thus the official figures for murder, dacoity and robbery may not be more than one-third of the actual incidence even at a very conservative estimate.

In kidnapping and abduction the official statistics are further out of focus. The incidents, even if reported, are not registered as criminal offences unless the culprits are named or the circumstances of disappearance clearly establish that an offence has really occurred. More often they are treated as cases of missing persons and closed after nominal inquiries. It is only when a child is recovered or when physical abduction is established through impeachable evidence that offences are registered and investigated with some semblance of vigour. Some categories of cheating and criminal breach of trust are generally reported and registered in urban areas but the whole range of such offences committed at higher socio-economic levels and in business circles are never brought to light. Thus the quantum of unreported crime (which is common to all

societies) is higher in the Indian context and varies anywhere between three to ten or fifteen times the official figures in respect of different categories of crime.

The extent of unreported crime is lowest in serious offences like murder and very large extending even upto ten times in cases of theft and fifteen to twenty times in cases of rape. (Nayar 1975). Even according to Singh (1976) in his article, "Violence against women" stated that rape is the least reported criminal offence in India not because its incidence is really low but because of the reluctance of parents to publicize the event. According to Dev (1987) the police refuse to register about 65 per cent of crime cases in the national capital. Hence dependable figures of crime can be obtained only through a survey conducted by the researcher. But such a survey is beyond the scope of this study.

In spite of all the under reporting the rate and incidence of crime has been on the increase. The increase in crime cases ever since Independence is not necessarily due to an actual increase but may be due to greater efficiency in data collection or extension of statistical coverage to new areas (Nayar 1975). According to Schmid(1960) one weakness in all crime statistics is the comparability of the data. The higher frequency of certain types of crimes in an area is attributed to greater opportunities like presence of banks, stores, warehouses, bicycles, etc.

In this study both the qualitative and quantitative methods have been used. The qualitative method involves the analysis of map and the quantitative method includes the use of various statistical methods.

The first step in this study is to place Delhi in a proper perspective. An attempt has been made to analyse the incidence and volume of crime (i.e., number of crimes per lakh of population) in India on a national basis over the period of 1950 to 1980. Firstly the total cognizable crime of India is seen for the period (1950-1980). Growth rate of population, crime and crime rate has been calculated to see if the rate of growth of population is greater than that of crime or vice versa. Then for the whole of India crime is studied under Important heads. For purposes of convenience and manageability in the study it would seem appropriate to aggregate the different crime categories into three major groups. These three groups are offences against public tranquility, offences against the person and offences against property. This study of total cognizable crime under important heads is for the period 1960 to 1980. The trend of various categories of crime is explained in relation to one another and in relation to various categories of crimes of other countries.

After having studied the trend of crime at the national level the question that rises is what about the States and Union Territories? Which are the States that emerge as more crime prone ones? And the most important of all is the position of Delhi among the States and Union Territories of India. The main aim of this part of the second chapter is to make a classification which would provide a comparative measure of the domestic security provided by the different States to their citizens. An attempt has also been made to know that overtime how the relative position of the States have changed. This study of crime in States covers a twenty year period from 1960 to 1980. The Indian States were divided into five regions. The data for the different States within each region was merged in order to find out which region was emerging as a crime prone one.

The last section of the second chapter deals with crime in major metropolitan cities of India. The period taken for this study is also from 1960 to 1980. Only 8 cities are taken into study. Though more than 8 metropolitan cities had been recognized by 1980. This was because in order to do a comparative study only those cities were taken which were already included as metropolitan cities for 1960.

The main aim of the third chapter is to study the spatio-temporal variation of crime in the different police districts of Delhi. An attempt has also been made to explain this variation as due to the varying socio-economic conditions prevalent in the different police districts of Delhi. First the total cognizable crime of Delhi is studied over the period of 1961 to 1981.

Delhi is divided into six main police districts. These are Central, North, East, New Delhi, West and South. Percentage share of crime in each district is studied for total and different categories for the period 1984 to 1986. The different categories of crime are divided into four main groups. These are riots, offences against the person, property offences without violence per 10,000 of population and property offences with violence. An attempt has been made to find out in which district which category of crime is the most and why? This is followed by the district ranking of crime and other socio-economic variables. The socio-economic variables taken into consideration are Scheduled Caste and illiterate population, non-workers and marginal workers. Density of population is also calculated for the various districts which is an indicator of poverty or prosperity.

The crime data for Delhi is for the Delhi Union Territory as a whole. Thus the police districts comprise

of villages, census towns and charges. The socio-economic data is given village and charge-wise in the District Census Handbook for Delhi. In order to see which villages and which charges fall in each district, the police district map of Delhi was super imposed by the administrative divisions map of 1981. Since the map from the district census handbook does not include the charges, the police district map of Delhi had again been super imposed by the charge map of Delhi which was given by the Deputy Registrar, Map Division, R.K.Puram, New Delhi. Some adjustments had to be done so that each police district did not have some half villages and charges. This is shown very clearly on the map of Delhi (Fig III.3).

Delhi urban area consists of New Delhi Municipal Corporation (N.D.M.C.), Delhi Cantt. and Delhi Municipal Corporation (D.M.C.). NDMC and DMC were further divided into charges. Now the problem was that some charges fell in a certain district whereas some in another. The chargewise area was not given. Only the total area of NDMC and DMC was given. From the charge map, the area of each charge was calculated by dividing each charge into triangles, rectangles or squares. Then the area was calculated by applying different formulae. The list of area of each charge (km^2) is given in Appendix I. Now it was possible to calculate the density of population of each charge.

Area of villages were given in hectares. These were converted in km^2 so that the area of each district could be calculated in km^2 .

The segregation index has also been calculated in order to see whether high segregation of Scheduled caste or non-Scheduled Caste population leads to more crime. For this, block level data was taken for the year 1981. Segregation index has only been calculated for urban areas, because block level data on Scheduled Caste population was available only for the urban areas of Delhi.

An attempt has been made to correlate crime with season over the period 1972 to 1986. Since it is very important to study the police strength of a city while studying crime rates, the data regarding police strength of various districts had also been collected from Police Headquarters, New Delhi. Secondly police strength was also calculated per 10,000 of population to see which district has the maximum police force per unit of population. Lastly police strength per 10,000 of population was correlated with the crime rates of each district in order to see if the rising crime rate can be attributed to inadequacy of police force or not.

Newspaper reporting was also done in order to find out if there is only positive co-relation between official data and the data from newspaper reporting.

Or is it that mostly the crimes from the posh areas like New Delhi and South Delhi are published? In order to find out this Pearson's coefficient of correlation was calculated to find if there is any correlation or not?

The fourth chapter deals with South Delhi taken as a case study to further explain how the socio-economic parameters affect the crime rate of an area. In 1988 South Delhi consisted of seventeen police stations. But the latest data for socio-economic variables was available only for 1981. So a correlation was done with the crime and socio-economic data for 1981. In 1981 South Delhi consisted of only fourteen police stations and crime data also pertained to them. Since there was no map available showing the demarcations of police stations of South Delhi, the list of areas included in each of the seventeen police stations of South Delhi had to be collected from the respective police stations. In 1981 Defence Colony and Kotla Mubarakpur had only one police station which was situated in Defence Colony and Kalkaji, Greater Kailash and Dr. Ambedkar Nagar had only one police station located in Kalkaji against five police stations, one in each of the above colonies, by 1988. Thus the areas had to be grouped accordingly since the data on crime was available for fourteen police stations and not seventeen.

The socio-economic data given in the District Census Handbook, Delhi (1981) is for charges and villages and census towns. The list of areas included in each charge is given in the District Census Handbook. And on comparing this list with that of the list of areas of each police station it was possible to make a list of charges, census towns and villages that got included in each of the fourteen police stations (Table IV.1). The nineteen categories of crime have been aggregated into seven main groups. These are offences against public tranquility, major and minor offences against the person, property offences with and without violence, accidents and other miscellaneous crimes and acts. The data on crime was then correlated with the various socio-economic variables as taken from the District Census Handbook, Delhi (1981). Then it was possible to explain how the various socio-economic parameters affect the crime rates of an area.

Now in the micro level study of South Delhi segregation index has been calculated for the fourteen police stations. Segregation index was correlated with the crime rate per 10,000 of population of each police station.

Lastly police force per 10,000 of population is calculated. This is then correlated with crime rates in order to find out if an area having a high crime rate has been provided with less of police force or not.

I.9 SCHEME OF CHAPTERS

This study is organized into 5 chapters. The first chapter deals with the introduction, conceptual and analytical framework as well as literature review. The second chapter deals with how the crime rates vary for different States, Union Territories and cities of India and then places Delhi in a proper perspective.

The third chapter deals with a detailed study of Delhi alone. This is done by dividing Delhi into six main police districts. The crime rates are calculated for each district and then tried to explain the existing patterns with a set of socio-economic parameters.

The fourth chapter deals with South Delhi taken as a case study to further explain how the socio-economic parameters affect the crime rate of an area.

The fifth chapter concludes with the findings of the study.

A brief summary of the entire study is also provided.

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CHAPTER II
SPATIAL PERSPECTIVES ON CRIMES IN INDIA

II.1 INTRODUCTION

The right to life and the right to property are the two universally accepted essentials of democracy; but paradoxically enough there are no complete safeguards to them at the present moment in our Indian Democratic Republic. Conditions of unemployment and semi-starvation particularly in the rural areas have created confusion and rebellious tendencies in the people (Katara 1971). In the major cities of India the problem is even more worse. According to Chengappa (1988), "What we are facing today in cities is a war like situation. The massive influx of population has put civic services on the brink. If our reactions are not quick enough, we will be heading for disaster." Chengappa (1988) has further stated that in the cities the wide display of wealth by a few in the midst of appalling misery, is heightening tension. Riots break out at the slightest provocation and crime graphs spiral and to forget the anomalies youth take to drugs. Every year an estimated five million people in India leave their villages and come to cities in search of employment. The result is a four-fold increase in the country's urban population — from 56 million in 1951 to over 230 million in 1987. The spiralling urban population now account for a fourth of the country's people. And thus

instead of becoming "engines of development" cities are heading for a total breakdown. To check the exodus of people from the rural areas to the cities it will be necessary to create vast avenues of employment by planning and executing a countrywide waterway network for the development of agriculture, cattle, fisheries, cottage industries, farming, etc.

In Delhi, the sweeping flyovers and verdant parks contrast starkly with the ghetto like conditions that exist on its periphery. Thus it is true what Clinard (1964) had said that crime is increasing at a faster rate in cities than in the rural areas.

The following analysis deals with how the crime rates vary for different states, Union Territories and cities of India and then places Delhi in a proper perspective. This Chapter is divided into three parts. First part deals with crime in India as a whole. This is followed by crime in States and Union Territories. The last part deals with crime in the major metropolitan cities of India.

II.2 NATIONAL TRENDS (1950-1980)

The major purpose of this section of the Chapter is to analyse national trends in crime over the period (1950-1980). This period has been taken since this study is based upon the post independence period. Secondly,

though the data at the time of writing were available up to 1982, data was taken only till 1980 so that a study on national trends in crime over 3 decades could be undertaken.

II.2.1 Total cognizable crime

The bed-rock of our penal system is the Indian Penal Code (IPC) which is a combination of western scientific outlook and oriental sensitivity. The Code covers a vast range of antisocial behaviour in relation to the state of society as it existed more than a hundred years ago. The Indian Penal Code makes a broad classification of crimes against property, person and state. Some crimes are cognizable and some are not (Rao 1983).

Total cognizable crime covers not only all of the crime categories (i.e., murder, kidnapping and abduction, dacoity, robbery, burglary, thefts, riots, criminal breach of trust, cheating and counterfeiting) but also another separate category of miscellaneous crimes. It does not suffice to look into an increase or decrease in the occurrence of crime along but one should also ask what is the proportion of crime in relation to population.

Density of population is directly involved in all statistics of crime (Mc Lennan and Mc Lennan 1970) and it is obvious that incidence of crime does not make any sense unless and until it is compared with the population figures.

Table II.1 gives the population figures and total cognizable crimes from 1950 to 1980. In this period of thirty years, the incidence of crime has increased tremendously. However, it is seen that from 1950 onwards crime has been generally on the decline till 1956. Thereafter it has been increasing at a steady pace (Fig.II.1). Nayar (1975) from his study on violence and crime in India also noted this dramatic decline. An interesting feature of our crime statistics is the near constancy of crime rates measured in terms of number of crimes per hundred thousand population. An increase in the total incidence of crime is inevitable in the context of growth of population, but if the crime rate does not register a significant rise, the content of criminality can be deemed constant and need not be viewed with alarm.

In the Indian context, the rise in crime rate may not be very prominent, but its fluctuations are certainly disconcerting. It suggests inter alia that the relationship between crime and population is not monotonic and that there are other undetermined factors which are at play (Rao 1983). From Fig II.1 it is also clear that the rate of crime does not show a smooth curve but has many fluctuations. But the most important decline that took place during the post independence criminal history of India is the decline that took place

ALL INDIA CASES OF TOTAL COGNIZABLE CRIME

YEAR	POPULATION in million	TOTAL COGNIZABLE CRIME CASES	
		ACTUAL	PER LAKH
1950	348.2	635508	182.5
1951	360.0	649728	180.4
1952	367.12	612010	166.7
1953	374.4	601964	160.7
1954	381.81	556912	145.8
1955	389.38	535236	137.4
1956	197.1	585217	147.3
1957	405.0	603550	149.0
1958	412.98	614184	148.7
1959	421.16	620326	147.2
1960	429.51	606367	141.1
1961	438.02	625651	142.8
1962	447.74	674466	150.6
1963	457.68	658830	143.9
1964	468.99	759013	161.8
1965	479.40	751615	156.7
1966	490.05	694733	162.1
1967	500.94	881981	176.0
1968	512.07	861962	168.3
1969	523.44	845167	161.4
1970	535.06	955422	178.5
1971	551.2	952581	172.8
1972	563.5	984773	174.8
1973	575.9	1077181	187.0
1974	588.3	1192277	202.7
1975	600.8	1160520	193.2
1976	613.6	1093897	178.4
1977	625.8	1267004	202.5
1978	638.4	1344968	210.7
1979	651.0	1336168	205.2
1980	663.6	1368529	206.2

Source: Crime in India (1960, 1970 & 1980)
A Government of India Publication

TOTAL COGNIZABLE CRIMES IN INDIA (1950-1980)

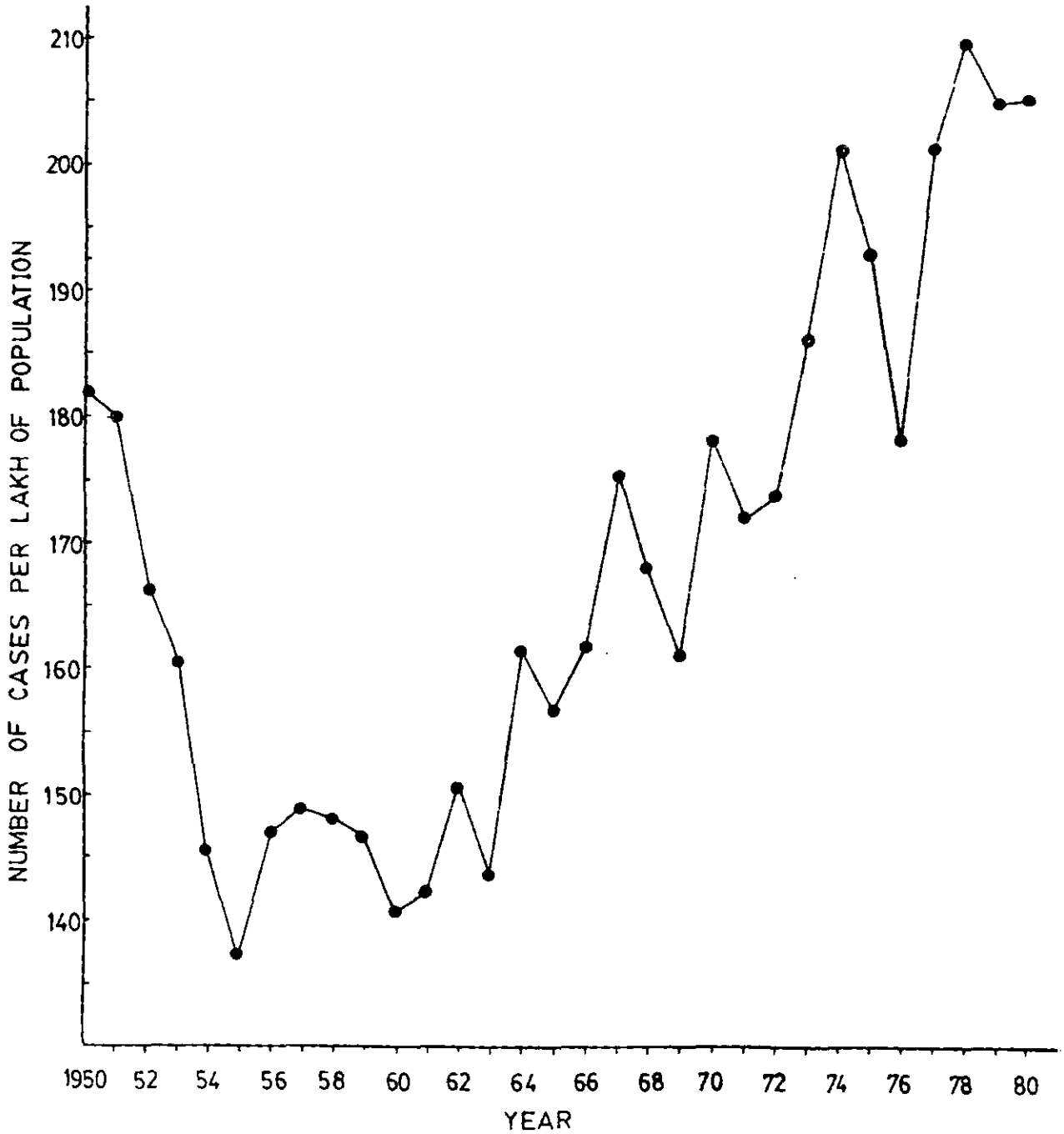


fig. II-1

during emergency after which the rate increased at a fast pace and reached a peak of two hundred and ten cases per lakh of population by 1978 (Fig II.1). Even Rao (1983) noticed the rising trend of crime in the sixties which was maintained till 1975. And then on 25 June 1975, the internal emergency was declared. According to him its impact on crime appears to have been felt immediately as witnessed in that year and a remarkable fall in the succeeding year. The suspension of fundamental rights, arbitrary law-enforcement and a pervading fear psychosis contributed unmistakably to this result. After the spectacular fall in 1975-76 there was an equally spectacular leap in the two years following restoration of democratic rights. (Table II.1). This is because after emergency there was a sudden spurt of crime all over India with millions exploiting the new freedom as a license to indulge in all kinds of crime (Indian Express August 1977). According to Rao (1983) the escalation of crime and violence in the 2 years following the lifting of the emergency suggests that democratic freedom demands a greater sense of responsibility of the rulers and a high degree of self restraint on the part of the ruled. Are higher crime rates then the inevitable price which society has to pay for a democratic system?

During the period under study the crime has increased from about six hundred thousand cases in 1950 to thirteen hundred thousand by 1980 (Table II.1). It

means that crime has more than doubled within the gap of 30 years. According to an article in Statesman (January 1982) India is experiencing widespread lawlessness. Hardly a day passes without serious crimes being reported from somewhere in the country. It is not only in India that the rate of increase in crime is more than the increase in population (Fig II.2) but crime is increasing at an alarming rate all over the world. For instance in a developed country like England crime has increased over thirteen times in the period from 1900 to 1974; in Sweden the rate went up by 44%; in Netherland the quota increased by 54%; in Germany by 26%; in Austria by 25% and in Italy by 40%. The fate of underdeveloped countries is no better. The countries like Thailand, South Africa, Korea, Yugoslavia, etc., have all shown a tremendous increase in crime rate (Singh 1984).

Fig II.2 gives the percentage change in population, crimes and crime rate over 1950. Taking 1950 as the base year, growth rate has been calculated till 1980 taking an interval of five years. This has been calculated in order to provide an analysis of national trends in crime and population over the period 1950-1980.

Till 1970 the growth rate of population is much more than the growth rate of crime. And after 1970 the growth rate of crime is greater than the growth rate of

INDIA CHANGES IN POPULATION, CRIME AND CRIME RATE OVER 1950

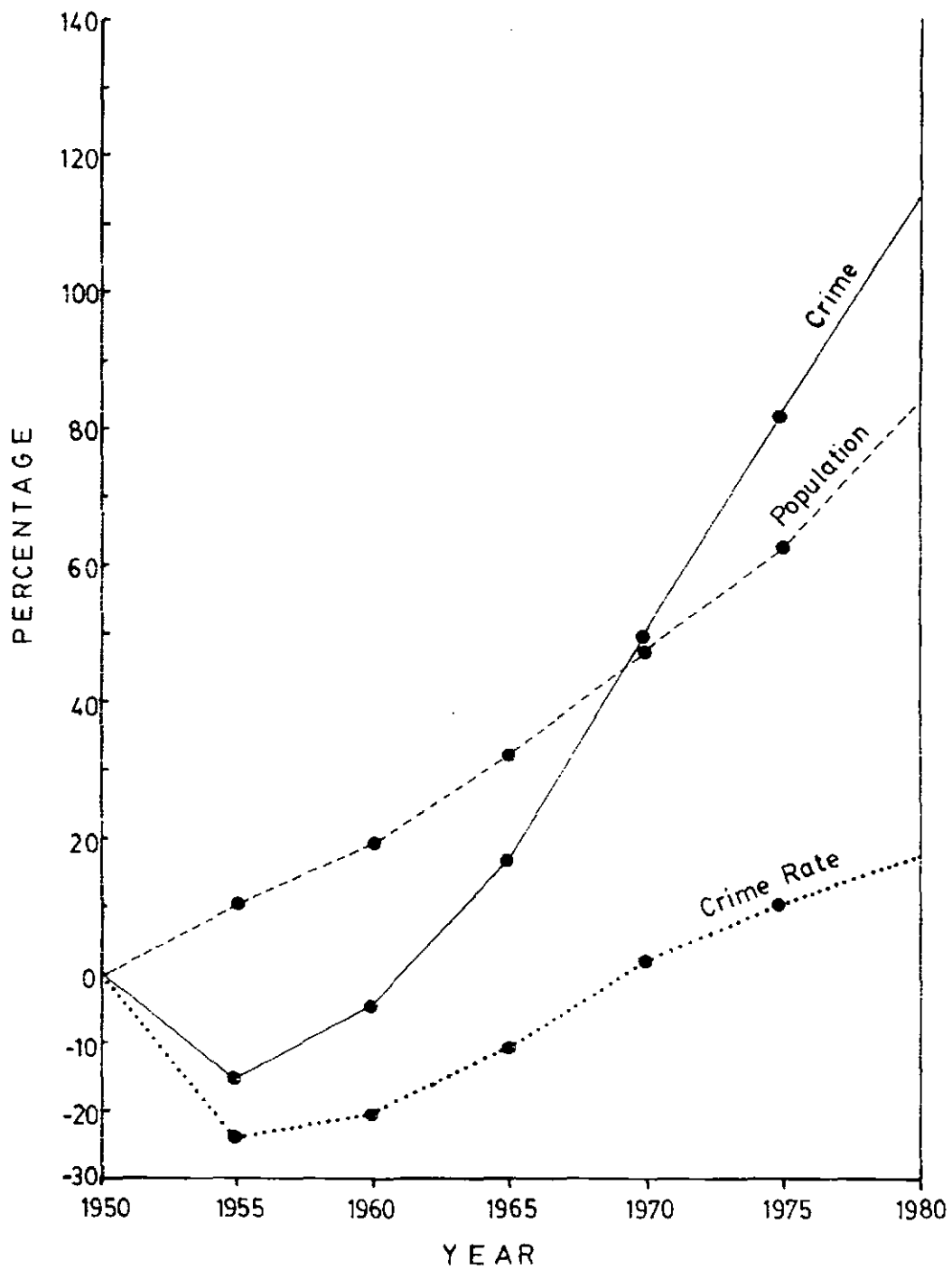


fig.II-2

population. The high population growth rate till 1970 has been attributed to a fall in the death rate and not by a rise in the birth rate. Death rate has reduced due to better medical facility (Aggarwal 1979).

II.2.2 Crime under important heads

Following is the distinction between different crime categories on the basis of their description in the Indian Penal Code as compiled (compiled) by Nayar (1975).

Rioting: Section 146 in Chapter VIII of the Indian Penal Code, devoted to 'of offences against the public tranquility' reads: "Whenever force or violence is used by an unlawful assembly, or by any member thereof, in prosecution of the common object of such assembly, every member of such assembly is guilty of the offence of rioting." In other words, as a phenomenon distinguished from an unlawful assembly, rioting occurs when such an assembly actually employs force against persons or violence against persons as well as inanimate objects.

Kidnapping and abduction: Section 361 in Chapter XVI on 'of offences affecting the human body', says of kidnapping: "Whoever takes or entices any minor under sixteen years of age if a male, or under eighteen years of age if female, or any person of unsound mind, out of the keeping of the lawful guardian of such minor or person of unsound mind, without the consent of such

guardian, is said to kidnap such minor or person from lawful guardianship." Regarding abduction Section 362 states: "Whoever by force compels, or by any deceitful means induces, any person to go from any place, is said to abduct that person." Central to the offence of abduction is the law of force, compulsion or deceit.

Murder: Section 300 in Chapter XVI on 'of offences affecting the human body', defines murder, subject to some exceptions such as those relating to provocation and self-defence, as basically the causing of death of another person with the intention of causing it.

Cheating: Section 415 in Chapter XVII on 'of offences against property', reads:

"Whoever by deceiving any person, fraudulently or dishonestly induces the person so deceived to deliver any property to any person, or to consent that any person shall retain any property, or intentionally induces the person so deceived to do or omit to do anything which he would not or omit if he were not so deceived, and which act or omission causes or is likely to cause damage or harm to that person in body, mind, reputation, or property, is said to cheat."

Counterfeiting: Section 28 in Chapter II on 'General Explanations' in the Indian Penal Code, states: "A person is said to 'counterfeit' who causes one thing to resemble another thing intending by means of that resemblance to practise deception or knowing it to be likely that deception will thereby be practised." In addition

to this broader definition, Chapter XII and XVII of the Code cover counterfeiting more specifically in respect of coins, currency notes and property marks.

Criminal breach of trust: Section 405 in Chapter XVII on 'of offences against property', states:

"Whoever, being in any name entrusted with property or with any dominion over property, dishonestly misappropriates or converts to his own use that property or dishonestly uses or disposes of that property in violation of any direction of law prescribing the mode in which such trust is to be discharged, or of any legal contract, express or implied, which he has made touching the discharge of such trust, or wilfully suffers any other person to do so, commits 'criminal breach of trust'."

Housebreaking: Section 445 in Chapter XVII on 'of offenses against property lists 6 ways of illegal entry and characterises a person as committing 'house-breaking' if he uses any one of them.

Theft: Section 378 in Chapter XVII on 'of offenses against property', reads: "Whoever, intending to take dishonestly any moveable property out of the possession of any person without that person's consent, moves that property in order to such taking is said to commit theft." In the light of this, the terms 'theft of cattle' and 'ordinary thefts' are self-explanatory. It is not certain whether crime statistics on theft cover acquisition of property through extortion, though the comprehensiveness of the term 'robbery' in another context would lead one

to believe that they do. Extortion is defined in Section 383.

"Whoever intentionally puts any person in fear of any injury to that person, or to any other, and thereby dishonestly induces the person so put in fear to deliver to any person any property or valuable security or anything signed or sealed may be converted into a valuable security, commits 'extortion'."

Robbery: Section 390 of Chapter XVII on 'of offences against property', states:

"In all robberies there is either theft or extortion; theft is 'robbery' if, in order to the committing of the theft, or in committing the theft, or in carrying away or attempting to carry away property obtained by the theft, the offender, for the end voluntarily causes or attempts to cause to any person death or hurt, or wrongful restraint, or fear of instant death or of instant hurt, or of instant wrongful restraint."

A somewhat similar description is used for extortion in the same section. Robbery is thus a special category of theft or extortion, involving actual violence or fear of its imminent occurrence; in contrast, theft would be understood to take place stealthily, avoiding confrontation with the property owner.

Dacoity: Section 391 in Chapter XVII states:

"When five or more persons conjointly commit or attempt to commit a robbery, or where the whole number of persons, conjointly committing or attempting to commit a robbery, and persons, present and aiding such commission or attempt, amount to five or more, every person so committing, attempting or aiding is said to commit, 'dacoity'."

Thus, dacoity is essentially robbery where five or more persons are involved in it.

The following table draws out the elements of similarity and difference among the different categories of crime.

DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF CRIME

General nature of offences	Force or Violence	
	not involved	involved
	Less than 5 persons involved	Less than 5 persons involved More than 5 persons involved
Against public tranquility	-	- Riots
Against the person	Kidnapping	Abduction - Murder
Against property	Theft (cattle and ordinary) House-breaking Cheating Counterfeiting and Criminal Breach of Trust	Robbery Dacoity

Source: B.R.Nayar, Violence and Crime in India. Delhi: The Macmillan Company of India Ltd., 1975.

II.2.3 Major categories of crimes

For purposes of convenience and manageability, in this study crimes have been aggregated into three major groups, viz.,

(1) Offences against public tranquility: The only category of crime in this group is that of riots.

(2) Offences against the person: The two crime categories included in this group are: (i) murder; and (ii) kidnapping and abduction.

(3) Offences against property: This group consists of eight categories of crime. For purposes of disaggregate analysis, this group can be divided into three sub-groups.

(a) Property offences without violence: This sub-group consists of house-breaking, thefts of cattle, and ordinary thefts. Since it forms the overwhelming bulk of offences against property, no separate analysis will be provided for this sub-group.

(b) Fraudulent practices: This sub-group consists of three crime variables: (i) Cheating; (ii) Criminal breach of trust; and (iii) Counterfeiting. It stands differentiated from the other two sub-groups in that it is characterised by the use of chicanery and dishonest means rather than physical entry or removal of property. This sub-group, like sub-group (a) above also constitutes only a small part of the broad group of offences against property (Nayar, 1975).

Offences against public tranquility

The incidents of rioting has been on the increase over the two decades that is from 1961-1981 (Table II.2). Between 1961 and 1971 number of cases increased by at least

ALL INDIA CASES OF RIOTS

Year	No. of cases	Cases per lakh of population
1961	27199	6.21
1966	34696	7.08
1971	64134	11.6
1976	63175	10.4
1981	110361	16.1

Source: Crime in India (1960, 1970 & 1980)
A Government of India Publication
and computations by the writer.

Table II.3

ALL INDIA CASES OF OFFENSES AGAINST THE PERSON
(MURDER & KIDNAPPING)

Year	No. of offenses against person		Murder cases	
	Actual	Per lakh	Actual	Per lakh
1961	17886	4.08	11188	2.55
1966	20515	4.19	12631	2.58
1971	25827	4.7	16180	2.9
1976	27923	4.5	16673	2.7
1981	36560	5.3	22727	3.3

Source: Same as Table II.2

Table II.4

ALL INDIA CASES OF OFFENSES AGAINST PROPERTY

Year	No. of offenses against property		Property offenses with violence (Robbery & Dacoity)		No. of fraudulent practices	
	Actual	Per lakh	Actual	Per lakh	Actual	Per lakh
1961	393005	89.73	10641	2.43	26891	6.14
1966	496897	101.39	13402	2.73	34614	7.06
1971	562929	102.1	29595	5.3	32323	5.9
1976	606808	98.9	28884	4.7	44131	7.2
1981	656568	95.9	37622	5.5	39347	5.7

Source: Same as at Table II.2

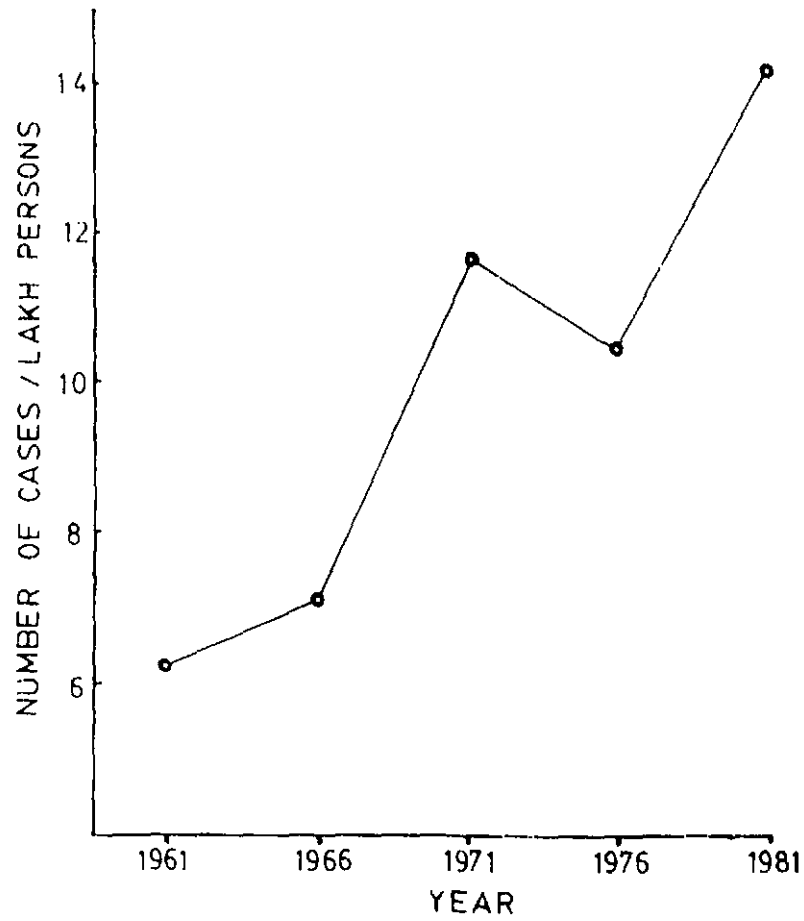
2.5 times. Whereas between 1971 and 1981 it has only doubled. The total incidence of riots in 1976 is even less than that of 1971. This is because on 25th June 1975, the internal emergency was declared and its impact on riots appears to have been felt immediately, as witnessed by a remarkable fall in the succeeding year. The escalation of riots (Fig II.3) following the lifting of the emergency may be due to the people using the new freedom as an easy way to indulge in all types of crime. When the riot cases per lakh of population is observed it has been found that within a gap of 20 years the riot cases have increased three-fold.

Offences against the person

Offences against the person includes murder, kidnapping and abduction. The incidence of these crimes have been stable till 1966 (Fig II.4 and Table II.3). After 1966 there is a sharp upward trend for this group of offences just as there was in the case of riots. Again it is found that there is a decline by 1976 and again a rise by 1981.

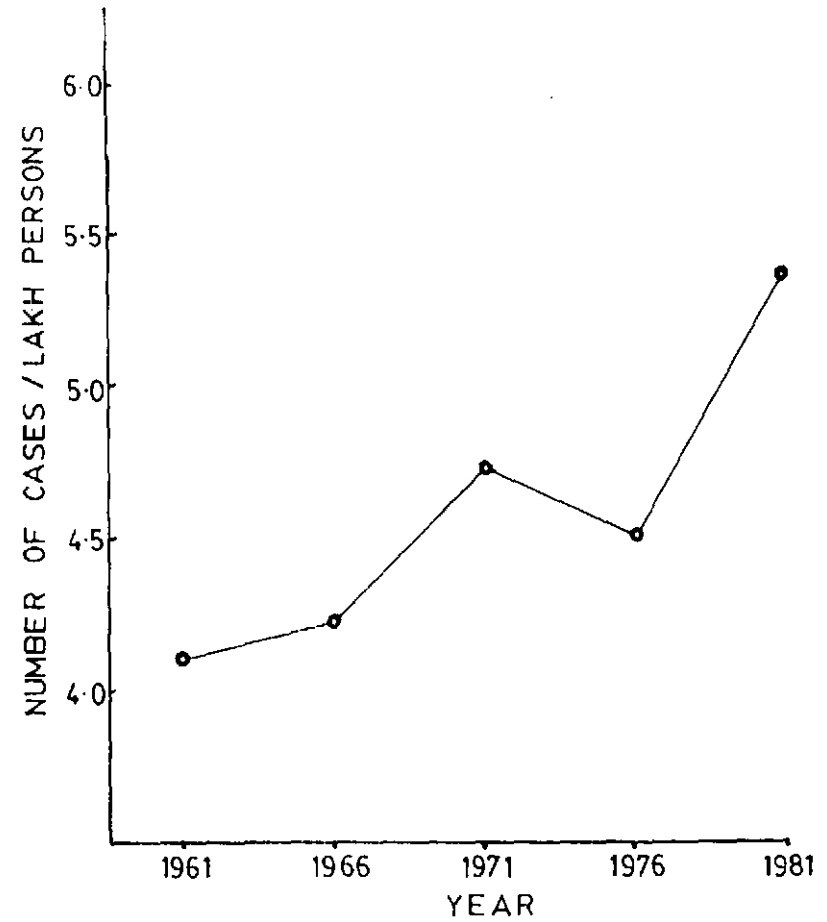
Generally, the trend for murders follows remarkably closely, the pattern for the crime group of offences against a person. Despite the increase in murders apparent after 1966, the incidents of murder are not excessively high in India. Comparative data shows that

RIOTS IN INDIA



OFFENSES AGAINST THE PERSON IN INDIA

(MURDER & KIDNAPPING)



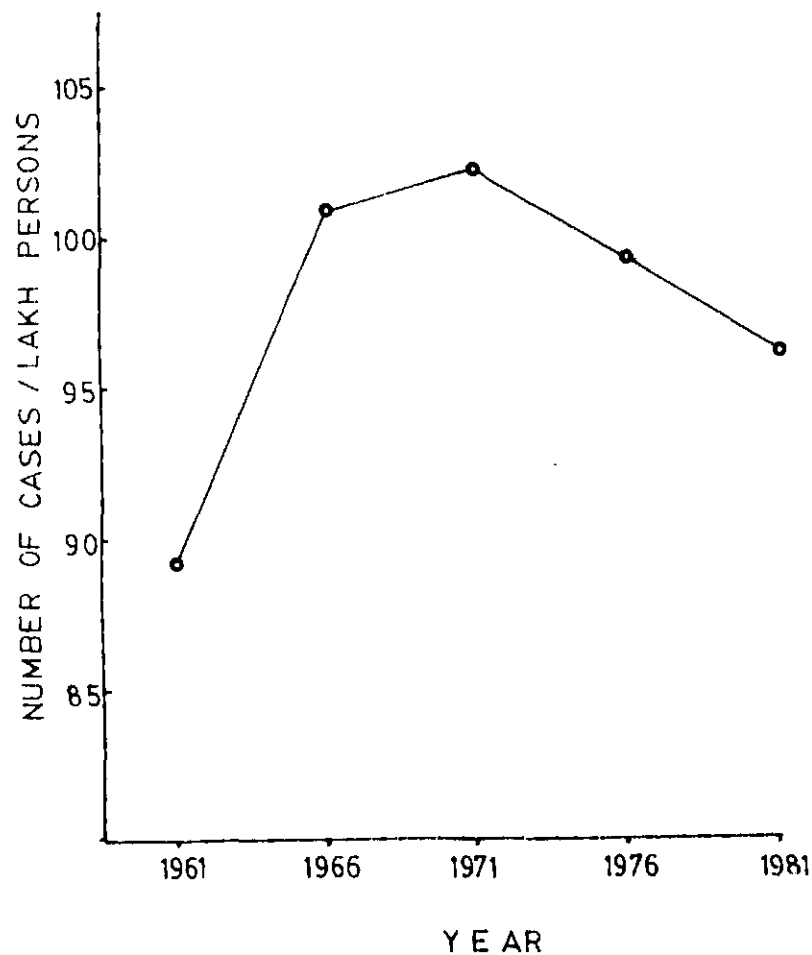
in 1961 the incidents of murder in India were 2.55 cases per lakh of population. The corresponding figures for the United States of America was 4.78. Some figures for the same year are as follows: Egypt 7.72; France 7.32; Pakistan 7.26; Japan 2.78 and United Kingdom 0.93 (Rao 1967).

All offences against property

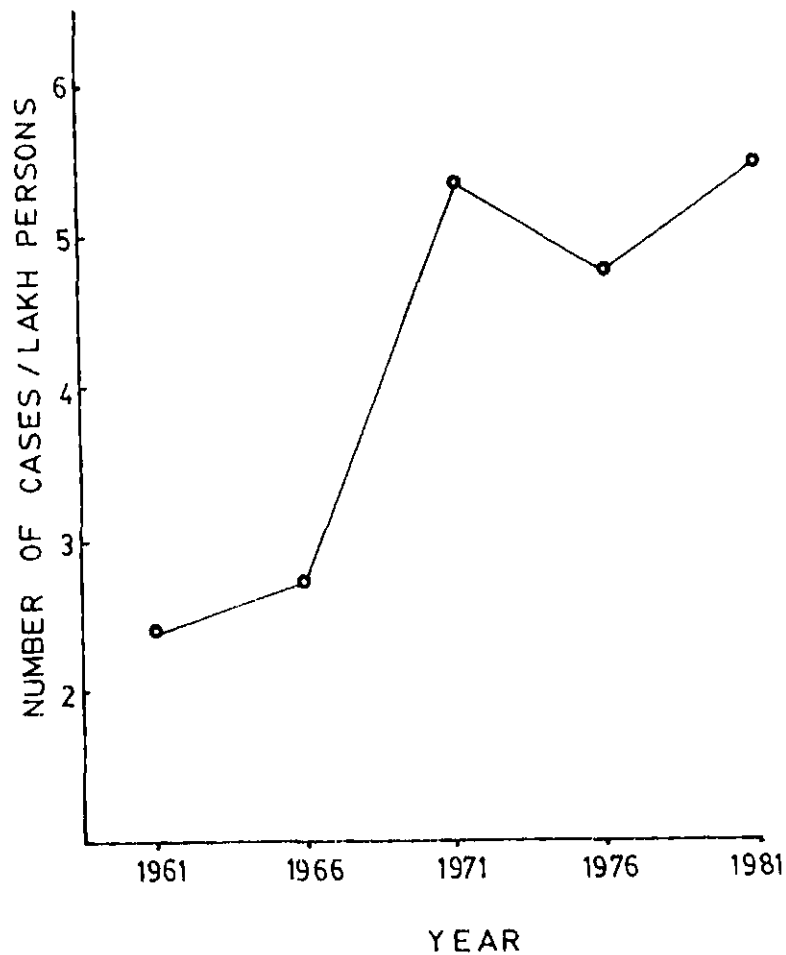
This group of offences covering 8 different categories of crime, shows for the years 1961-1981 an almost inverted U shaped pattern centred at 1971 (Fig II.5). Since the category of property offences without violence constitutes a major part of all offences against property, it is assumed that the trend line for it is similar to that of the group as a whole. As for property offences with violence are concerned in a general way, the graph for them (Fig II.6) follows the outline of the pattern of the graph showing riots and offences against the person, i.e., the trend line moves up till 1971 and then drops by 1976 and then rises up again.

As for fraudulent practices are concerned it is found that it does not follow a similar pattern to that of riots, offences against person and robbery and dacoity. The trend line shows an M shaped pattern with 2 peaks in 1966 and 1976 (Fig II.7). According to Nayar (1975) the crime groups of all offences against property and its various sub-groups share the same general characteristics

ALL OFFENCES AGAINST PROPERTY IN INDIA



PROPERTY OFFENSES WITH VIOLENCE IN INDIA (ROBBERY & DACOITY)



FRAUDULENT PRACTICES IN INDIA

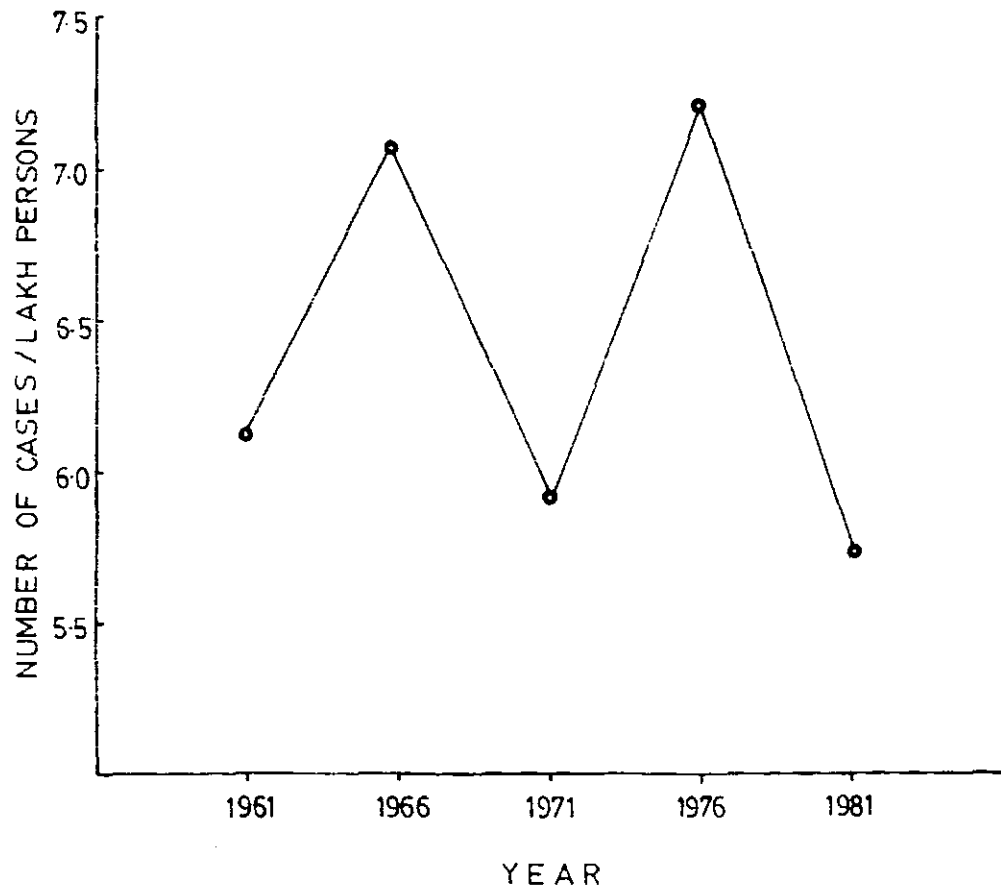


fig. II.7

for the period 1953-1970. He, thus, concluded that as social behaviour these different types of property offences are all responsive fundamentally to the same social forces, at least at the national level. This statement is very much in contradiction with the present study since the pattern for the crime group of all offences against property and its various sub-groups do not share the same general characteristics.

At this juncture, it is appropriate to quote Rao (1983) when he notes that

"While the true nature of crime be it robbery murder, theft or defalcation does not change with the passage of time, the circumstances in which it occurs, opportunities which facilitate it and the motives and pressures which lead to it are continuously changing."

On a comparative basis again it seems that in the case of property offences as in the case of offences against the person, the incidence in India is not relatively high. In 1961 the incidence in India for all property offences ~~minus~~ fraudulent practices is 83.59 cases per lakh of population (Table II.4). Against this, the figures per lakh of population for other countries were: United Kingdom 1510.55; Japan 1121.41; USA 982.49 and France 807.97. On the other hand, the incidences in Pakistan were lower than in India, viz., 67.63 cases per lakh of population (Rao 1983). The disparity perhaps

reflects different definitions of what constitutes crime or perhaps differential capabilities in terms of police control and reporting. Most importantly, it may be a reflection of the general disparity in economic development between the Indian sub-continent and other countries. (Nayar 1975).

II.3 CRIME IN STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES (1960-1980)

After having studied the trend of crime at the national level the question that arises is what about the States and Union Territories? Which are the States that emerge as more crime-prone ones? The most important of all, from the view point of the present study is the position of Delhi among the States and Union Territories of India. The main aim of this part of the study is to make a classification which provides a comparative measure of the domestic security provided by the different States to their citizens. An attempt has also been made to know that over time how the relative position of the States have changed. This study covers a twenty year period from 1960 to 1980. This period was taken prior to that the States were reorganised only in 1957. Though data are available till 1982 the analysis is done for the data upto 1980 so that a decadal growth rate of crime could be worked out.

Hitherto both States and Union Territories would be mentioned simply as States. In this section an attempt has been made to classify the 31 States on the basis of total incidence of crime for the three years (1960, 1970 and 1980). But since the actual number of crimes does not make any sense the rate of crime per lakh of population has also been calculated so that it is possible to know how large a proportion of population in one manner or another has adopted a criminal way of life (Thorsson 1983). In this comparative analysis the 31 States are divided into 5 blocks, viz., very high, high, medium, low, very low in respect of the total rate of crime per lakh of population. The measure employed in the comparative examination is the twenty year average for the total rate of crime and the division of the 31 States into 5 blocks is made with specific reference to the all India average for twenty years.

The procedure used in classifying the States is to take the all India average, double this figure and divide it into 5 blocks: very low 0-20 per cent; low 20-40 percent; medium 40-60 percent; high 60-80 percent; very high above 80 per cent. Any procedure to classify data obviously has its merits and demerits; the chief merit of the procedure used here is that it classifies States on the basis of their relationship to the national

average (the classification attempted here is similar to the one as attempted by Nayar (1975)).

In addition to the ranking of the States, and their classification into 5 blocks on the basis of the twenty year average for each State information is included about the rank of the State for the individual years (i.e. 1960, 1970 and 1980). This is done in order to see the extent to which a State's mean ranking corresponds with its annual record and equally to determine the persistence or otherwise from year to year of a State's crime level.

Furthermore, the State's mean growth rate of crime over the twenty year period is also provided as well as its rank on the basis of this mean increase.

II.3.1 Incidence of crime in the States and Union Territories

The total incidence of crime in 1960 varied from 33 in Lakshadweep to 77000 in Madhya Pradesh. In 1970 it varied from 28 in Lakshadweep to 235000 in Uttar Pradesh. In 1980 it varied from 15 in Lakshadweep to 198000 in Uttar Pradesh. Let me now examine the States where there is a high incidence of crime (Fig II.8). Classifying the States into quartiles will not be judicious: so what has been done is that after arranging the States in ascending order, they are simply divided into 3 groups by making a visual

INDIA

INCIDENCES OF CRIME IN STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES

400 0 400 kms.

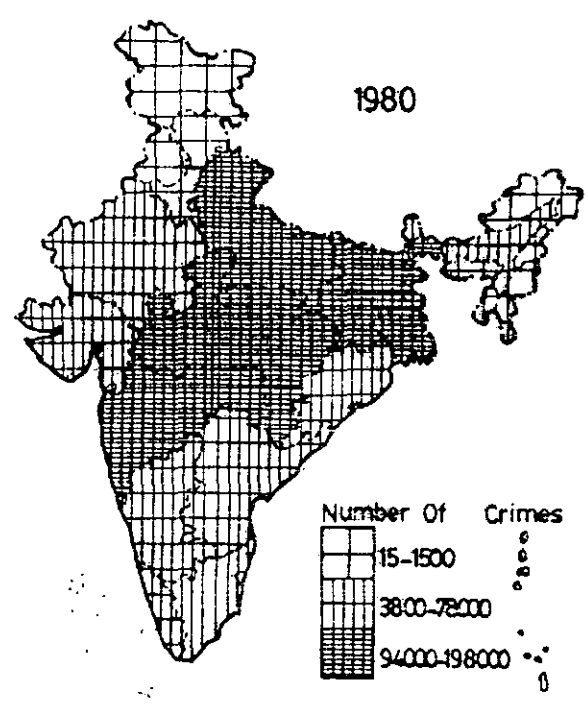
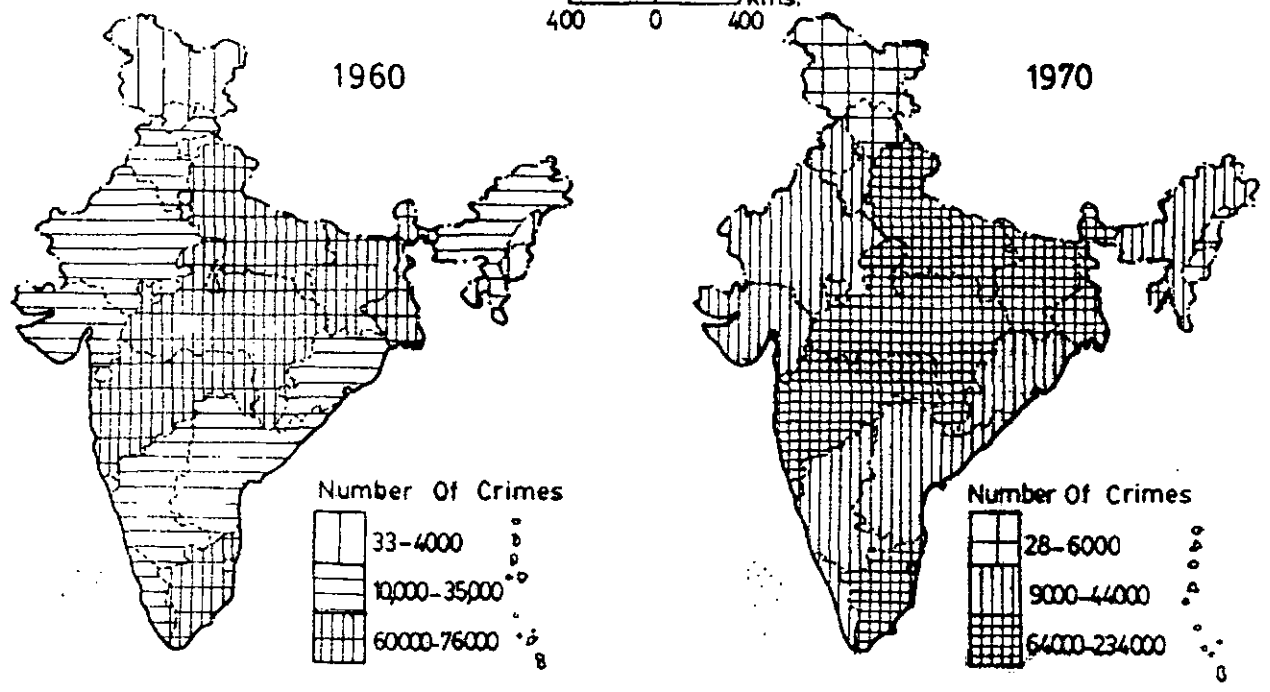


fig. II-8

determination of the quartiles. It is important to keep this in mind that on classifying the States it has been found that some States having a certain incidence of crime may fall in high group for 1960. Whereas with the same incidence of crime the same State would have only been included in the category of medium group for 1970 and 1980.

The whole of central India has a high incidence of crime including West Bengal from the east and Maharashtra from the west. This phenomenon has been noted for all the three decades. The whole of north, west and south India has a medium incidence of crime except for Tamil Nadu, which has a high incidence of crime. In 1960 the incidence was maximum in Madhya Pradesh (75643) and the lowest in Lakshadweep (33). In 1970 the maximum was in Uttar Pradesh (233754) and minimum in Lakshadweep (28). In 1980 it was ^{highest} in Uttar Pradesh (198131) and minimum in Lakshadweep. From Fig II.8 it is very clear that 6 States are emerging as the ones having a very high incidence of crime. These are the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal (Appendix II).

According to Dutt (1979) violence is more a part of social life in north central India, than in the remaining part of India. Even Rao (1983) stated that violent crimes like dacoity and murder are more prominent only in some parts of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh where it continues to flourish since it is supported by traditions and blighted

environment. From this study it becomes clear that the area covered by high incidence of crime includes the States of Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu besides the whole of central India. Thus, it is clear that while violent crimes are prevalent in a restricted area, the area having a very high incidence of crime covers many more States. Since the same States continue to emerge as crime prone States, it is very clear that crime in India is governed by certain forces which tend to promote criminality. States having a low incidence of crime are mainly Jammu & Kashmir, Nagaland, Manipur, Pondicherry, Goa Daman and Diu and Andaman and Nicobar Islands. But when the rate of crime per lakh of population is calculated for the States it is found that some of these States with low incidence have the highest rate of crime.

On calculating the percentages of crimes in different States, the picture that emerges brings us to the same conclusion that the whole of north central India including West Bengal, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu has got a high percentage of crime. Though the rank of the States changes with every passing decade, for example Madhya Pradesh that ranked first in 1960 ranked 5th in 1970 and 2nd in 1980; Uttar Pradesh in 1960 accounted for 1/10th of crime in India, 1/4th in 1970 and 1/7th in 1980 (Table II.5), the percentages of crime in Bihar, Maharashtra

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF EACH STATE OF THE TOTAL
CRIME OF INDIA

LOW	%	MEDIUM	%	HIGH	%
<u>1960</u>					
Jammu & Kashmir	.66	Andhra Pradesh	5.79	Madhya Pradesh	12.47
Tripura	.45	Gujarat	5.5	Maharashtra	11.57
Manipur	.28	Karnataka	4.18	Uttar Pradesh	10.58
Himachal Pradesh	.19	Orissa	3.69	West Bengal	10.54
Nagaland	.04	Rajasthan	3.45	Tamil Nadu	10.34
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	.04	Assam	3.37	Bihar	9.83
Laccadives	.001	Punjab	3.02		
		Kerala	2.63		
		Delhi	1.66		
<u>1970</u>					
J & K	.67	Andhra Pradesh	4.5	Uttar Pradesh	24.47
Tripura	.28	Rajasthan	3.79	Maharashtra	10.11
H.P.	.25	Karnataka	3.72	West Bengal	8.85
Pondi-cherry	.23	Gujarat	3.37	Bihar	8.8
Manipur	.22	Delhi	3.36	Madhya Pradesh	8.73
Chandigarh	.16	Kerala	3.31	Tamil Nadu	6.66
Goa	.13	Orissa	3.3		
Nagaland	.08	Assam	2.71		
Dadar & Nagar Haveli	.01	Punjab	1.31		
Laccadives	.002				
A & N Isls	.03	Haryana	0.93		
<u>1980</u>					
Punjab	.85	Karnataka	5.66	Uttar Pradesh	14.48
Tripura	.48	Andhra Pradesh	5.07	Madhya Pradesh	12.4
H.P.	.36	Gujarat	4.5	Maharashtra	12.23
Pondi-cherry	.28	Rajasthan	4.45	Tamil Nadu	8.48
Manipur	.26	Orissa	3.51	Bihar	7.62
Goa	.21	Kerala	3.48	West Bengal	6.84
Meghalaya	.16	Assam	3.2		
Chandigarh	.15	Delhi	2.75		
Nagaland	.07	Haryana	1.2		
A & N Isls	.06	J & K	1.1		
Arunachal P.	.06	Mizoram	1.08		
Sikkim	.02				
D&N Haveli	.06				
Laccadives	.001				

Source: As at Table II.2

Tamil Nadu and West Bengal with the passing years has been on the decline. Though the actual incidence of crime in India has increased tremendously, Delhi does not even account for 4 percent whereas the rate of crime of Delhi is as high as 591.51 cases per lakh of population and it ranked second in an average of twenty years, i.e., 1960-1980.

Now Punjab's name is always on front page of every newspaper for different criminal activity. But prior to 1981 the incidence of crime in Punjab was comparatively very low (73.6 cases per lakh of population). Percentage of crime in Punjab has been decreasing ever since 1960 and in 1980 it accounted for only 0.85 percent of crime in India. Thus, the present high incidence of crime can be partly attributed to the 1984 riots which took place after the death of our late Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and partly due to power politics and even external influences. Mere greed for power without a real desire for human welfare and capacity to achieve this goal is bound to create serious law and order problems.

Nayar (1975) too found that Punjab fell in the block of low crimes with an average incidence of 93.69 cases per lakh of population as against the national average of 155.1 for the years 1959 to 1968. He too was surprised with the presence of Punjab in the low block, for Punjab has the image of a rather turbulent State.

In his words, "Punjab has been known as 'land of agitations', but it is not adequately realised that this has more to do with 'atmospharics' than with violent behaviour." It is also possible that all the crimes are not always reported due to fear.

II.3.2 Classification of States on overall crime incidence

The 31 States which are divided into 5 blocks, i.e., very high, high, medium, low and very low for the 3 years, i.e., 1960, 1970 and 1980 are shown in the Table II.6. The States that fall in the medium block are those which are clustered around the national average. The ones that are in the high and very high blocks are having crime rates per lakh of population greater than the national average. The ones that are in the low and very low block are having crime rates less than the national average. From the all India average it is found that the crime rate has been increasing with every passing decade. It is interesting to note that the values for 'high' in 1960 falls in the 'medium' block in 1980. Delhi and Andaman and Nicobar Islands are the only two States that belong to the 'very high' category for all the three decades. Tripura and Madhya Pradesh which were in the 'very high' block in 1960 were replaced by Pondicherry and Chandigarh in 1970 and 1980.

On analysing Table II.6 it is clear that the whole of north east India belong to the category of 'high' crimes

CLASSIFICATION OF STATES ON OVERALL CRIME INCIDENCE
PER LAKH OF POPULATION

1960		All India Average 140.5						
Very Low 0-56.2	Low 56.2-112.4	Medium 112.4-168.6	High 168.6-224.8	Very High 224.8+				
-	J & K	112.0	Gujarat	151.4	Manipur	222.6	Del	380.9
	Mysore	107.7	Laksha-	136.9	Madras	186.3	hi	
	Rajasthan	103.9	dweep		West	182.8	A&N	335.8
	Andhra P.	97.7	Bihar	128.2	Bengal		Isls	
	Kerala	96.3	Orissa	127.4	Mahara-	177.6	Tri	236.4
	Punjab	90.3			shtra		pura	
	Uttar P.	87.0			Assam	172.1	M.P.	233.5
	Himachal P	85.3						
	Nagaland	65.3						
1970		All India Average 178.3						
0-71.52	71.52-143.04	143.0-214.6	214.6-286.08	186.08+				
H.P.68.82	Rajasthan	142.3	M.P.	200.0	U.P.	264.8	Del	769.48
	J&K	140.64	Manipur	198.3			hi	
	Karnataka	139.2	Mahara-	191.5			Chan	593.6
			shtra				di-	
	Gujarat	120.7	W.Bengal	190.8			garh	
	Andhra P	101.0	Dadar	180.0			Pondi	550.1
			& Nagar				che-	
			Haveli				kry	
	Tripura	100.9	Assam	173.3			A&N	401.8
	Laksha-	98.0	T.N.	154.5			Isle	
	dweep							
	Punjab	92.1	Bihar	149.2				
	Haryana	88.8	Kerala	148.6				
			Nagaland	145.9				
			Orissa	143.6				
1980		All India Average 206.2						
0-82.48	82.48-164.96	164.96-247.44	247.44-329.9	329.9+				
Pun73.6	Bihar	154.6	Manipur	244.2	M.P.	324.6	Pen	644.6
jab	Arunachal P	136.1	Mizoram	236.9	Tripu	295.4	di-	
La 42.1	Andhra P	136.3	Assam	223.9	M.R.	278.2	Del	624.3
kaha							hi	
dweep	Haryana	134.9	Karna	220.2	Goa	257.0	A&N	438.0
							Isls	
	Nagaland	131.3	D&N Hav	202.3	J&K	256.2	Chan	427.7
	H.P.	116.5	U.P.	189.6	T.N.	247.5		
	Sikkim	112.1	Gujarat	189.2				
			Kerala	185.6				
			Raj	184.9				
			Orissa	180.0				
			W.B.	169.7				
			Meghala	169.7				

Source: As at Table II.2

for 1960 except for Nagaland. If Nagaland were to be included here, it would show up the entire eastern sector of India to be a most crime prone part of our country. Strangely, even though Nagaland has been the scene of persistent turmoil over the years it appears as the lowest ranking State in 1960 and 1980. One must attribute this phenomenon to either the difficulties of data collection, or it may well be a stringent police control. Nagaland has the highest ratio of policemen to population among the Indian States, i.e. 99 per 10,000 of population as against the average of 11 for all the other States (Nayar 1975).

The States that are present in the medium block are not specially concentrated but rather spread out. In 1970 and 1980 few of the eastern States fell in the medium block. Gujarat also falls in the medium block for 1960 and 1980. As Rao (1983) stated that the Gujaratis are by nature nonviolent, and that the Gujarati culture has displayed a consistent abhorrence of violence. All the States of north India, viz., Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab fall in the low block as well as a few scattered States like Kerala, Mysore, Sikkim, etc. It is very surprising to see in this block, the presence of Punjab which has the image of a rather disturbed State. It is not surprising to note the presence of Himachal Pradesh

in this block. As Rao (1983) has said, the lower intensity of crime in Himachal Pradesh tucked away in the inaccessible mountain terrain and comprising a population drawn mostly from simple hilly tribes in culturally determined just as the high incidence of murder and other violent crimes in some tribal tracks of Madhya Pradesh.

North east India which had a high rate of crime in 1960 had only a medium or a low rate of crime in 1970 and 1980 as compared to the national average. Though the actual rate of crime has increased with the passing decades for example Manipur in 1960 had a rate of 222.6 and it fell in the high block. And in 1980 the rate of crime rose to 244.2. But since the national average also increased, Manipur fell in the medium block of crime. So is also the case of West Bengal. States of central India are mostly falling in the medium and high block. Their rank has not much changed as compared to the change in the actual rate of crime. For example Madhya Pradesh continues to be in the high block though its rate increased from 233.5 (cases per lakh of population) in 1960 to 324.6 in 1980. Rajasthan and Bihar have maintained their position in the low or medium block. Though their rate of crime has increased over the past 20 years Delhi is the only one which remained in the same block that is very high during the 20 years from 380.9 in 1960 to 624.3 in 1980. Uttar Pradesh had a

very low rate of crime in 1960 (87), but by 1980 its rate more than doubled (198). Thus it is very clear that Uttar Pradesh is one of those States which needs immediate attention.

States of north India continue to be in the low block even with the passing years except for Jammu and Kashmir. In fact Punjab which has a rate of 90.3 in 1960 had only 73 in 1980. Himachal Pradesh also continues to be in the low block with a marginal increase in its crime rate. The State that is demanding attention in north India is Jammu and Kashmir whose rate increased tremendously. And by 1980 it fell in the high block category having a rate of 256.2 which is much above the national average (206.2).

One half of west India lies in the category of high that is Maharashtra, Goa Daman & Diu and the other half (Gujarat, Dadra and Nagar Haveli) lies in the medium though there is an increase in the actual rate of crime.

Two States of south India which continue to fall in the very high block are Pondicherry and Andaman and Nicobar Islands. There is also a marked increase in their rate of crime. Tamil Nadu also falls in the high block and all the rest of the Dravidian speaking States fall in the medium or low category. Rate of crime of Karnataka and Kerala has doubled over the period of 20 years whereas Andhra Pradesh has shown a 50 per cent increase only.

II.3.3 State rankings and mean growth rate

Two States of north India and two States of south India occupy the very high block for average rate of crime per lakh of population. (Table II.7). Two States from east and two from central India occupy the high block. A large number of States are clustered around the national average. Punjab's rank is the last having an average rate of crime as 88.33.

No state from central and west India has fallen in the category of low block. In 1960 with the absence of Pondicherry and Chandigarh their rank has been taken by Tripura and Madhya Pradesh. Ranking of States for 1980 shows the maximum amount of similarity with that of the average. The year 1960 shows the least amount of similarity to the States' mean ranking. But this can be easily attributed to the fact that some States were not yet formed in 1960. Growth of crime rate has been calculated for 1970 and 1980 taking 1960 as the base year. Then the average of both is taken. On ranking the mean growth rate the picture that arises is very much different from the ranking of the States on the basis of average rate of crime. More attention is needed in those States where the growth rate is very high. Pondicherry is the only State whose rank for average rate of crime and mean growth rate is the highest. In both cases it occupies the first position. Other State in the very high category having a high rank

**CASES OF TOTAL COGNIZABLE CRIME PER LAKH OF POPULATION -
STATE RANKINGS**

RANK	STATE	TWENTY YEAR MEAN	RANK FOR EACH YEAR			MEAN GROWTH RATE	
			1960	1970	1980	%	RANK
VERY HIGH (280.26+)							
1	Pondicherry	597.3	-	3	1	174.00	1
2	Delhi	591.56	1	1	2	82.96	7
3	Andaman & Nico- bar Islands	391.6	2	4	3	20.91	17
4	Chandigarh	340.43	-	2	4	27.95	31
HIGH (210.198+)							
5	Madhya Pradesh	5	4	6	5	12.46	21
		252.9					
6	Mizoram	237.7	-	-	12	150.21	3
7	Manipur	221.68	5	7	11	.06	25
8	Maharashtra	215.78	8	8	7	32.24	12
9	Tripura	210.9	3	23	6	16.18	28
MEDIUM (140.132+)							
10	Goa Daman & Diu	199.5	-	17	8	16.8	29
11	Tamil Nadu	196.08	6	12	10	7.88	23
12	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	191.15	-	10	15	28.41	13
13	Assam	189.77	9	11	13	15.4	20
14	West Bengal	181.69	7	9	21	1.41	26
15	Uttar Pradesh	180.4	20	5	16	159.17	2
16	Meghalaya	169.6	-	-	22	19.1	18
17	Jammu & Kashmir	169.16	14	19	9	76.56	8
18	Gujarat	153.77	10	21	17	2.34	24
19	Orissa	149.98	13	16	20	26.98	14
20	Karnataka	149.78	15	20	14	58.61	10
21	Bihar	144	12	13	23	18.5	19
22	Kerala	143.5	18	14	18	73.52	9
23	Rajasthan	143.15	16	18	19	56.66	11
LOW (70.07+)							
24	Arunachal Pradesh	136.6	-	-	24	130.74	4
25	Nagaland	114.19	22	15	27	111.7	5
26	Sikkim	112.1	-	-	29	23.27	30
27	Haryana	111.83	-	26	26	23.84	15
28	Andhra Pradesh	111.67	17	22	25	21.46	16
29	Lakshadweep	92.33	11	24	31	89.5	6
30	Himachal Pradesh	90.21	21	27	28	8.79	22
31	Punjab	58.31	19	25	30	8.26	27

Source: Same as at Table II.2

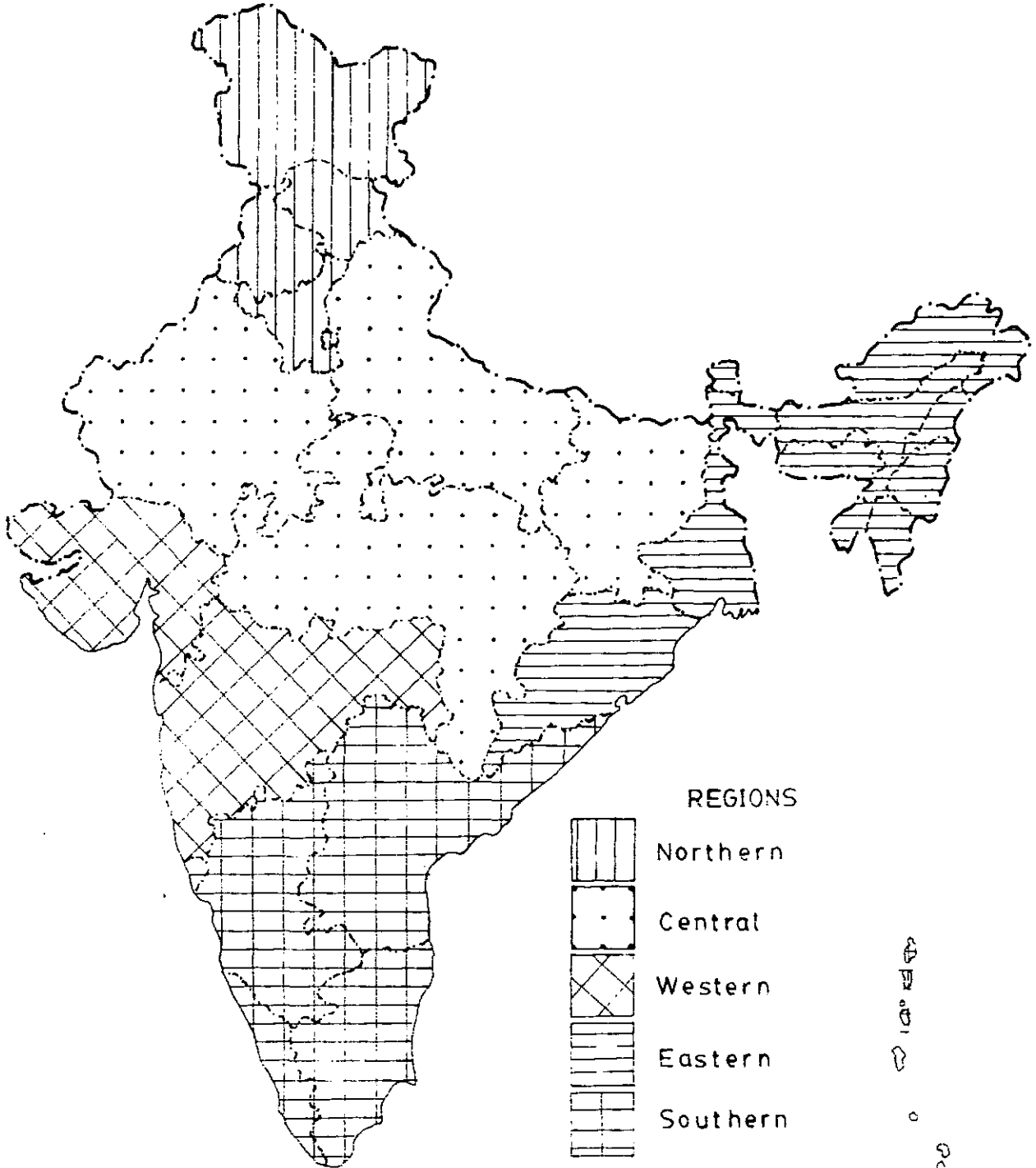
is Delhi. Mizoram in the high category needs special attention. Similarly, Jammu & Kashmir, Karnataka, Kerala, and Uttar Pradesh in the medium block also need immediate attention in an attempt to forestall their growth rate of crime. It is very surprising that even in the low block, 3 States are having a very fast growth rate. They are Arunachal Pradesh, Lakshadweep and Nagaland.

II.3.4 Regional patterns

Initially it was intended in the study to examine ranking only in relation to the States. As the analysis proceeded, a regional focus seemed to emerge. It became necessary then to look at the standing of the different regions as well. The country was thus divided into five regions (Fig.II.9). Essentially, the central region includes all the Hindi speaking States (except Haryana and Himachal Pradesh) of Bihar, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. The northern region has five States: Chandigarh, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu & Kashmir and Punjab. The southern region includes the States where dominant languages belong to the Dravidian family: Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Kerala, Lakshadweep, Pondicherry and Tamil Nadu. There are 10 States in the eastern region: Assam, Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Orissa, Sikkim, Tripura and West Bengal. The western region includes

MAJOR CRIME REGIONS OF INDIA

400 0 400 kms.



4 States: Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Goa Daman & Diu, Gujarat and Maharashtra.

The data for the different States within each region was merged together. Table II.8 provides the data on a regional basis. On calculating the twenty year mean per lakh of population it was not surprising to see that the central region emerged as the one having the highest rate of crime (i.e. as high as 252.4 per lakh of population). The northern region ranked the lowest with only 164.72 persons /per lakh of population. As Rao (1983) had said, the lower intensity of violence in Himachal Pradesh tucked away in the inaccessible mountain terrain and comprising a population drawn mostly from simple hilly tribes is culturally determined just as the high incidence of murder in some tribal tracks of Madhya Pradesh.

When the rate of crime for each decade is seen it is found that the central region ranked first throughout. And the western region ranked third twice and fifth once. Mean growth rate has been calculated to see that in which region the growth rate is the maximum. Here again the central region ranked first followed by the southern region and the eastern region ranked fourth. Only the ranks of the north and western regions got interchanged.

II.4 CRIME IN MAJOR METROPOLITAN CITIES OF INDIA

According to the 1967 report on the World Social Situation it was found that higher the degree of economic

Table II.8

CASES OF TOTAL COGNIZABLE CRIME PER LAKH OF POPULATION -
REGIONAL RANKINGS

RANK	REGION	TWENTY YEAR MEAN	RATE OF CRIME FOR EACH YEAR			RANK FOR EACH YEAR			MEAN GROWTH RATE	
			1960	1970	1980	60	70	80	%	RANK
1	Central	262.4	186.7	304.91	295.6	1	1	1	69.95	1
2	South	200.26	160.12	167.20	273.47	4	3	2	57.01	2
3	West	184.91	164.5	158.6	231.68	3	5	3	5.88	5
4	East	172.2	167.78	158.8	190.04	2	4	5	22.69	3
5	North	164.72	95.87	196.51	201.78	5	2	4	18.06	4

Source: Crime in India (1960, 1970 & 1980)
A Government of India Publication and
computation by the writer.

Table II.9

CRIME IN MAJOR METROPOLITAN CITIES

CITIES	TOTAL NO. OF COGNIZABLE CRIME			PERCENTAGE SHARE OF EACH CITY		
	1960	1970	1980	1960	1970	1980
Bombay	18524	25763	35695	30.36	25.97	24.89
Delhi	10072	28890	35648	16.5	29.12	24.86
Bangalore	4066	7778	18307	6.67	7.84	12.76
Madras	6013	10794	17279	9.66	10.68	12.05
Calcutta	13071	10588	13981	21.43	10.67	9.75
Ahmedabad	3157	3269	8678	5.17	3.3	6.11
Hyderabad	3536	3470	7412	5.79	3.5	5.17
Kanpur	2567	8656	6300	4.2	8.73	4.39

Source: Same as at Table II.8

prosperity and technological advancement higher is the crime rate. Sectoral, regional and rural urban imbalances in development increase the movement of people between country and town which results in the unhealthy growth of urban communities. And as unemployment rises with education the accumulation of idle unemployed is a serious threat to law and order. Thus, according to this report on the World Social Situation the root of all evil is urbanization.

This section of the chapter deals with the trend of crime in the major metropolitan cities of India. The period taken for this study is from 1960 to 1980. Only 8 cities are taken in the study though there were more than 8 by 1980. This was required to have a comprehensive view of those metropolitan cities which existed in 1960. The 8 cities are Ahmedabad, Bangalore, Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, Hyderabad, Kanpur and Madras. Thus from this study the position of Delhi vis-a-vis the other cities would be clear regarding crime over a period of 20 years.

II.4.1 Total cognizable crime from 1960 to 1980

In the year 1960 the highest number of cases among the 8 cities was registered in Bombay (18524) which accounted for around 31 percent of crime among the 8 cities. Compared to Bombay the position of Delhi for the same year is not very significant. It accounted for only 16.5 percent of

crime in 1960 (i.e., around 10072). The least number of cases was registered in Kanpur. Among the rest of the five cities Calcutta recorded the highest incidence of crime (13071) and accounted for 21.4 percent (Table II.9).

The city that held third rank in 1960 and first rank in 1970 is Delhi. Delhi accounted for 30 percent of crime. That is, within a gap of ten years the incidence of crime in Delhi nearly tripled. It means that there are certain factors which enhance criminality in Delhi. No other city has shown such a jump as the one shown by Delhi.

In the year 1980 both Bombay and Delhi were together at the top. And it is interesting to note that Bangalore whose incidence was even less than that of Madras and Calcutta in 1970 had by 1980 surpassed both of them. Except for Kanpur, incidence of crime had increased in all the cities between years 1970 and 1980.

In sum, it was found that crime incidence is increasing in all the metropolitan cities of India. The position of Delhi, the national capital of India, among the eight cities of India is very clear from Fig II.10.

II.4.2 Ranking of cities on overall crime incidence (per lakh of population)

In this comparative analysis the eight cities are divided into 2 blocks, cities above the national average and cities below the national average. The chief merit of the procedure used here is that it classifies the cities on the basis of their relationship to the

INDIA

THE RISING CRIMES IN MAJOR CITIES

(1960,1970,1980)

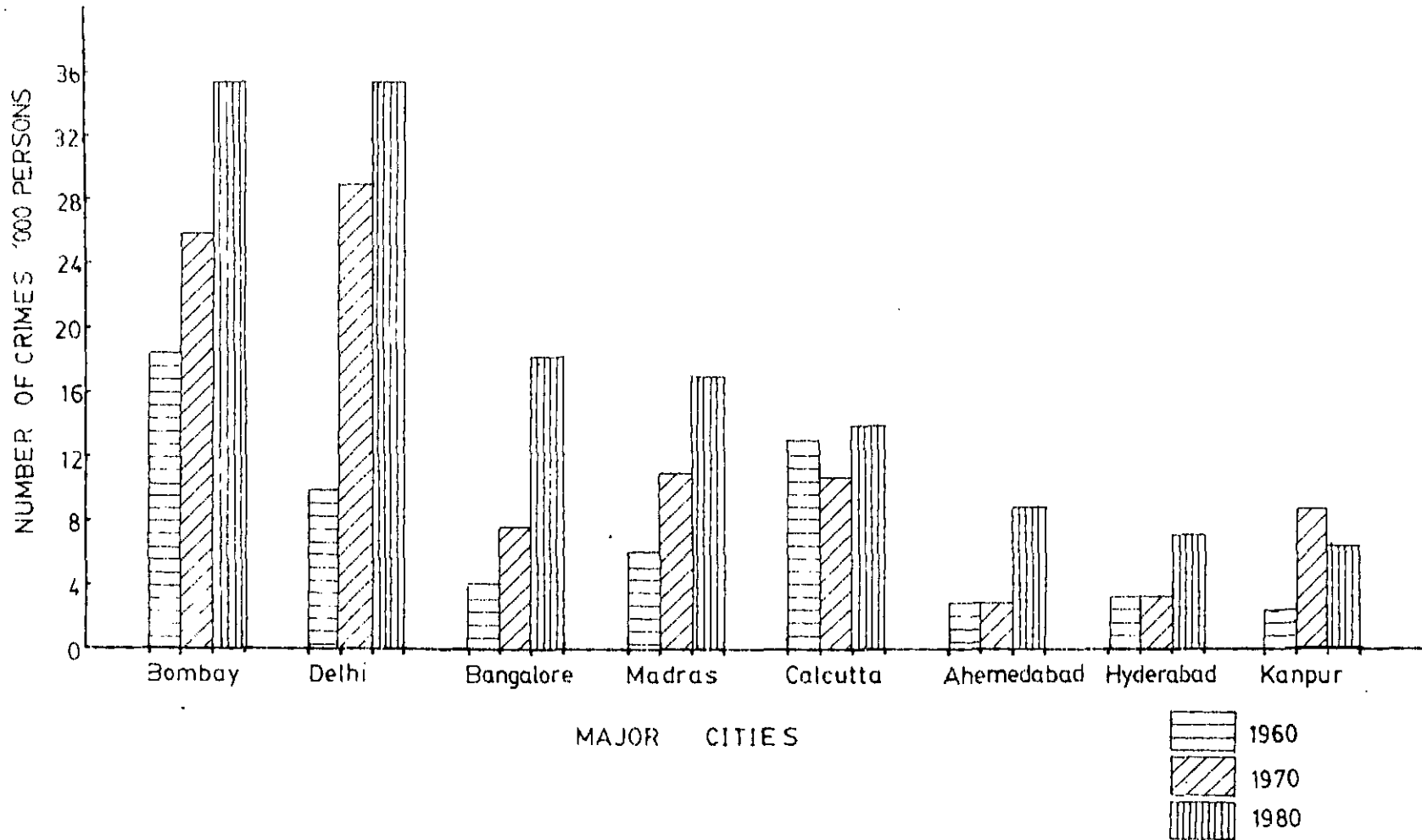


fig.11.10

national average. The measure employed in the comparative examination is the twenty year mean for the total rate of crime (Table II.10).

In addition to the ranking of the cities, and their classification into two blocks on the basis of the twenty year average for each State, information is included on the rank of the State for the individual years (i.e. 1960, 1970 and 1980) in order to see the extent to which a State's mean ranking corresponds to the 3 different years and equally to determine the persistence or otherwise from year to year of a city's crime level. Furthermore, the State's mean growth rate of crime over the twenty year period is also provided as well as its rank on the basis of this mean increase.

On analysing Table II.10 it is very clear that the city having the maximum mean rate of crime per lakh of population may not necessarily have the fastest growth rate. But the position of Delhi is very unique. It not only has a high crime rate but also has a high growth rate and ranked second in both cases. Delhi ranked only fourth in 1960 and had its crime rate of only 380.9 whereas the highest was 448 for Bangalore (Fig II.10). By 1970 the crime rate for

CASES OF TOTAL COGNIZABLE CRIME PER LAKH OF POPULATION -
CITY RANKINGS

All India average 427.65

RANK/ CITY	TWENTY YEAR MEAN	RATE OF CRIME FOR EACH YEAR			RANK FOR EACH YEAR			MEAN GROWTH RATE	
		1960	1970	1980	60	70	80	%	RANK
Above the national average									
1 Bangalore	633.69	448.0	555.57	897.5	1	3	1	62.16	3
2 Delhi	626.74	380.9	849.71	649.6	4	2	2	96.77	2
3 Kanpur	520.17	270.8	865.6	424.1	8	1	5	138.12	1
4 Bombay	441.39	446.7	451.9	425.5	2	4	4	- 1.78	6
Below the national average									
5 Madras	403.3	348.9	350.8	501.2	5	5	3	23.39	4
6 Ahmedabad	299.27	274.6	217.93	405.3	7	7	7	13.48	5
7 Hyderabad	284.67	294.2	231.33	328.4	6	6	8	- 4.88	7
8 Calcutta	214.0	446.6	155.71	415.0	3	8	6	-36.04	8

Source: Crime in India (1960, 1970 and 1980)
A Government of India Publication and
computations by the writer.

Delhi more than doubled, but by 1980 the crime rate decreased markedly. This means that other forces are at play which influences the incidence of crime of Delhi besides population. Because population of Delhi increased from 3.6 million in 1970 to 5.7 million in 1980. Boggs (1965), St. Louis study certainly suggests that for all major offenses computation based on socio-economic factors of available opportunity will provide more meaningful data rather than computation based on population.

Bangalore ranked first for two years and third for once. Madras ranked fifth for two years and Hyderabad ranked sixth for two years. Ahmedabad is the only city that maintained its same rank (seventh) for all the three decades.

Growth rate of crime rate has been calculated for 1970 and 1980 taking 1960 as the base year. Then the average of the two has been taken.

Mean growth rate of crime rate is negative in the cities of Bombay, Hyderabad and Calcutta. Delhi has a very fast rate of growth.

Thus we find that Delhi has not only a very high incidence and rate of crime but also a very fast growth rate of crime among the eight major metropolitan cities of India.

II.5 CONCLUSION

The main conclusion that emerge from the spatial perspectives on crimes in India are as follows:

Although crime rate is increasing at an alarming rate all over the world but the rise in crime rate in India is not very prominent. It is not only population but other undetermined factors which are affecting the crime rate in India. One obvious factor for increasing crime in cities is urbanization. If rural development takes place side by side with urban then the exodus of population, mainly unemployed youth from the villages, would be minimized and thus crime rate would be decreased in urban areas.

Throughout the post independence period only once there was a major decline. And that was during the emergency. Thus it is clear that if there is a stringent police control then the incidence of crime could be reduced markedly.

Over the three decades all the States of Central India and Tamil Nadu from south have registered a high incidence of crime. Punjab inspite of being known generally as a turbulent State, has surprisingly a low incidence of crime. Among the Union Territories Delhi has a medium incidence of crime. Crime rate is very high in Delhi, Andaman & Nicobar Islands, Pondicherry and Chandigarh.

On analysing the crime rates in all the States of India there seems to emerge a regional pattern. All States of north-east India except for Nagaland has a high crime rate. All the States of central India have a high crime rate whereas States of north India exhibit a low crime rate. When the data for different States within each region was merged it was found that rate of crime and growth rate of crime is highest in the central region followed by the southern region.

Maximum attention is needed in those States whose growth rate of crime is very high. It was surprising to note that the States having a low rate of crime had in fact a very high growth rate. But Delhi had both, i.e., a high crime rate and a high growth rate.

Among the eight metropolitan cities Delhi had the highest incidence of crime for the years 1970 and 1980. On calculating the twenty year mean (1960-1980) it was found that Delhi had the second highest rate of crime and growth rate of crime. The main aim of the third chapter is thus to analyse why Delhi has such a crime rate. Which are the areas of Delhi that are contributing to such a high rate of crime?

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CHAPTER III

SOCIO-SPATIAL PERSPECTIVE ON CRIMES IN DELHI

III.1 INTRODUCTION

(Urban crime is one of a number of urban social problems which are increasingly the focus of attention for social geographers (Dawson and Davidson, 1982).) Crime is not a static concept. It is a dynamic concept in the sense that its definition is closely linked to the changing norms and values of society. The attempts of the early criminologists foundered on the conceptual rock because they sought an explanation of crime in the bio-genetic nature of man. Even when the roots of crime were traced to the environmental compulsions, the criminal was viewed as an abnormal person who had to be "corrected" (Rao 1983). (The greater occurrence of crime in urban areas is perhaps due to its heterogeneous social conditions, diversified economic activities and class structure which is influenced by language, religion, caste and culture (Kulkarni 1981).)

However, it is interesting to study in depth the socio-economic conditions prevailing in the area of the criminal's residence as well as the dominant areas of crime (Kulkarni 1981). While explaining how the different types

of crime is distributed in the city, the fact that some types of crime occurs close to the places where the criminals live and some occurs far away from where the criminals live has to be kept in mind. As according to Wolfgang (1972) the example of the first case are rape, homicide and assault where the offender and the victim in these offences are usually of the same race and from the same neighbourhood and economic class. And in the latter case are more serious property crimes.

(The main aim of this chapter is to study the spatio-temporal variation of crime in the different police districts of Delhi. An attempt has also been made to explain this variation due to the varying socio-economic conditions prevalent in the different police districts of Delhi (Fig III.1). The socio-economic variables taken into consideration are Scheduled Caste and illiterate population and non-workers and marginal workers. The different categories of crime have been grouped into four main groups. These main groups are riots, offences against the person, offences against property without violence and offences against property with violence. In the present study the limitations of data on crimes inhibit the analysis of the locality of the criminals.

The segregation index has also been calculated in order to see whether high segregation of Scheduled Caste

DELHI
POLICE DISTRICTS
(1981)



or non-Scheduled Caste population leads to more crime. This is followed by a study of geography of crime. In this study an attempt has been made to correlate crime with season over the period 1972 to 1986. Are crime rates high where police strength (per 10,000 of population) is low or is it high where police strength is high? The last part of this chapter deals with newspaper reporting for the year 1986. The main aim of this part of the study is to find out if there is any co-relation between the official data on crime and the data from newspaper reporting as regarding total crime and different categories of crime.

It is to be noted that the period of study for the different years is based upon the availability of the data.

III.2 CRIME IN DELHI

Delhi's growth since partition has been tremendously rapid. The unexpected flow of refugees and the tensions it created resulting in communal riots in 1947 posed the first serious threat after independence to the law and order machinery which practically broke down under the strain. The army had to be called out to assist the civil authorities in restoring order.

Even after the refugee influx the population of Delhi has been growing continuously because of the rich avenues of employment and business available here. The mass explosion of population has resulted into shortage of housing, accommodation, overcrowded localities, slums, traffic congestion, etc., which have aggravated the law and order problems in the city. There has been increase in crimes of various nature. Delhi has been leading

of housing, accommodation, overcrowded localities, slums, traffic congestion, etc., which have aggravated the law and order problems in the city. There has been increase in crimes of various nature. Delhi has been leading all other cities in crimes like murder, robbery and thefts. Whereas in 1961 there were 57 murders, 20 robberies and 6062 thefts; in 1981 there were 199 murders, 187 robberies and 17253 thefts (Crime in India 1981). There is large scale smuggling also to and from Delhi as it is a large consuming centre and touches Uttar Pradesh on one side and Haryana on the other. The other crimes like prostitution, illicit distillation, kidnapping, abduction, etc., are also on the increase. The increased traffic accidents have also posed problems for the law and order authorities. There has been an enormous increase in traffic on city roads and inadequate traffic flow conditions. The number of motor vehicles have increased from 9803 in 1947 to 215703 in 1971 and 5.35 lakhs in 1981. Consequently the number of road accidents have also gone up from 2838 in 1958 to 6893 in 1981. There are frequent traffic jams and hold-ups on important junctures which created problems for the law and order machinery.

After becoming the capital, the diplomatic activities in Delhi have also increased. Almost all the important leaders, heads of States, VIPs of different

countries have visited capital of India since independence. The law and order machinery of Delhi is also under constant strain due to the various agitations, demonstrations, which quite frequently take place in Delhi (Delhi Gazetteer 1971).

III.2.1 Incidence of crime

Crimes in Delhi have witnessed a gradual increase since independence which is inevitable due to rapid urbanization and industrial development. The general crime figures rose from 15629 in 1961 to 30636 in 1981. While 35 years ago murders, kidnapping, riots and demonstrations engaged the police, at present they have also to deal with car thefts and burglaries in houses and shops. Table III.1 illustrates the statistics of crime in general for the whole of Delhi. The period taken for the study of crime for the Union Territory of Delhi is between 1961 and 1981.

From the Table it is clear that with the doubling of Delhi's population there has been a doubling of the incidence of crime too. But surprisingly the rate of crime (i.e. crime rate per lakh of population) in 1981 is even less than that of 1971. Between 1961 and 1971 there has been a sudden increase. The rate of crime has increased for all the categories of crime except burglary and rape and Miscellaneous Indian Penal Code.

ALL DELHI CASES OF TOTAL COGNIZABLE CRIME

Description	1961		1971		1981	
	Actual	Rate*	Actual	Rate*	Actual	Rate*
1. Murder	57	2.48	106	2.94	199	3.2
2. Dacoity	-	-	13	.36	47	.8
3. Attempt to murder	36	1.57	165	4.58	230	3.7
4. Robbery	20	.87	321	8.92	187	3.0
5. Riots	39	1.7	-	-	165	2.7
6. Burglary	1125	48.91	2617	7.69	1734	28
7. Thefts	6062	263.57	16767	465.75	17253	278.5
8. Kidnapping & abduction	209	9.09	-	-	726	11.7
9. Rape	69	3	-	-	79	1.3
10. Misc.I.P.C.	8012	348.3	15306	425.17	10016	161.7
11. Total	15629	679.52	35295	980.42	30636	494.4

* Rate per 1 lakh of population

Source: Crime in India, 1961, 1971 and 1981
 A Government of India Publication
 And computations by the writer

As far as the data regarding rape is concerned it has its own limitations. According to Rao (1983) the extent of unreported crime is lowest in serious offences like murder and very large extending even upto ten times in cases of theft and fifteen to twenty times in cases of rape.

III.3 CRIME IN DELHI — DISTRICTWISE

III.3.1 Percentage share of crime for each district (total and different categories) 1984 to 1986

Delhi is divided into six police districts. These are North, South, East, West, New Delhi and Central.

Districtwise data for the different categories of crime have been available only for 3 years, i.e., 1984, 1985 and 1986. The percentage share of crime have been calculated for each district for each individual year and is given in Table III.2. In order to see whether the percentage share of crime is increasing or decreasing for the total and different categories, multiple bars have been drawn on maps for each district and each category of crime (Appendix III).

Overall conclusions that are drawn from the above study are given in Tables III.3 and III.4. Table III.3 gives the first position occupied by which district for the total crime and different types of crime for the three years 1984, 1985 and 1986. Thus from Table III.3 it is clear that the South district has the highest share of crime

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF CRIME FROM 1984 TO 1986

Name of the district	Total crime			Dacoity			Murder			Attempt to murder			Robbery		
	1984	1985	1986	1984	1985	1986	1984	1985	1986	1984	1985	1986	1984	1985	1986
North	22.83	20.95	19.68	10.0	7.69	14.28	21.49	21.79	18.84	22.46	18.67	18.62	21.27	18.75	17.73
East	10.59	10.25	12.77	13.33	23.07	19.04	19.93	20.83	23.18	15.35	20.62	22.87	10.2	10.93	20.19
Central	16.55	15.67	14.28	6.66	11.53	-	13.39	8.33	11.23	22.82	19.84	22.22	19.57	14.45	9.85
West	11.33	14.01	15.07	16.66	30.76	28.57	11.83	23.39	24.63	12.31	18.67	19.60	11.06	16.01	21.18
New Delhi	9.93	10.90	9.70	3.33	-	-	2.18	1.60	1.81	2.53	2.33	2.28	7.2	5.85	4.43
South	26.95	26.19	24.62	50.0	23.07	38.09	26.47	23.07	18.47	24.27	19.84	13.07	29.36	32.81	26.10
	Riots			Snatching			Hurts			Burglary			Theft		
	1984	1985	1986	1984	1985	1986	1984	1985	1986	1984	1985	1986	1984	1985	1986
North	17.54	16.66	9.49	18.75	15.22	19.31	27.31	25.28	23.56	15.41	8.83	9.6	24.21	22.38	20.92
East	21.05	13.49	13.4	8.59	3.04	13.1	16.6	20.66	20.35	12.84	12.97	23.24	7.44	7.07	9.47
Central	12.71	19.84	22.9	22.65	19.29	6.09	16.04	16.96	17.04	13.40	10.96	9.78	15.85	15.65	14.31
West	13.59	18.25	22.34	14.84	25.38	15.86	19.54	18.35	20.75	10.46	18.17	17.53	7.45	10.66	11.93
New Delhi	4.38	3.17	11.73	7.03	5.07	5.51	2.55	2.57	2.81	6.95	6.20	4.32	12.98	14.71	13.21
South	30.48	28.57	20.11	25.0	27.91	31.72	17.6	15.61	14.73	40.66	42.50	35.43	29.58	27.88	26.03

Source: Research Cell Inspector, Police Headquarters, New Delhi and computations by the writer.

Note: The total for each year does not total upto 100 because percentage of crime in Delhi Railway Station and Palam Airport have not been taken into study (Appendix III).

TABLE III.3

FIRST POSITION OCCUPIED BY WHICH DISTRICT FOR
THE TOTAL CRIME AND DIFFERENT TYPES OF CRIME

Description	1984	1985	1986	Verage of 3 years
1. Total crime	S	S	S	S
2. Dacoity	S	W	S	S
3. Murder	S	W	W	S
4. Attempt to murder	S	E	E	C
5. Robbery	S	S	S	S
6. Riots	S	S	C	S
7. Snatching	S	S	S	S
8. Hurts	N	N	N	N
9. Burglary	S	S	S	S
10. Thefts	S	S	S	S

Source: Same as at Table III.2

Note: S = South; N = North; E = East; W = West
C = Central

TABLE III.4

INCREASE OR DECREASE IN THE PERCENTAGE SHARE
OF CRIME OVER THE YEARS 1984 TO 1986

Description	South	North	Central	West	East	New Delhi
Total crime	D	D	D	I	I	N
Dacoity	D	I	N	I	I	N
Murder	D	D	N	I	I	I
Attempt to murder	D	D	N	I	I	N
Robbery	D	D	D	I	I	D
Riots	D	D	I	I	D	I
Snatching	I	I	D	N	I	N
Hurts	D	D	I	I	I	N
Burglary	D	D	D	I	I	D
Theft	D	D	D	I	I	N

Source: Same as at Table III.2

Note: I = Increasing; D = Decreasing; N = Neutral
(Appendix III)

for total crime in Delhi Union Territory and all categories of crime except for attempt to murder and hurts. Central district has the highest share in attempt to murder. This may be attributed to its high density of population. Central district has the highest density of population among all the districts. As Leyhausen (1973) has stated, density increases upto a certain point and then the trouble starts. For all property crimes it is found that the South district accounts for the largest share.

On analysing Table III.4 it is clear that though the South district accounts for the highest share of crime but over the years its percentage share is on the decrease. In North district also the percentage share of crime is on the decrease. It is surprising to note that Central district whose density of population is the highest shows the percentage share of crime to be decreasing over the years 1984 to 1986. The decrease in percentage share of crime of the Central district may be due to the increase in that of West and East districts. The population and area of West and East districts have been continuously on the rise which may well be the reason for a higher incidence of crime.

III.3.2 Percentage share of different categories of crime — Average of 1984, 1985 and 1986

South Delhi has the largest share of crime for whole Delhi for all categories of crime except that of attempt to murder and hurts (Table III.5) (Appendix IV) and

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF CRIME —
AVERAGE OF 1984, 1985 AND 1986

Rank/Dist.	Total crime	Daco-ity	Mur-der	Attempt to mur-der	Rob-bery	Rio-ts	S	H	B	T
1.South	26	38	24	19	29	26	29	16	40	29
2.North	23	12	20	20	20	15	19	25	11	24
3.Central	16	6	12	22	15	19	17	18	12	15
4.West	13	25	19	17	16	18	20	20	15	11
5.East	12	18	22	20	14	16	9	19	16	8
6.New Delhi	10	1	3	2	6	6	6	2	6	13

Note: S = Snatching; H = Hurts; B = Burglary; T = Theft

Source: As at Table III.2 (Appendix IV)

TABLE III.6

TOTAL COGNIZABLE CRIME

District	Actual			Rate*			Rank		
	1984	1985	1986	1984	1985	1986	1984	85	86
South	8294	7966	7344	59.15	56.81	52.38	3	3	2
North	7028	6372	5873	54.94	49.81	45.91	4	4	4
Central	5096	4767	4260	61.48	57.51	51.39	2	2	3
West	3488	4242	4496	26.19	31.85	33.71	6	6	5
East	3262	3119	3811	28.19	26.95	32.93	5	5	6
New Delhi	3058	3316	2896	138.06	149.71	130.7	1	1	1

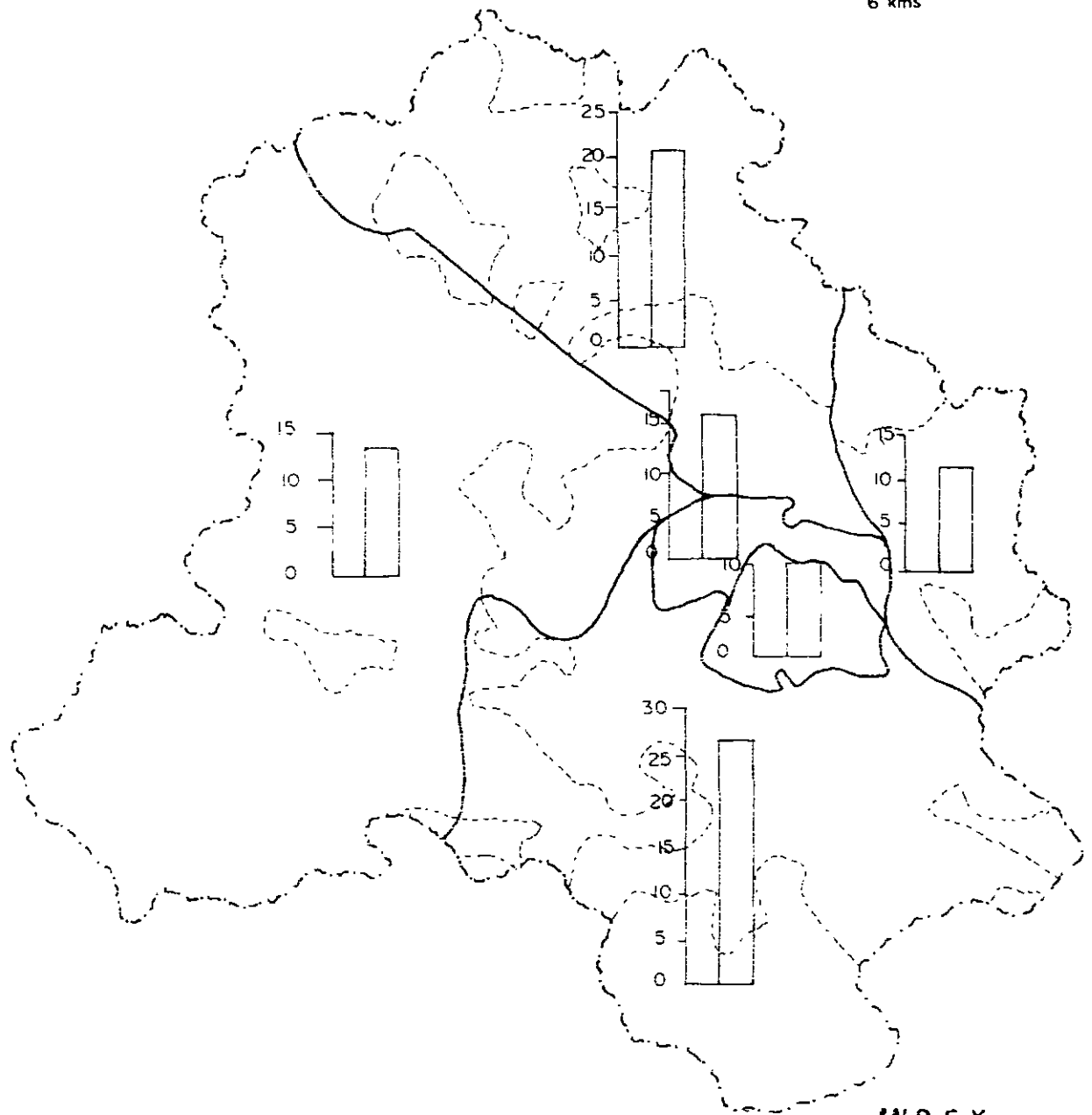
* Rate per 10,000 of population.

Source: Same as at Table III.2

DELHI

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF CRIME IN EACH DISTRICTS AVERAGE OF THREE YEARS 1984-85 & 86

6 kms



——— URBAN AREA BOUNDARY
 - - - - - POLICE DIST. BOUNDARY

INDEX

Color	District
Light Blue	North
Light Green	West
Light Yellow	Central
Light Orange	East
Light Purple	South

(Fig III.2). Percentage share of attempt to murder is maximum in Central district which has also got the highest density among the six districts (i.e. 24195 persons per sq km). In very congested localities where people live in very close contact with their neighbours, a small argument over water can also lead people to take out knives though not necessarily with the intention of killing the other person. One-third of all the property crimes like dacoity, robbery, burglary and theft takes place in South district. As according to Kulkarni (1981) the less severe crimes (house breaking, robbery, gambling, etc.) occur in more prospective areas (i.e. upper class residential areas). Percentage share of dacoity in Central district is very less as compared to percentage share of other crimes. This may be because due to a high density of population escape is not so easy which is of course a very crucial matter in dacoity.

III.4 COGNIZABLE CRIME

III.4.1 General

Total cognizable crime covers not all of the crime categories included under the different crime groups but also another separate category of miscellaneous crime. Though the incidence of crime is highest in South district but when the rate of crime is calculated per 10,000 of population it was found that New Delhi which is the

diplomatic area of Delhi, had the highest rate for all the three years 1984, 1985 and 1986 followed by South district (Table III.6). New Delhi had a rate of more than 130 per 10,000 of population for ^{all} the three years¹.

III.4.2 Riots

The number of cases registered per 10,000 of population is highest in 1984 for all the districts (Table III.7) This is because in 1984 with the death of Mrs. Indira Gandhi (late Prime Minister of India) riots broke out in a frenzy as never seen before. Riot cases in 1985 and 1986 is only one-fourth to that of 1984 in the districts of South, North and East². New Delhi consists of mainly Government offices and Government houses. Thus it is very surprising to observe that New Delhi district has the largest number of riot cases per 10,000 of population (.95) in 1986 whereas Central district had only (.49) half of that of New Delhi. It is a well known fact that Hindu-Muslim riots break out very easily in Central district at the slightest provocation. South district too has a high rate of riot cases.

1 Since crime rate decreases with increasing distance from the central segment of the city (Shaw & Mc Kay 1942) it is not surprising that New Delhi has the highest rate of crime. Secondly high crime rate in New Delhi can surely be attributed to greater opportunities like the presence of banks, stores, sarehouses, bicycles, etc. (Schmid 1960).

TABLE III.7

TOTAL COGNIZABLE CRIME — RIOTS

District	Actual			Rate*			Rank		
	1984	1985	1986	1984	1985	1986	84	85	86
South	139	36	36	.99	.26	.26	1	2	4
North	80	21	17	.63	.16	.13	5	5	6
Central	58	25	41	.7	.3	.49	4	1	2
West	62	23	40	.47	.17	.3	6	4	3
East	96	17	24	.83	.15	.2	3	6	5
New Delhi	20	4	21	.90	.18	.95	2	3	1

* Rate per 10,000 of population.

Source: As at Table III.2

TABLE III.8

TOTAL COGNIZABLE CRIME — OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON

District	Actual			Rate*			Rank		
	1984	1985	1986	1984	1985	1986	1984	85	86
South	152	123	91	1.08	.88	.65	2	5	5
North	131	116	109	1.02	.91	.85	3	4	4
Central	106	77	99	1.28	.92	1.19	1	1	1
West	72	121	128	.54	.91	.96	6	3	3
East	105	118	134	.91	.9	1.16	4	2	2
New Delhi	14	11	12	.63	.51	.54	5	6	6

* Rate per 10,000 of population.

Source: Same as at Table III.2

TABLE III.9

PROPERTY OFFENCES WITHOUT VIOLENCE

District	Actual			Rate*			Rank		
	1984	1985	1986	1984	1985	1986	1984	85	86
South	4772	4598	3856	34.03	32.79	27.5	2	2	2
North	3620	3239	2784	28.29	25.32	21.76	4	4	4
Central	2424	2350	1958	29.24	28.35	23.62	3	3	3
West	1206	1793	1789	9.06	13.46	13.43	6	5	6
East	1243	1206	1576	10.74	10.42	13.62	5	6	5
New Delhi	1921	2053	1730	36.74	92.69	78.11	1	1	1

*Rate per 10,000 of population. Source: As at Table III.2

III.4.3 Offences against the person

The two crime categories included in this group are (i) murder; and (ii) attempt to murder. When the actual incidence of offences against the person is seen it is found that highest number of cases are registered in South Delhi for the two years 1984 and 1985 (Table III.8). But when the offences against person/10,000 of population is calculated it is found that the Central district has the maximum number of cases per 10,000 of population for all the three years 1984, 1985 and 1986. East district too had a high rate of crime. It ranked second for two consecutive years 1985 and 1986. New Delhi had a very low incidence for all the three years. South district does not have a very high rate of offences against the person.

III.4.4 Property offences without violence

This group consists of burglary and thefts of cattle and ordinary thefts. When the actual incidence of cases is taken it is found that South district has the largest number of cases for all the three years, i.e., for 1984, 1985 and 1986 (Table III.9). But when the

2

The main reason of 1984 riots can be summed up in the words of Ferdinand (1967). According to him the occurrence of momentary events in the community have the effects of disturbing and dislocating the established social routines.

the rate of property offences without violence is calculated per 10,000 of population it is found that New Delhi ranks first followed by South district. The rate in New Delhi is almost three times to that of South Delhi. This means that New Delhi has mostly upper class people residing in it.³ It is to be noted that South district inspite of having a large rural population has the second highest rate of crime. On observing the district rankings of crime rates for property offences without violence it has been noticed that there seems to emerge a fixed pattern as far as this category of offences is concerned. New Delhi, South, Central and North ranked 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th in that order for all the three years 1984, 1985 and 1986.

III.4.5 Property offences with violence

Two crime categories are included in this sub-group (a) robbery; and (b) dacoity. As is already explained in chapter II, dacoity is essentially robbery when five or more persons involved in it. Thus it is obvious that robbery and dacoity would take place only only in an area where there would be plenty of loot to be shared among all the dacoits or robbers. When the

3 This has already been proved by Sivamurthy in 1982 that theft can take place only where the upper class people reside.

actual incidence of property violence is taken it is found that South district has the largest number of cases registered for all the three years, i.e., 1984, 1985 and 1986 and that New Delhi has the least (Table III.10). But when rate is calculated it has been found that the first position is occupied either by South or New Delhi district. Since a quick escape is very much important the robbers and dacoits generally choose those areas where the density of population is not so high and where upper class people reside. And as such New Delhi and South district are really the ideal locations for robbery and dacoity. South district inspite of having a large number of villages has a very high rate of property offences with violence. It ranked first in 1984 and second in 1985 and 1986.

III.5 CRIME AND OTHER SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

III.5.1 District ranking

The various socio-economic variables takes into consideration are density of population according to 1981 census per sq. km, percentage of total and male Scheduled Caste population in each district, percentage of total and male illiterates, percentage of total and male non-workers and percentage of total and male marginal workers. All have been calculated to total and male population respectively. All the districts

PROPERTY OFFENCES WITH VIOLENCE

District	Actual			Rate*			Rank		
	1984	1985	1986	1984	1985	1986	1986	1985	1984
South	84	90	61	.59	.64	.44	1	2	2
North	53	50	39	.41	.39	.3	5	4	4
Central	48	40	48	.58	.48	.24	6	3	3
West	31	49	20	.23	.37	.36	4	5	6
East	28	15	45	.24	.29	.39	3	6	5
New Delhi	18	34	9	.81	.68	.41	2	1	1

* Rate per 10,000 of population.

Source: Same as at Table III.2

TABLE III.11

CRIME AND OTHER SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES - DISTRICT RANKING

Subject	North	East	Central	West	New Delhi	South
Density of population 1 sq km(1981)	4056 (4)	11709 (2)	24195 (1)	2389 (5)	4589 (3)	682 (6)
Rate of crime/10000 of population*	45.9 (4)	32.9 (6)	51.4 (3)	33.8 (5)	130.8 (1)	52.4 (2)
Sch.Caste pop. (Total)	6	3	1	2	4	5
Sch.Caste Pop. (Male)	6	3	1	2	4	5
Total illiterates	3	1	4	2	6	5
Male illiterates	4	1	3	2	6	5
Non workers(T)	3	1	5	2	6	4
Non Workers (Male)	3	1	5	2	6	4
Marginal workers(T)	2	5	6	1	3	4
Marginal workers(M)	3	5	6	1	2	4

Notes: Percentage of each observation from 4-11 and then their respective rank.

In brackets the rank is given for observation Nos. 1 to 3.

*Population of 1981 and crime data of 1986.

Source: Research Cell, Police Headquarters, New Delhi.
District Census Handbook of Delhi (1981).
Computations by the writer.

have been ranked according to their percentages. Total incidence of crime has been taken for 1986 (Table III.11).

(It is very much necessary to analyse both the total incidence and rate of crime. This is because the area of each district is not uniform nor is the population. Secondly some districts are totally urban in nature like that of Central and New Delhi. Whereas the rest of the districts, i.e., South, North, West, East are both rural and urban in nature. And it has already been approved by many that crime is more of an urban phenomenon than rural. Central and East districts have a very high density of population but their incidence and rate of crime is not the highest among the six districts. South district has the lowest density of population which is not surprising since it consists of a number of villages. But its high rate of crime and low density are certainly very contradictory to the statements of many scholars. Many have come to the conclusion that there is a positive relationship between crime rate and population density⁴.)

(South district has got a low percentage of Scheduled Caste population whereas it has a very high

According to Smith (1981) it is mistaken to assume, as planners and urban social theorists often have done, that people who live under crowded conditions automatically suffer from being crowded or that high population density necessarily entails social pathology.

incidence and rate of crime. So is also the case of percentages of illiterate population. That is, where the illiterate population percentage is low there the crime rate is high, e.g., South district. This means that either there is no positive correlation between percentage of Scheduled Caste population and crime rate and percentage of illiterates and crime rate or it may be possible that the criminals are mostly coming from outside, i.e., other districts or from neighbouring villages. Whereas Central district which has a medium crime rate has the highest percentage of Scheduled Caste population. The medium crime rate in Central district can surely be attributed to less of reporting and less of registering by the citizens and police respectively. It has been explained in the latter part of this chapter how there is an uneven distribution of police force among the six districts. For example Central district, whose density of population is six times to that of New Delhi, has only one-third of policemen per ten thousand of population. Thus it is very much possible that there must be more cases of crime in Central district which are not registered⁵.

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As according to Dev (1987) the police refuse to register about 65% of crime cases in the national capital, i.e., Delhi and that the policeman's repression and his corruption make a greater impact on the poorer individual than on the richer.

Where the percentage of non-workers is low there crime rate is high, e.g., New Delhi. It is thus possible that in this case criminals are mostly coming from outside the district. This has been assumed since where there is less of non-workers there unemployed youth is also less though it should be noted that non-workers include children and the aged. And generally crime is committed by unemployed youth⁶. Percentage of non-workers is maximum in East followed by West and North districts. These districts have the lowest rate of crime. Since there is not much scope for criminal activity in these districts, these people go to upper class residential areas, i.e., New Delhi and South district.

III.5.2 A detailed study of various socio-economic variables with that of crime

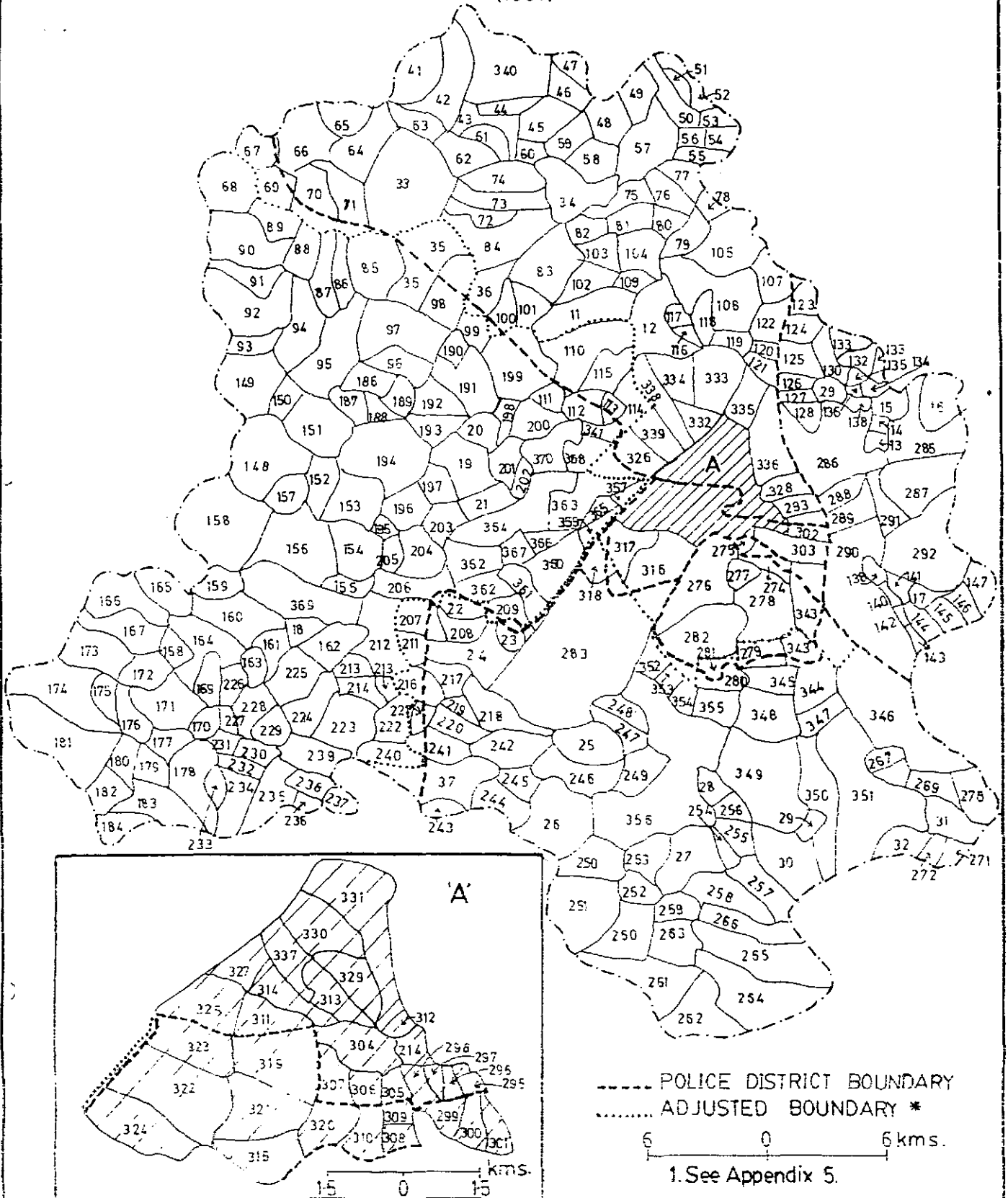
The Delhi Union Territory consists of 6 police districts. Some police districts are totally urban in nature and some are both rural and urban in nature. Rural areas are divided into villages and urban areas are divided into census towns and charges. According to 1981 data the composition of the districts is given in Table III.12 and Fig III.3.

The composition given in Table III.12 has a very strong relationship with crime since it is generally

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According to Ficker and Graves (1971) it is mostly boys and youngmen who commit crimes.

DELHI CHARGES, VILLAGES AND CENSUS TOWNS¹ (1981)



COMPOSITION OF DISTRICTS - 1981

Districts	Total number of charges	Total number of census towns	Total number of villages
North	30	5	60
Central	17	-	-
New Delhi	7	-	-
South	19	12	41
West	16	5	105
East	8	5	25

Reference: Appendix V and Fig III.3

Source: Same as at Table III.11

TABLE III.13

TOTAL MONTHWISE PROFILE OF DELHI FOR 1975 & 1985

Month	Total Cognizable Crime		Total cognizable crime	
	Actual 1975	Per 10000 of population 1975	Actual 1985	Per 1 lakh of population 1985
January	3495	71.48	2655	36.62
February	3104	63.48	2475	34.13
March	3419	69.93	2597	35.82
April	3226	65.98	2466	34.01
May	3540	72.4	2498	34.46
June	2891	59.13	2550	35.26
July	2880	58.91	2728	37.63
August	2688	54.98	2551	35.19
September	2813	57.34	2510	34.62
October	2700	55.23	2517	34.72
November	2691	55.04	2278	31.42
December	2748	56.20	2581	35.59

Source: Delhi Quarterly Digest Vol. 23 1975.

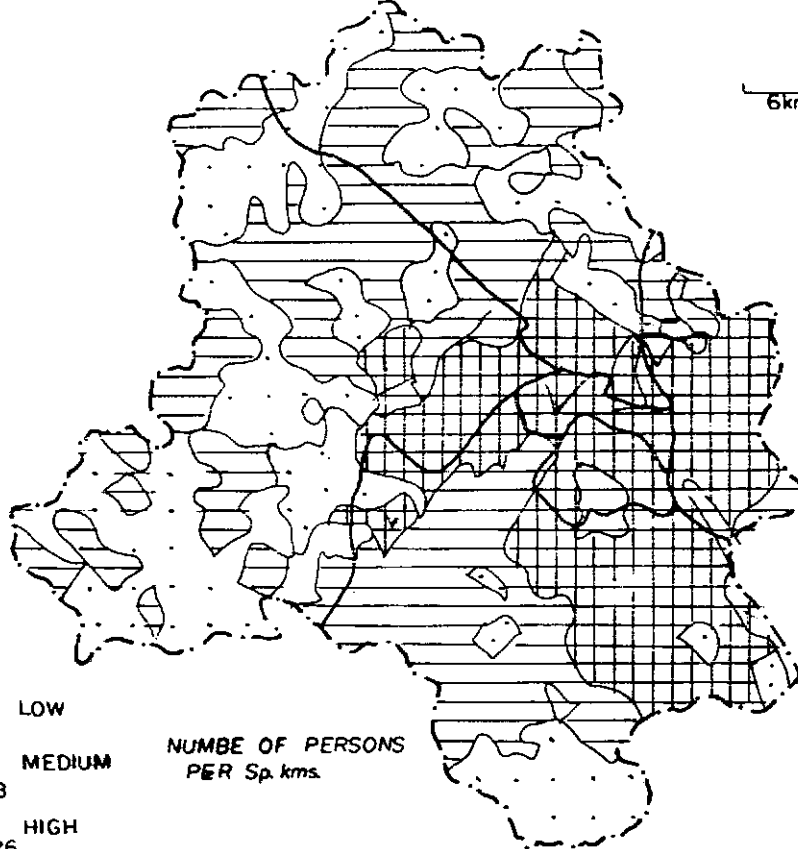
1985 data from Police Headquarters, New Delhi.
Computations by the writer.

considered that crime is mostly an urban phenomenon. The above composition is kept in mind while doing the analysis in the following section.

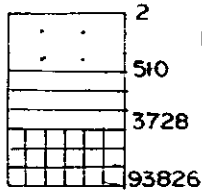
Since crime data was available only for the six main districts it is not possible to do a correlation analysis with the data on crime and the various socio-economic variables. The percentage of various socio-economic indicators were calculated for each village and each charge separately. Then they were arranged in an ascending order and divided into three groups with an equal number of values, the first one standing for low, the second for medium and the third for high. This was done with the help of the computer. The above data was then plotted on the map of Delhi with village and charge boundaries clearly demarcated. Each of the map was then placed along with the map showing the rate of crime of each district per 10,000 of population. Thus a visual study could be undertaken. The following seven indicators have been taken for this study:-

(1) Density of population: Area of villages was given in hectares and that of the charges and census towns in km^2 . Area of villages was converted into km^2 and then the density of population was calculated per sq km. Density of population is very high in New Delhi and Central district (Fig III.4). Both have

DELHI DENSITY OF POPULATION (1981)

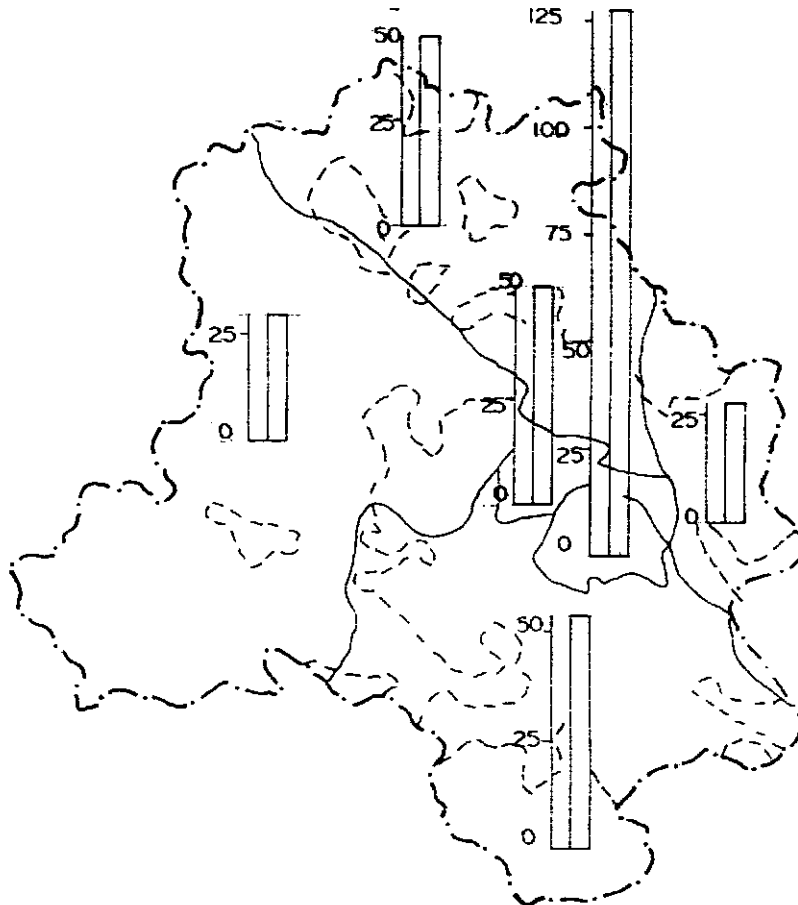


INDEX



LOW
510
MEDIUM
3728
HIGH
93826
NUMBER OF PERSONS
PER Sq. kms.

CRIME RATE (PER 10,000 OF POPULATION) IN THE SIX POLICE DISTRICTS OF DELHI



a high rate of crime. New Delhi has the highest rate (i.e. 130 cases per 10,000 of population. East district also has a high density of population. Only some parts of South district has a high density of population (above 3728 persons per sq km). The rest of the urban area of South district has only a medium or low density of population. The low density of population in an urban area is also an indicator of prosperity. This is because only the rich and the affluent can afford to buy big plots and build big bungalows in any urban area. It is not thus surprising that the South district accounts for a very high rate of property crimes and low density of population which means criminals can escape easily⁷. The rate (2) of crime of North and West districts is less due to the presence of a large number of villages whose density of population is but naturally low. The above statement is based upon the assumption that the incidence and rate of crime is generally low in villages.

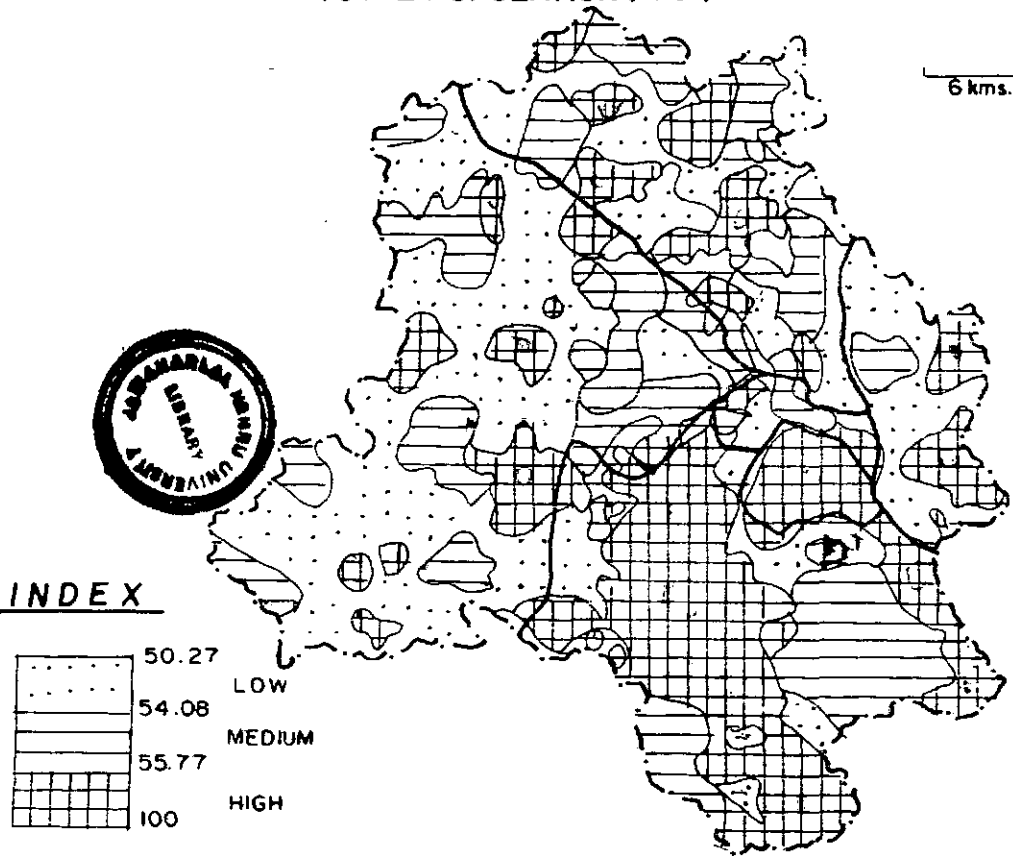
(2) Percentage of total population (male):

Percentage share of male population to that of the total population is highest in South and New Delhi districts (Fig III.5). These two districts have the highest rate of crime⁸. Percentage share of male population is low

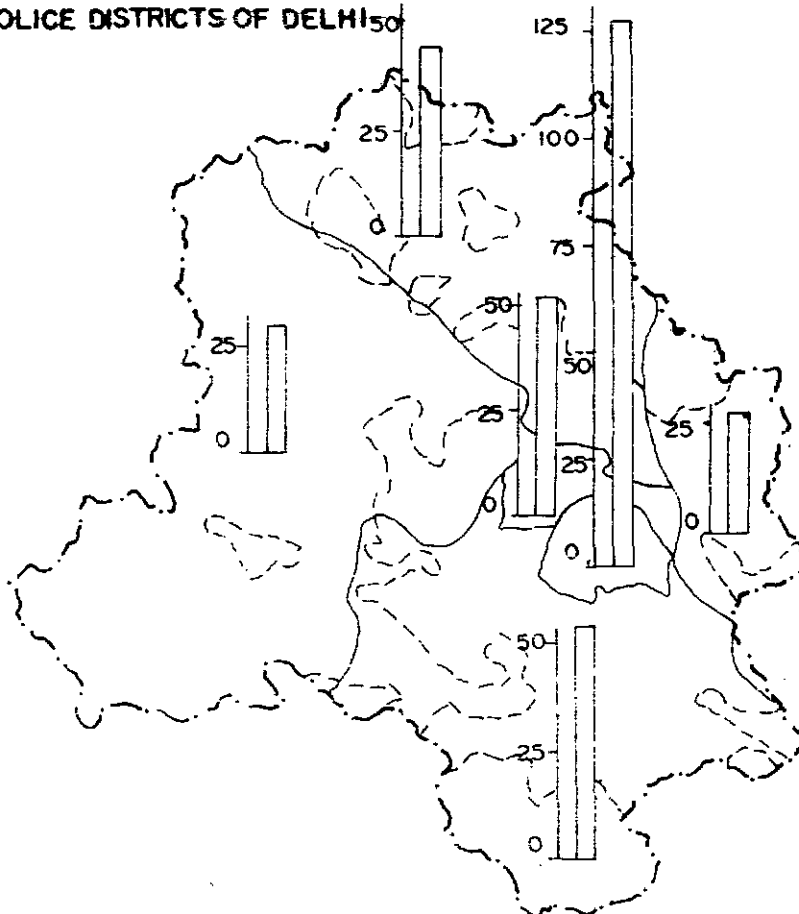
7 According to Kulkarni (1981) property crimes are more common in more prospective areas (i.e., upper class residential areas).

8 Kulkarni (1983) found in his study of urban crime in Ahmedabad that where the sex ratio is low there the incidence of crime is high.

DELHI PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MALE POPULATION TO THE TOTAL POPULATION (1981)



CRIME RATE (PER 10,000 OF POPULATION) IN THE SIX POLICE DISTRICTS OF DELHI

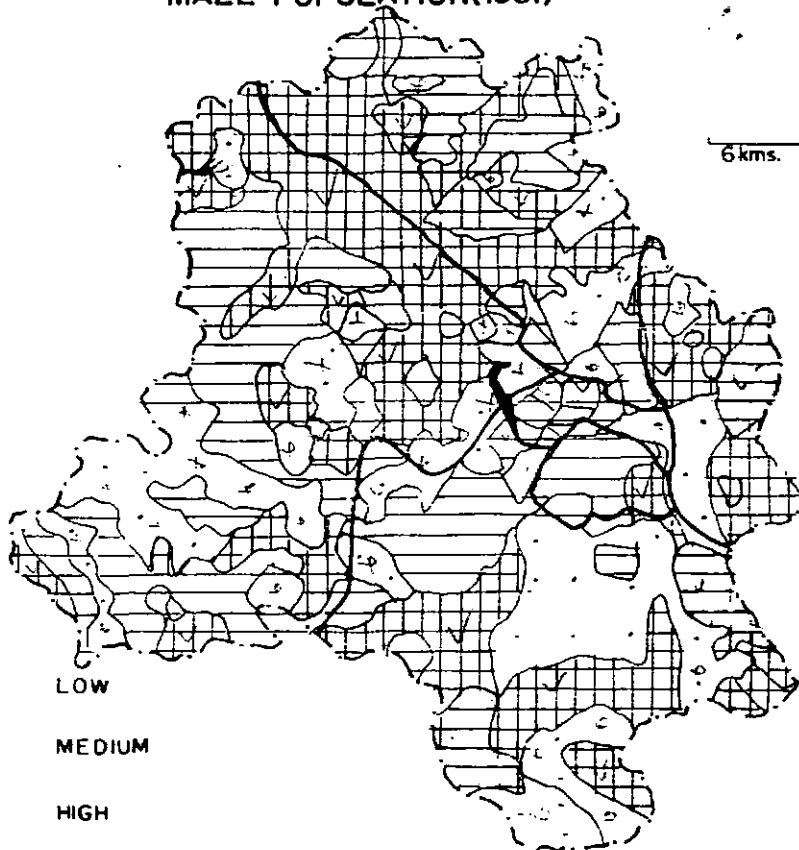


in West and North districts where crime rate is also low.

(3) Percentage of Scheduled Castes (male):

Percentage of male Scheduled Castes to the total male population is found to be low or medium (0 to 22.58%) in the urban areas (Fig III.6). Percentage of Scheduled Caste (total) to the total population is also found to be low or medium (0-22.93%) in the urban areas. But on ranking the districts on the basis of percentage of Scheduled Castes (both total and male) it was found that Central district had the highest percentage share of Scheduled Castes (total and male) whose rate of crime is also very high (Table III.11). New Delhi has the highest rate of crime but has a very low percentage share of Scheduled Castes. South Delhi which has a high rate of crime has a low or a medium percentage of Scheduled Caste male (0-22.58%). New Delhi which has the highest rate of crime (130.8 cases per 10,000 of population) has a low percentage of Scheduled Caste male (0-13.99%). Thus it is very clear from this study that it is not possible to correlate Scheduled Caste population with the rate of crime specially in the capital city of India until data on the residences of criminals are available. One must keep in mind that Scheduled Caste people living in urban area are no longer downtrodden. With all the

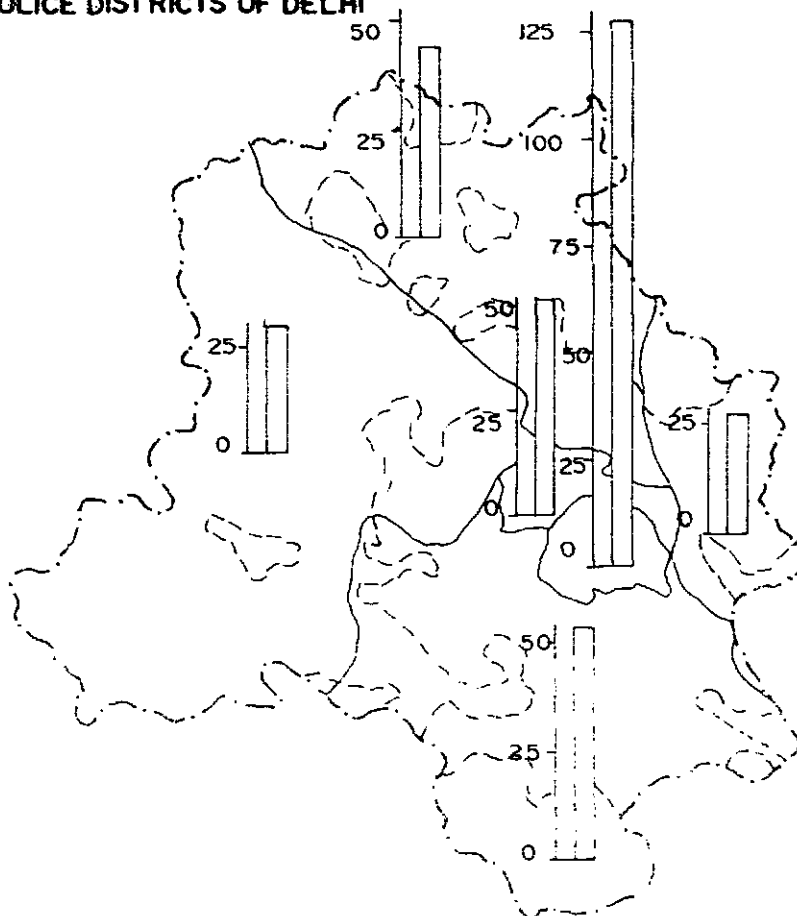
DELHI PERCENTAGE OF SCHEDULED CASTE MALES TO TOTAL MALE POPULATION(1981)



INDEX

1.00	LOW
13.99	MEDIUM
22.58	HIGH

CRIME RATE (PER 10,000 OF POPULATION) IN THE SIX POLICE DISTRICTS OF DELHI



facilities and opportunities that the Government has been giving them, they have now been able to bring up their standard of living. Thus this conclusion is contradictory to that as given by Kulkarni (1981). According to him higher the proportion of people belonging to backward communities, the higher will be the incidence of crime. Secondly it is not necessary that crimes are committed by people belonging to the same area⁹.

(4) Percentage of total illiterates (male):

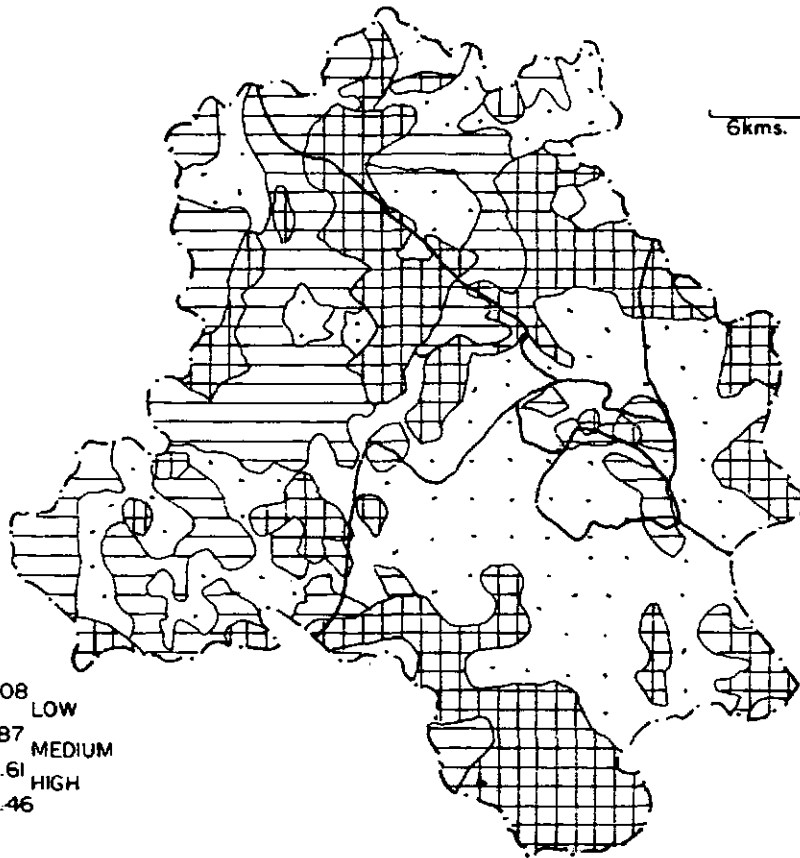
Percentage of total illiterates and male illiterates is very low in most of the urban area of Delhi as against the rural area of Delhi (Fig III.7). It has been proved by many that crime is more often an urban phenomenon than rural. So on combining the above two statements we can conclude that either the modern criminals are illiterate or that crimes are committed by people, may be literate or illiterate, coming from rural areas.

East district has twenty five villages but all have a low percentage of illiteracy (both total and male illiteracy). It has two urban charges where percentage of illiteracy is very high (39.61-98.46%). Two charges of South district also has a high percentage of illiteracy.

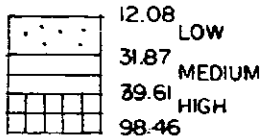
9

Wolfgang (1972) in his paper, "Urban Crime" has explained how the different types of crime is distributed in the city. According to him some types of crime occurs close to the places where the criminals live and some occurs far away from where the criminals live.

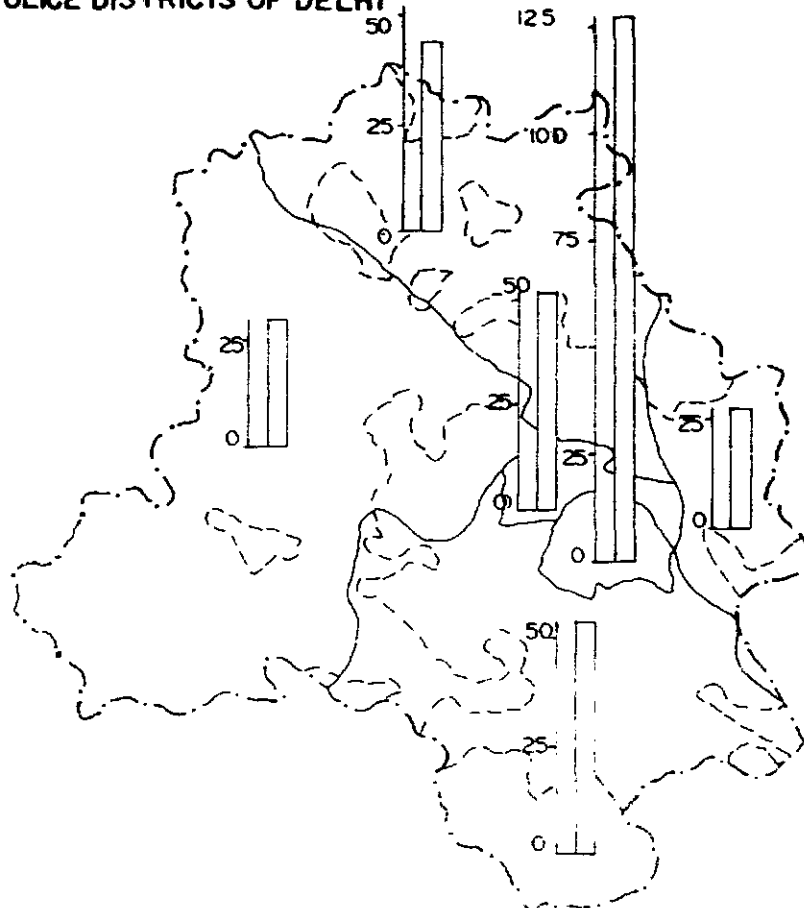
DELHI
PERCENTAGE OF MALE ILLITERATES TO TOTAL MALE POPULATION (1981)



INDEX



CRIME RATE (PER 10,000 OF POPULATION)
IN THE SIX POLICE DISTRICTS OF DELHI



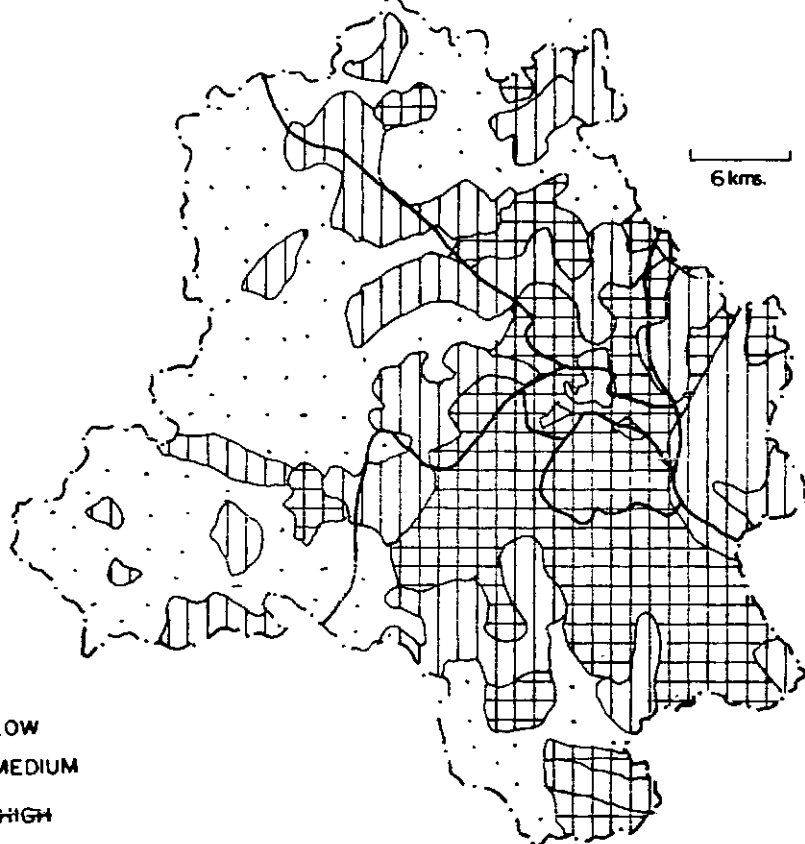
So without further study and investigation it is not possible to state whether there is a positive relationship between crime rate and illiterate population as far as Delhi is concerned.

(5) Percentage of total main workers (male):

Percentage of total main workers (total and male) is much higher in urban areas as compared to the rural areas (Fig III.8). But it is specially very high in South, New Delhi and Central districts. And all the three districts have a very high rate of crime.

(6) Percentage of workers engaged in household industries, manufacturing, processing, servicing and repairs (male): Percentage of household industry (total and male) is very high in East and Central districts (Fig III.9). Central district has the third highest rate of crime whereas East district has a low rate of crime. This may be due to lesser opportunity for criminal activity. South and New Delhi districts have a small percentage of people engaged in industrial activity whereas both the districts have a very high crime rate. Thus this is contradicting to what Kulkarni (1981) stated. According to him high proportion of workers engaged in industrial activity leads to higher incidence of crime.

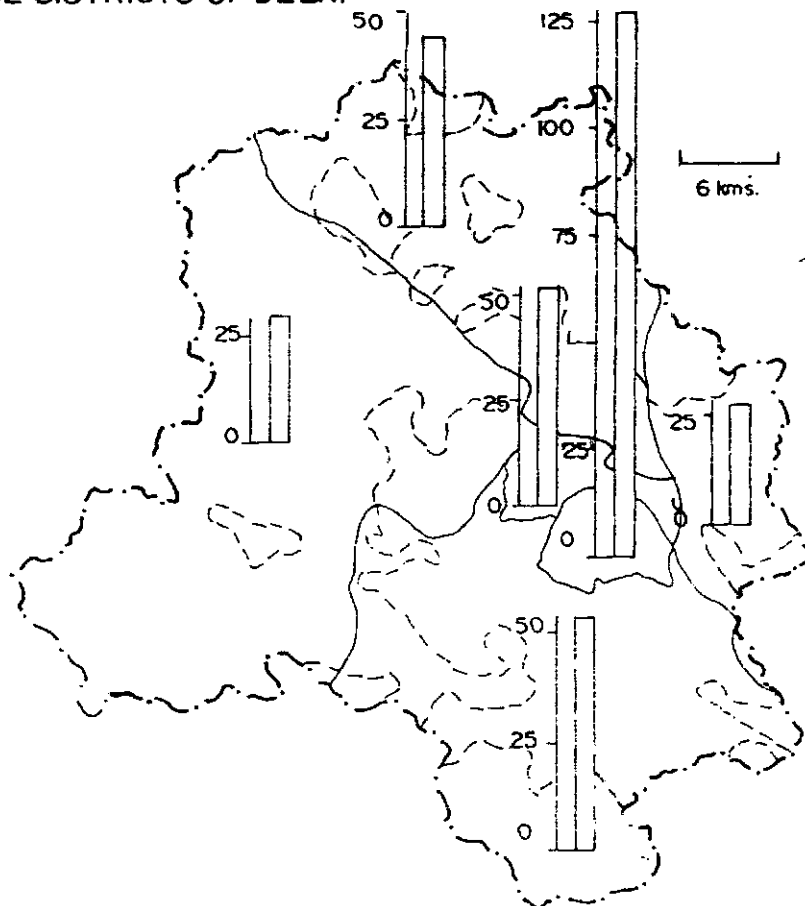
DELHI
 PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL MAIN WORKERS (MALE) TO
 TOTAL MALE POPULATION (1981)



INDEX

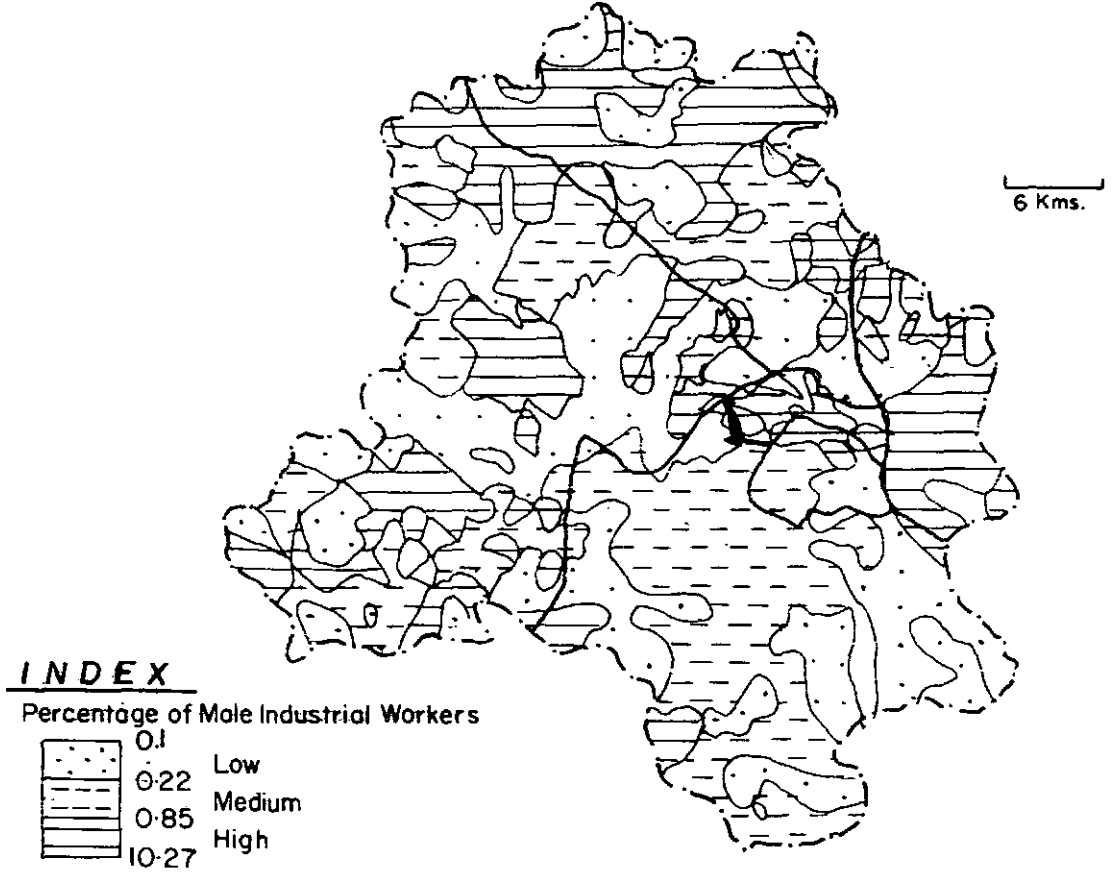
	12.50	LOW
	45.6	MEDIUM
	52.55	HIGH
	100	HIGH

**CRIME RATE (PER 10,000 OF POPULATION)
 IN THE SIX POLICE DISTRICTS OF DELHI**



DELHI

PERCENTAGE OF MALE WORKERS ENGAGED IN INDUSTRY TO THE TOTAL MALE POPULATION (1981)



CRIME RATE (10,000 OF POPULATION) IN THE SIX POLICE DISTRICTS OF DELHI

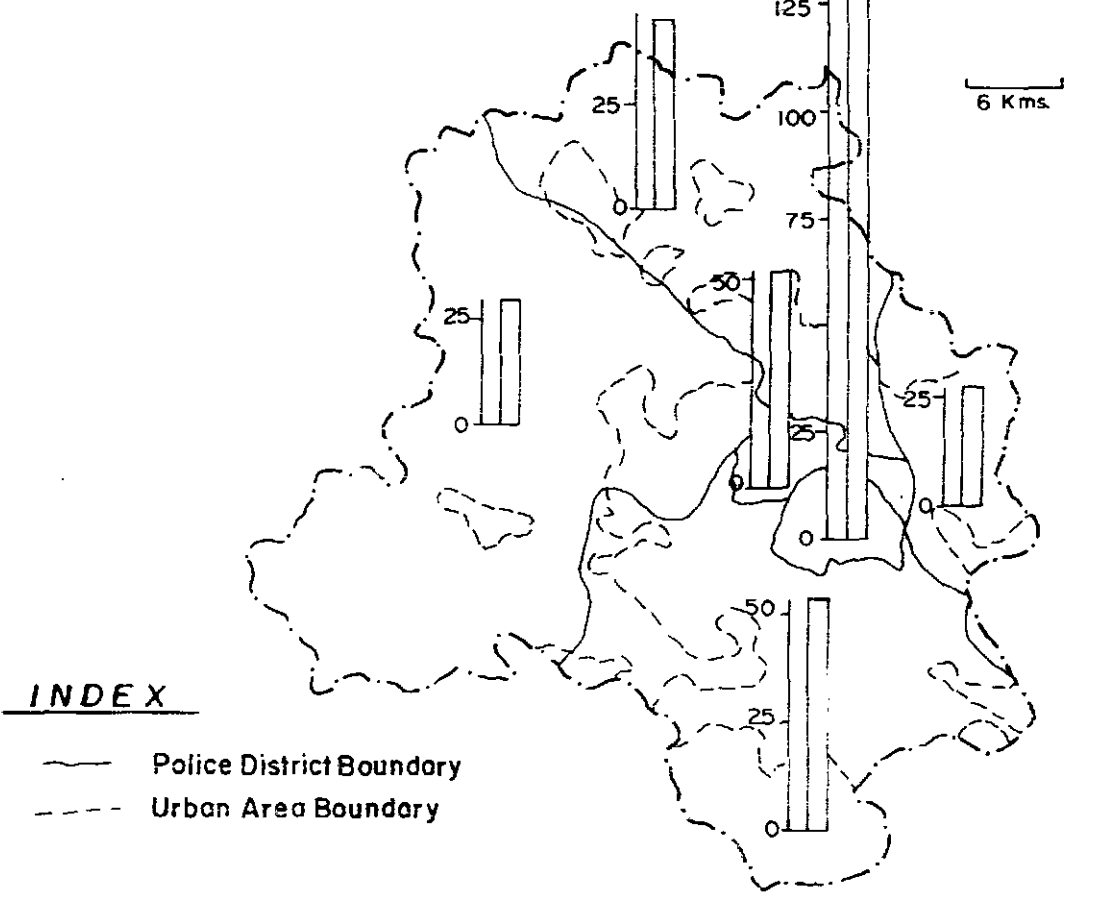


FIG. III. 9

(7) Percentage of non-workers (male):

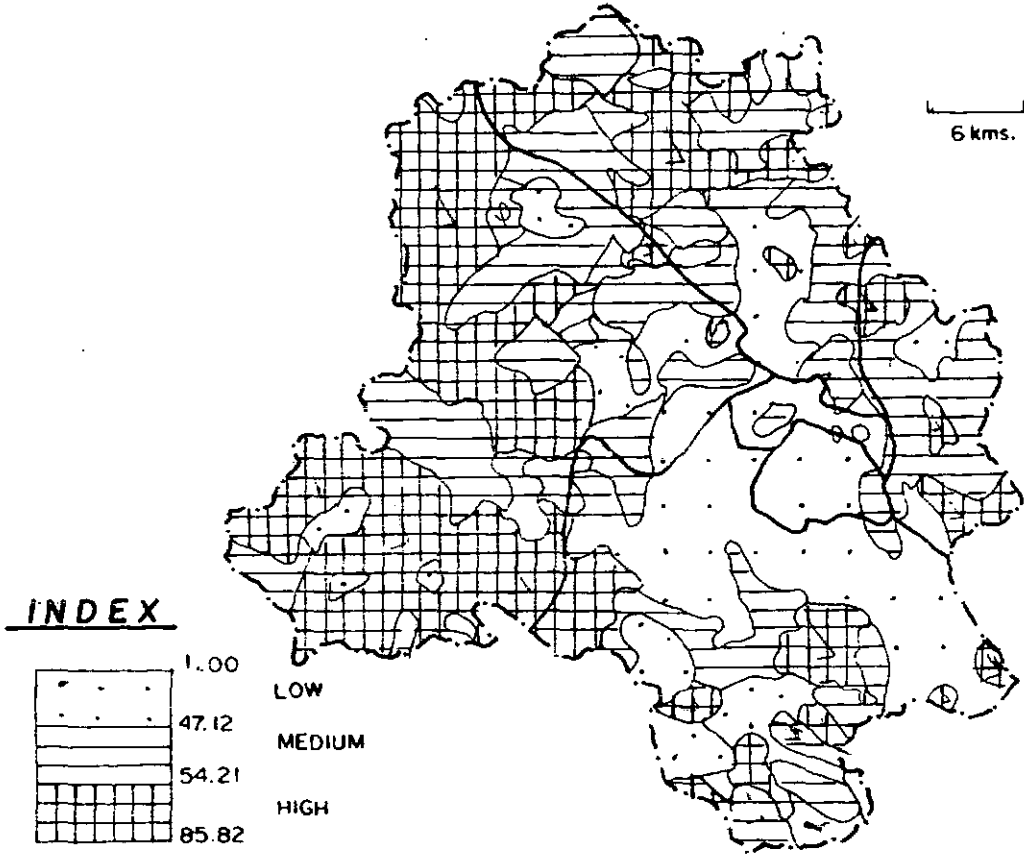
Percentage of non-workers (male and total) is low in South, New Delhi and Central districts. In all the three districts crime rate is high. Percentage of non-workers is medium or high (1972 (72-99%) in East and West districts (Fig III.10). Percentage of non-workers is high in rural areas where there is a joint family system. So not necessarily all men are employed. Thus unless we know the residences of criminals it is not possible to state a positive relationship between crime rate and percentage of non-workers. Non-workers include children and the aged.

III.6 SEGREGATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES AND NON-SCHEDULED CASTES IN DELHI

This part of the chapter looks at one aspect of the social geography of Delhi, i.e., the segregation of the Scheduled Castes and non-Scheduled Castes and how it relates to crime. According to Bhatt (1972) residential segregation would probably occur if the sub-group of a city's population were considered to be of undesirable status by the rest of the population or the dominant groups. This situation would result in involuntary segregation. Sub-groups of a city's population may voluntarily segregate themselves as well, since living near others from the same sub-groups

DELHI

PERCENTAGE OF NON WORKERS (MALE) TO TOTAL MALE POPULATION (1981)



CRIME RATE (PER 10,000 OF POPULATION) IN THE SIX POLICE DISTRICTS OF DELHI

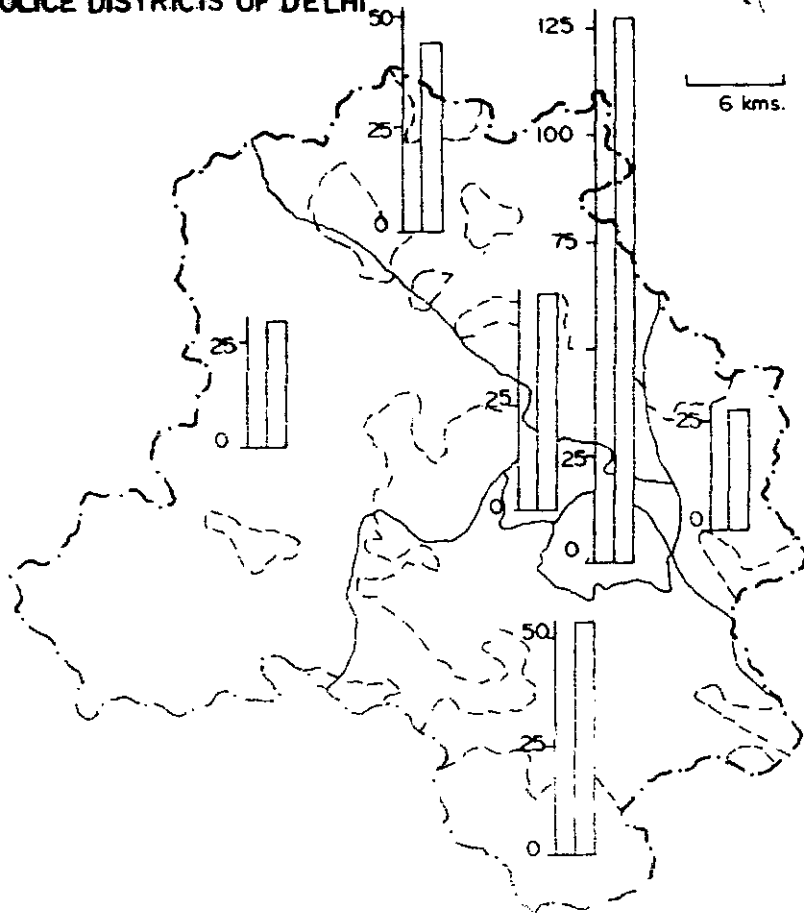


FIG III 10

may help facilitate adjustment in a new situation or help to maintain sub-group identity.

Delhi consists of 97 charges, 37 census towns and 231 villages (Appendix V). The charges are further divided into blocks whereas census towns and villages are not. Micro level data on Scheduled Caste population was required in order to calculate this index. Thus segregation index could only be calculated for the urban areas of Delhi which consists of New Delhi Municipal Corporation, Delhi Cantt and Delhi Municipal Corporation.

The following formula has been used:-

$$\text{Index of segregation} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N \frac{x_i}{X} - \frac{t}{T} \left(\text{when } \frac{X}{X} \frac{t}{T} \right)}{\left(1 - \frac{X}{T} \right)}$$

T = Total population of urban area

t_i = Total population of the i th spatial unit

X = Population of the Scheduled Castes of the urban area

x_i = Population of Scheduled Castes in the i th spatial unit

N = Total number of spatial units

Urban area stands for each charge.

i th spatial unit stands for block. (There are large number of blocks in each charge).

After calculating the segregation index for each charge, they are arranged in an ascending order (Appendix VI). Wherever there is a sudden gap between the segregation index of one charge to that of the other, there a division is made. Thus all the values for the charges were divided into three main groups and then plotted on the charge map of urban Delhi (Fig III.11).

Segregation index (according to 1981 census) has been calculated for the whole of Delhi in order to test the hypothesis that:-




Where segregation index is low, there crime rate is low and where segregation index is high there crime rate is also high. Inference is that the tendency to commit crime is maximum if an area is occupied either by only Scheduled Caste population or by only non-Scheduled Caste population. And when they live together then the tendency to commit crime is less. If in an area fifty percent of people are non-Scheduled Caste then the index of segregation is zero. Segregation index of each charge is given in Appendix VI.

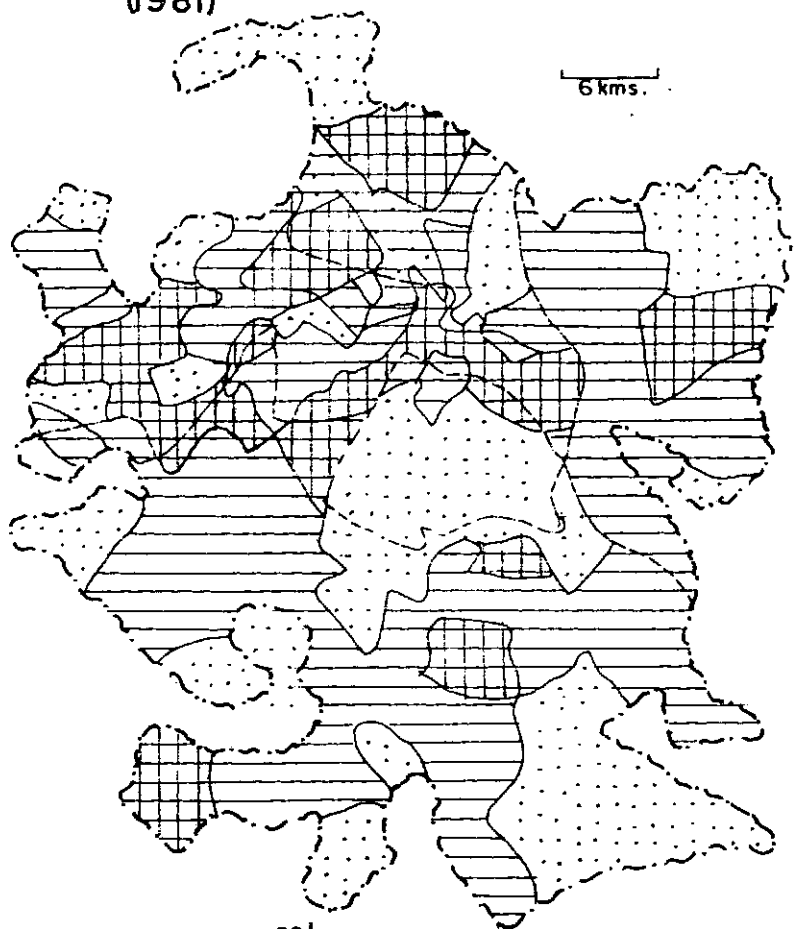
In this study index of segregation of a place is seen in comparison with the crime rates per 10,000 of population.

CASTES IN THE POLICE DISTRICTS OF DELHI (1981)

6 kms.

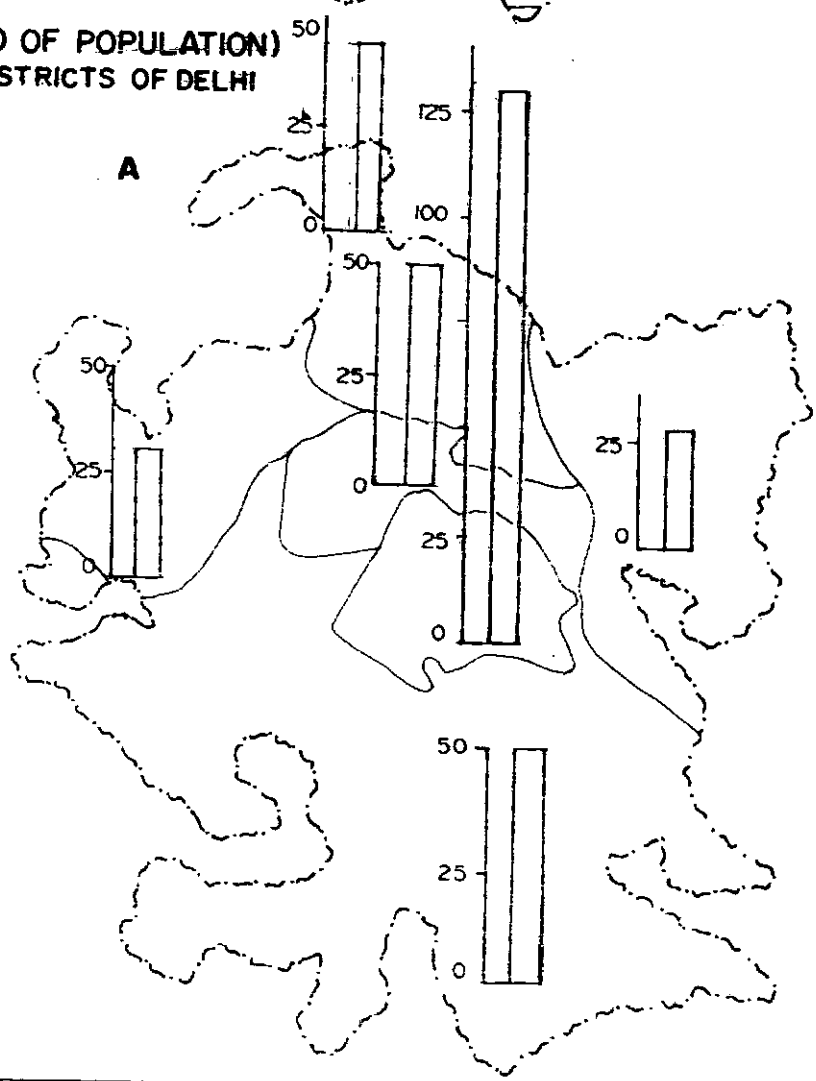
SEGREGATION INDEX

	LOW 21.95-50.25
	MEDIUM 50.25-61.78
	HIGH 61.78-84.68



CRIME RATE (10,000 OF POPULATION) IN THE SIX POLICE DISTRICTS OF DELHI

A



STUDY AREA A

FIG. III. II

The map on segregation index does not show a positive correlation between segregation index and crime rate. In the New Delhi district there is low segregation index (21.95-50.25) and has a high rate of crime (131 cases per 10,000 of population).

Crime rate is high in Central district and the overall segregation index is also high. One half of the area has high segregation index (61.78-84.68) and a bit less than the other half has medium segregation index (50.25-61.78). Central district has only one or two pockets where segregation index is low.

In West Delhi although the segregation index is quite high but the rate of crime is even less than that of Central district. This may be because of lack of reporting or may be the police does not take much care about writing the complaint. The urban area of West Delhi is very congested and occupied by a handful of rich businessmen and by poor unskilled labourers and workers.

South district has a low to medium segregation index although the rate of crime is very high. The latter may be attributed to all the environmental opportunities that South district has as far as dacoity, robbery, theft, etc., are concerned.

East district has a low rate of crime and segregation index is also low. North district has a medium to high segregation index and rate of crime is also high (i.e. about 22 per cent).

Thus we can conclude that segregation index may be playing an important role in increasing or decreasing the incidence of crime of any place. Though it is not the only factor but there are a number of other factors which increases or decreases the incidence of crime of any place.

III.7 GEOGRAPHY OF CRIME

Many scholars have given different reasons why crime is not equally distributed in the city and also how the different types of crimes are distributed in the city. Others have attempted to correlate geographical factors and human behaviour. Is there any positive relationship between crime and season, climate, temperature, latitude and zone? In this section an attempt has been made to correlate season with crime. Monthwise data has been collected for the years 1972, 1973, 1975, 1982, 1983, 1985 and 1986.

III.7.1 Total cognizable crime of Delhi

A monthwise profile (Table III.13) has been made for the years 1975 and 1985 in order to see if there is any correlation between the two. If there is

any positive relationship it means that there is a relationship between season and crime (Dextor 1904). But in this case it has been found that there is a positive relationship although very insignificant ($r = .23$).

From Fig III.12 showing monthwise profile of 1985 and 1986 it is clear that there is no fixed relationship between season and incidence of crime. According to Dextor (1904) weather influences functioned either to depress or energize the organism. But nowadays with all kinds of heating and cooling system the effect of weather on crime rate has been minimized to a great extent. Secondly the fluctuation in crime may be attributed to a number of other reasons. In other words it can be said that the influence of weather upon the emotional and physiological activities of the individual is much limited in this modern world.

III.7.2 Different categories of crime

Seasonal variation (Dextor 1904) has been explained by common sense, e.g., burglary is more in winter due to longer nights. From the Table III.14 showing incidence of burglary for the years 1972 to 1986 it very clearly proves the point as given by Dextor that burglary cases are more in winter. The years 1972, 1973, 1982, 1983, 1985 and 1986 all have had much more of burglary cases in winter than in summer. Thus in the

DELHI MONTHLY PROFILE OF CRIMES (1985-1986)

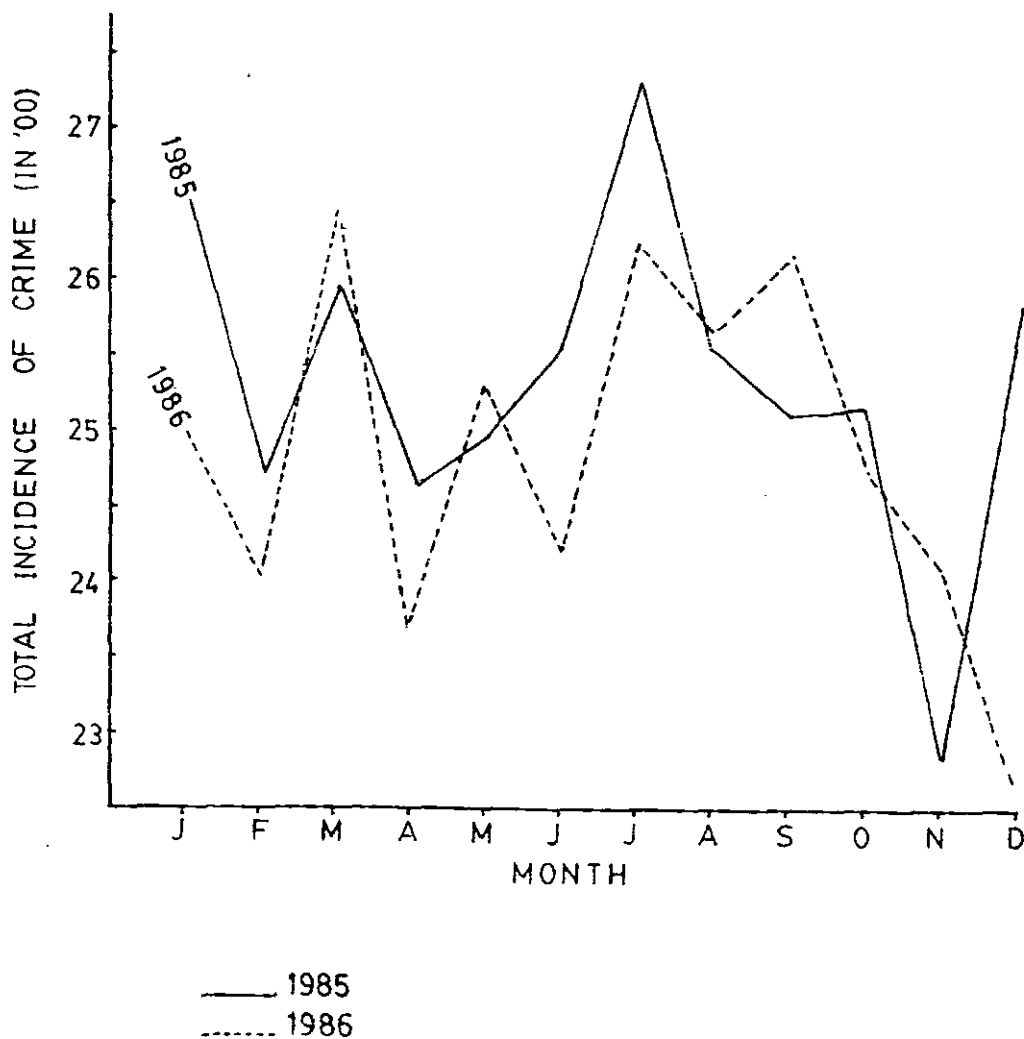


fig III 12

INCIDENCE OF BURGLARY

Month	1972	1973	1975	1982	1983	1985	1986
January	279	335	252	169	141	166	192
February	253	268	233	103	116	160	154
March	277	250	237	107	126	152	142
April	227	227	187	89	90	115	126
May	242	243	207	83	109	135	140
June	225	249	158	92	86	147	144
July	231	244	120	80	90	157	123
August	237	259	188	103	88	103	119
September	231	224	169	99	101	151	121
October	245	248	132	101	75	170	124
November	279	190	160	113	89	131	101
December	347	272	143	133	117	176	138

Source: As at Table III.13

TABLE III.15

INCIDENCE OF THEFT

Month	1972	1973	1975	1982	1983	1985	1986
January	1436	1936	1891	1272	1179	1341	1179
February	1256	1682	1597	1137	1156	1160	1065
March	1375	1664	1624	1185	1117	1158	1118
April	1359	1508	1605	1110	1002	1075	899
May	1421	1571	1576	1141	1081	1056	991
June	1419	1483	1313	1054	1154	1089	980
July	1609	1681	1187	1094	1125	1234	1103
August	1644	1690	1175	1195	1061	1128	1058
September	1775	1607	1410	1161	937	1145	1108
October	1764	1512	1214	1156	1009	1102	1055
November	1804	1603	1186	1034	1041	1200	1058
December	1938	1853	1368	1159	1065	1205	1185

Source: Same as at Table III.13

light of burglary Cohen's (1941) statement makes much sense. According to him crimes against property are more numerous in winter. But the table showing the incidence of theft does not prove the above said point (Table III.15). Burglary is not so much affected by summer and winter as it is affected by length of day and the night. On the other hand cycle theft, pick-pocketing, etc., generally take place during day time.

Dextor (1904) concluded that assaults increased with the increase in heat. Cohen (1941) too stated that crimes against property are more numerous in winter. Murder and attempt to murder has been combined together under one group, i.e., offences against the person. But from the given Table III.16 it is clear that there is no fixed pattern as far as season is concerned.

III.8 POLICE STRENGTH OF DELHI

The relationship between the crime and police has aptly been stated by Welford (1974) in his paper "Crime and the police". (According to him the level of crime of any place is dependent upon four main factors: crime proneness (probability that a person will commit a crime); social characteristics (unemployment); demographic characteristics (age composition); and social control characteristics (police, etc.).)

OFFENCES AGAINST THE PERSON (MURDER & ATTEMPT TO MURDER)

Month	1972	1973	1975	1982	1983	1985	1986
January	19	28	25	41	24	35	36
February	27	26	34	34	34	50	29
March	17	39	48	29	47	50	52
April	17	37	43	39	46	43	49
May	27	37	49	40	46	69	48
June	19	30	31	49	43	47	47
July	30	33	20	32	49	53	54
August	23	27	23	45	38	55	51
September	34	29	18	49	35	47	58
October	30	32	19	33	31	46	57
November	44	33	20	43	35	40	51
December	31	28	18	30	37	47	37

Source: Same as at Table III.13

How the police functions has been stated very nicely by Hallenback (1951). According to him the detection of crime and apprehension of criminals are complicated, technical and expensive jobs in modern cities. They involve such things as a large and well organized police force, a staff of detectives, pick-pocket squad, homicide squad, training schools, technical research laboratories, etc.

It is very important to study the police strength of a city while studying its crime rate. For it may be possible that the increasing crime rate may be very often attributed to the inadequacy of the police force as said by Ficker and Graves (1971).

III.8.1 Present organization of police department

In 1971 Delhi had 43 police stations comprising one district as contemplated by section 10 of the code of criminal procedure and so there was one district magistrate for the entire territory. However for police administration purposes, the territory had been divided into four police districts, each under a superintendent of police. There were additional district magistrates, one roughly for each police district to assist the District Magistrate in matters of criminal justice and administration. The four police districts were North, Central, South and New Delhi (Delhi Gazetteer 1971).

By 1981 it was seen that more police stations and more police districts were needed, with the growing population of Delhi. Delhi's population increased from 3.6 million in 1971 to 5.7 million by 1981 (Chengappa 1988). So in 1981 there were in all six police districts. The six police districts are North, Central, South, New Delhi, East and West. And in all there are around 75 police stations.

According to a reporter (Indian Express 1978) the population of Delhi has increased many-fold over the years but the strength of the police force had not gone up proportionally. He further stated that since Delhi was also the capital of the country the police apart from carrying out their normal function of crime control and crime prevention had to guard important establishments and provide security to both foreign as well as other VIPs.

III.8.2 Police strength of Delhi — Districtwise

Table III.17 gives the police strength of Delhi according to 1987. From this Table it is clear that the South district has got the maximum number of policemen and police stations though the density of population is the lowest here, being only 681 persons per sq km. One thing to be noted is that the incidence of crime is the highest in South Delhi. It is possible that this

TABLE III.17

POLICE STRENGTH & RANKING OF DISTRICTS						
Post	Police strength 1987					
	North	East	Central	West	New Delhi	South
Inspector	17	11	12	12	7	17
Sub-Inspector + Asst.Sub.I.	250	145	207	142	131	255
Head Constable + Constable	1826	1172	1391	1355	941	2035
Total	2093	1328	1610	1509	1079	2307
Post	No. of policemen per 10000 of population					
	North	East	Central	West	New Delhi	South
Inspector	.13	.1	.14	.09	.32	.12
Sub-Inspector + Asst.Sub.I.	1.95	1.25	2.5	1.07	5.91	1.82
Head Constable + Constable	14.27	10.13	16.78	10.18	42.48	14.51
Total	16.36	11.48	19.42	11.33	48.72	16.45
Description	Ranking of districts					
	North	East	Central	West	New Delhi	South
No. of policemen/ 10000 of popu- lation	4	5	2	6	1	3
Crime rate/10000 of population	4	6	3	5	1	2
Incidence of crime	2	5	4	3	6	1
Density of popu- lation	4	2	1	5	3	6
No. of police station	17	11	12	12	6	17

Source: Same as at Table III.1

is very much due to reporting and registering of cases. As Dev (1987) had found that the police refuse to register about 65% of crime cases in the national capital, i.e., Delhi and that the policeman's repression and his corruption make a greater impact on the poorer individual than on the richer. It is always the rich who get undue attention.

Though the density of population is the highest in Central district, the number of policemen per 10,000 of population is only 19.42 whereas New Delhi has 48.72 whose density of population being only 1/6th of Central district. Secondly Central district has only 12 police stations whereas the South district has 17. It is very much possible that the police in the Central district are so much overworked that they do not get enough time to register all the cases.

On calculating the correlation of police strength/10,000 of population to the crime rate per 10,000 of population for the different districts. It was found that there is a very high positive correlation ($r = .99$). It has also to be taken into account that the percentage of illiterates and Scheduled Caste population is very low in New Delhi and South districts whereas it is high in Central, East and West districts. Thus the general awareness among the people regarding their rights

and duties is low in the latter thus accounting for less reporting. Secondly the high density of population in the Central district (24195 persons/sq km) the type of congested settlement pattern all account for petty quarrels among the people at the slightest provocation. Thus the low rate of crime in the Central and West districts is mainly due to less of reporting on the part of the people and less of registering of cases on the part of the police.

III.9 NEWSPAPER REPORTING

For this study the Times of India newspaper was studied for the year 1986. Data was collected from the newspaper for the various districts and for the various categories of crime (Table III.18). First the rate of crime was calculated for every ten thousand of population (Table III.19). The same was done for data on crime from official sources. The main aim of this part of the study is to find out if there is any co-relation between the official data and the data from newspaper reporting. Or is it that mostly the crimes from the posh areas like New Delhi and South districts are published in

DATA ON CRIME

Description	Data on crime from ITO PHQ for 1986						Data on crime from Newspaper Reporting 1986*					
	North	East	Central	West	New Delhi	South	North	East	Central	West	New Delhi	South
Dacoity	3	4	-	-	-	8	3	-	-	-	-	5
Murder	52	64	31	68	5	51	35	32	39	49	3	60
Attempt to murder	57	70	68	60	7	40	9	10	10	13	-	9
Robbery	36	41	20	43	9	53	-	2	3	5	-	3
Riots	17	24	41	40	21	36	-	-	-	-	-	-
Snatching	28	19	10	23	8	46	5	8	6	20	3	32
Hurts	419	362	303	369	50	262	106	104	88	169	17	231
Burglary	160	387	163	292	72	590	22	26	39	33	4	96
Theft	2624	1189	1795	1497	1658	3266	17	7	44	16	4	13
Misc. I.P.C.	2477	1651	1829	2098	1066	2992	81	58	154	133	14	86
Total	5873	3811	4260	4496	2896	7344	278	248	383	438	45	535

*Times of India

Source: Times of India 1986
 Research Cell Inspector
 Police Headquarters, New Delhi.
 Computations by the writer.

RATE OF CRIME PER 10,000 OF POPULATION

Description	Data on crime from ITO PHQ for 1986					Data on crime from newspaper reporting 1986*						
	North	East	Central	West	New Delhi	South	North	East	Central	West	New Delhi	South
Dacoity	.02	.03	-	-	-	.05	.02	-	-	-	-	.03
Murder	.4	.6	.3	.5	.2	.4	.3	.3	.5	3.4	.1	.4
Attempt to murder	.4	.6	.8	.5	.3	.3	.07	.08	.1	.09	-	.06
Robbery	.3	.4	.2	.3	.4	.4	-	.01	.03	.03	-	.02
Riots	.1	.2	.5	.3	.9	.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Snatching	.2	.2	.1	.2	.4	.3	.03	.06	.07	.2	.1	.2
Hurts	3.3	3.1	3.7	2.8	2.2	1.9	.8	.9	1.1	1.3	.8	1.6
Burglary	1.3	3.3	2.0	2.2	3.3	4.2	.2	.2	.5	.2	.2	.7
Theft	20.5	10.3	21.7	11.2	74.9	23.3	.1	.06	.5	.1	.2	.09
Misc.I.P.C.	19.4	14.3	22.1	15.8	48.0	21.3	.6	.5	1.9	1.0	.6	.6
Total	45.9	32.9	51.4	33.8	130.8	52.4	2.2	2.1	4.6	3.3	2.0	3.8

*Time of India

Source: Same as at Table III.18

the newspaper. In order to find out this, Pearson's coefficient of correlation was calculated to find if there is any correlation or not. On calculating the correlation it was found that it showed an insignificant negative correlation ($r = -.3$) between crime rate of both (i.e., from newspaper reporting and official statistics). It means that if a district has a large incidence of crime then a large sample of the same is published in the newspaper and vice versa. It also means that no district is given undue importance as far as newspaper reporting is concerned.

While collecting the data it was found that some areas were given much importance as far as the page number is concerned. It means that a murder in Central district would find a small place in the city briefs which are in the third page of the newspaper whereas a murder in the South district would evidently find a place in the front page.

III.10 CONCLUSION

The massive explosion of population in Delhi during the last 3 decades has resulted in shortage of housing, overcrowded localities, slums, traffic congestions, unemployment, etc., which have aggravated the law and order problems in the city. There has been an increase in crimes of various nature. Delhi has been leading all other cities in the country in crimes like murder, robbery and thefts. Taking Delhi as a whole it was found that there had been a sudden increase in crime rate between 1961 and 1971. But by 1981 the crime rate decreased markedly although there had been an actual increase in the incidence of crime.

At the district level study of Delhi it was found that the South district accounted for the highest percentage share of total crime (40 per cent) and almost for all categories of property crimes like robbery, theft, dacoity, burglary, etc.

Although the incidence of crime is highest in South district but the rate of crime per 10,000 of population is highest in New Delhi. This is because South district comprises of both villages and charges whereas New Delhi comprises only of urban charges. It is generally assumed that crime is more of an urban phenomenon than rural. So it is worthwhile to note

that South district inspite of having a large number of villages has the second highest crime rate.

When the riot cases per 10,000 of population was analysed it was found that all the districts had a high rate in 1984 than in 1985 and 1986. In the case of offences against the person and property offences with violence it was noticed that South district had the maximum incidence and New Delhi had the maximum rate.

On observing the district rankings of crime rates for property offences without violence there seemed to emerge a fixed pattern as far as this category of offences is concerned. New Delhi, South Central and North districts ranked first, second, third and fourth in that order for all the three years 1984, 1985 and 1986.

The districts were then ranked on the basis of socio-economic and crime variables. The major conclusions that arise from this study are as follows:

Where the percentage of Scheduled Caste, illiterate population and non-workers is low there crime rate is high (and vice versa), e.g., South district. Even though Central district has a high percentage share of Scheduled Castes, it has only a medium rate of crime. This can easily be attributed to less of reporting

and registering in the most densely populated district of Delhi.

Similar conclusions were drawn from the detailed study of socio-economic variables. Where the sex ratio is low there the incidence of crime is high. In Central district there was a positive correlation between crime rate and Scheduled Caste population whereas in New Delhi and South district which have the highest rate of crime having a low percentage share of Scheduled Caste population. Without further study it is difficult to find out if there is a positive correlation between Scheduled Caste population with crime rate and illiterate population with crime rate.

New Delhi and Central district have a high density of population and a high rate of crime. But South district which has the lowest density of population has a high rate of crime and also the highest incidence of crime for total Delhi. This is because property crimes are more prevalent in those areas which have a low density of population due to two reasons. Firstly it is the rich and affluent who can afford to live in big spacious bungalows with lot of cash and jewellery and secondly escape is very easy from a less populated area.

Central and East districts have a high percentage of industrial workers but these districts do not have a very high crime rate. This may be due to less of reporting. Or due to a high density of population it has a low rate of crime. Smith(1981) had stated in his book The City and Social Theory that it is mistaken to assume, as planners and urban social theorists often have done, that people who live under crowded conditions automatically suffer from being crowded; or that high population density necessarily entails social pathology. It is the other factors like low income, lack of social choice, housing discrimination, unemployment, etc., together with high densities that increase deviant behaviour patterns. Where the percentage of non-workers is low there crime rate is high, e.g. South and New Delhi districts. So it is very much possible that people are coming from outside the district to commit crime.

One of the hypothesis of this study was that where the segregation of Scheduled Caste population or non-Scheduled Caste population is high there crime rate is also high and vice versa. But from this study it has been found that it is not possible to positively correlate between segregation index and crime rate.

Only in Central district there was a positive relationship between the two.

From the study of geography of crime it can be concluded that the influence of weather upon the emotional and physiological activities of the individual is much limited in this modern world except for burglary which is more in winter due to longer nights.

Crime rates are not high where police strength (per 10,000 of population) is low. This has been proved after correlating police strength with that of crime rate. It is possible that where police strength is low there crime rate is low because people do not always report the crime or the police are so much overworked in some densely populated districts that they do not get enough time to register every complaint or that they record the complaints of the rich and influential people than the poor.

Lastly there is a positive correlation between the official data on crime and the data from newspaper reporting. It is mistaken to assume that only the crimes from posh areas like South and New Delhi districts are published in the newspapers. It was found that a murder in South district would evidently find a place in the front page whereas a murder in the Central district would find a small place in the city briefs which is on the third page.

The young men and women will have to be drawn to the rural areas to develop agriculture, animal husbandry, fisheries, cottage industries, all India waterway network in uniform levels to combat floods and droughts, sports, educational and cultural and spiritual activities, etc., so that incidence of crime is reduced to the minimum. Government can only take initiative in this direction.

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CHAPTER IV

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CORRELATES OF CRIME : A MICRO LEVEL STUDY OF SOUTH DELHI

IV.1 INTRODUCTION

In urban situations, crimes are observed to be varying in space. This has already been observed from the study of crime in the six police districts of Delhi. Different scholars give different reasons for this variation and have related the variation to various socio-economic characteristics of a given society.

Such attempts, however, are essentially made by western scholars. According to Ley (1983) and Benedict (1935), criminal deviation is a function of the pattern of culture to which an individual belongs. The temperament which is considered to be normal in one pattern of culture may be a deviation which is dangerous to the community in another as has been stated by Thouless (1960). Knox (1982) had found out that most aspects of deviant behaviour seem to exhibit a definite spatial pattern of some sort rather than being randomly distributed across the city. As early as 1929 Shaw had noticed that in certain distinctive areas of the city the occurrence of crime and delinquency is well above the average. That the social environment plays a vital role in the commitment of crime has been observed by Burt 1925. He along with many others (Williams 1985; Brown 1982; Corsi and Harvey 1975; Dunstan and Roberts 1980; Stahura, Huff

and Smith 1980; Pyle 1974 and Pyle 1976) came to the general conclusion that there is a positive association between the occurrence of crime and poverty. However, Pyle (1976) and Schmid (1960) explained that the occurrence of crime vary considerably by the type of offence. Boggs (1965) and Balwin, Bottoms, Walker (1976) gave importance to opportunity factors like the relationship between property values and house-breaking. Brantingham and Bra ntingham (1975) and Ley and Cybriwsky (1974) explained of how burglary could benefit from the weaker social control of 'anonymous' boundary areas. The dominant pattern of crime occurrence was found to be associated with inner-city areas of low social cohesion where there was a concentration of burglary, car theft and hand bag snatching (Schmid and Schmid 1972).

Some Indian scholars have also come to the conclusion that crime rate is related to many socio-economic reasons. Kulkarni (1981) from his study on Ahmedabad came to the conclusion that crime rate of an area is based upon the proportion of illiterate population, proportion of people belonging to backward communities and the proportion of labourers engaged in industrial activity. He also discovered that the areas of constant and intense social interaction and friction are more prone to conflicts and crimes. Lastly, he found

that the property crimes occur in more prospective areas. Sivamurthy (1982) also agreed to this point. Dutt, Noble and Sharma (1985) studied the variation of the spatial patterns of crime in Ajmer, India. They found that crimes do vary spatially in Ajmer and that there is a positive relationship between crime rate and population density. Also, that percentage of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes and illiterates do play a positive role in increasing the crime rate of an area of the city.

In the present chapter, the South district is studied in greater detail to clearly identify the correlates of crime in an Indian situation. In 1988 South Delhi consisted of 17 police stations. But the latest data for socio-economic variables were available only for 1981. As such, correlations between crime and socio-economic data were attempted for 1981.

In 1981 South Delhi consisted of only 14 police stations and crime data also pertained to them. Since there was no map available showing the demarcations of police stations of South Delhi, the list of areas included in each of the 17 police stations of South Delhi had to be collected from the respective police stations. The areas had to be grouped accordingly, since the data on crime was available for fourteen police stations and not

seventeen (Fig IV.1). Then a list of charges, census towns and villages that got included in each of the fourteen police stations was made. The nineteen categories of crime have been aggregated into seven main groups. The data on crime was then correlated with the various socio-economic variables. (Table IV.1).

Now in this micro-level study of South Delhi segregation index has been calculated for the fourteen police stations. This was then correlated with the crime rate per 10,000 of population of each police station. Lastly police force per 1,000 of population is correlated with crime rate in order to find out if an area having a high crime rate has less of police force or not.

IV.2 TOTAL COGNIZABLE CRIME OF SOUTH DISTRICT - 1981

The incidence of crime was highest in Kalkaji (1423) followed by Defence Colony (1097) (Table IV.2). Hazrat Nizamuddin and Hauz Khas too have a high incidence of crime. Very low incidence of crime was noted in Delhi Cantt., Vasant Vihar and Badarpur. Since the incidence of crime does not make much sense unless and until it is correlated with crime, the following analysis deals with crime as related to population.

IV.3 RATE OF CRIME PER 10,000 OF POPULATION

On calculating the rate of crime it was found that Hazrat Nizamuddin, Naraina and Vasant Vihar had a

POLICE STATIONS OF SOUTH DELHI DISTRICT (1981)

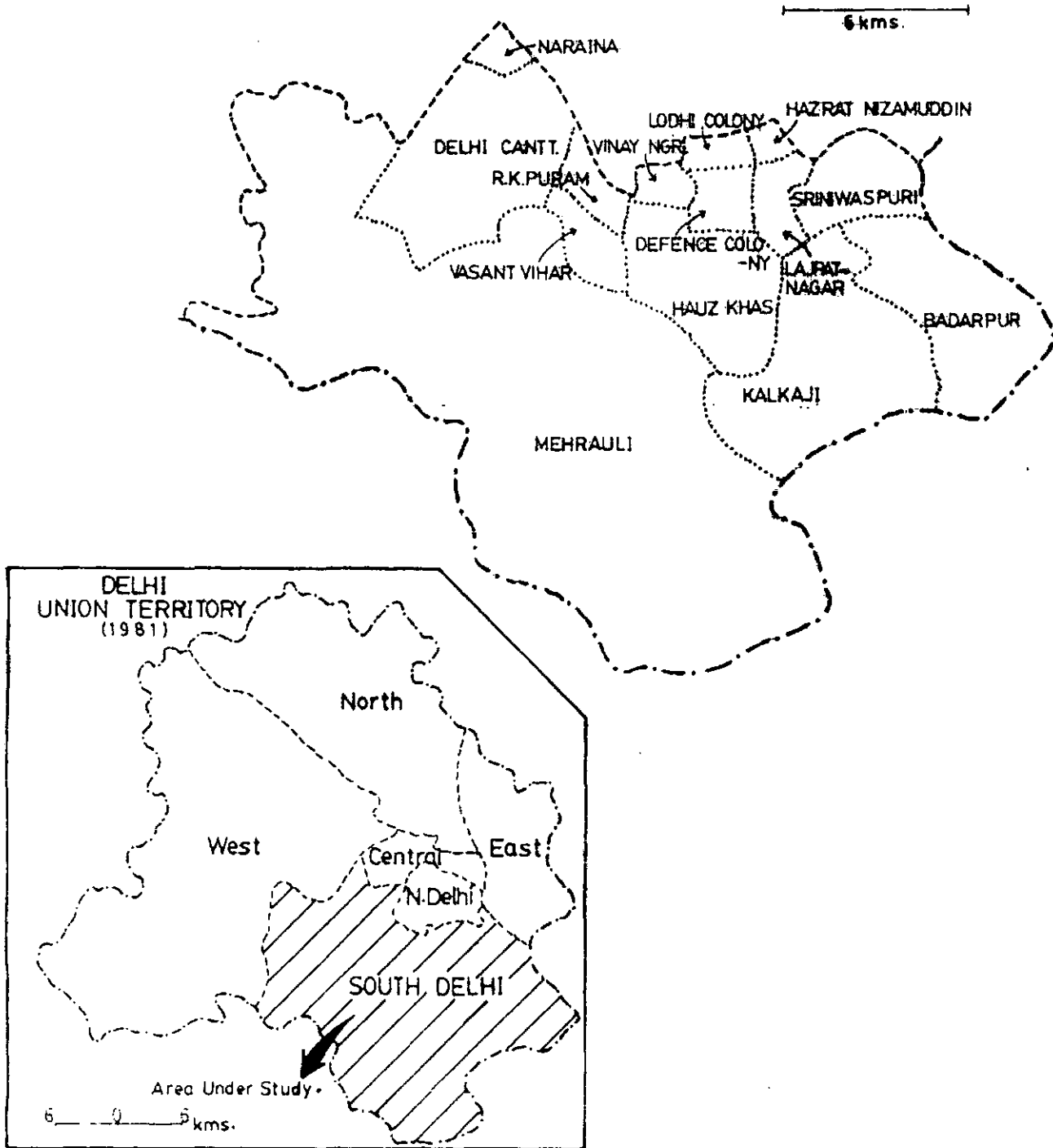


Fig. IV.1

LIST OF AREAS INCLUDED IN EACH POLICE STATION

Police Station	N.D.M.C.Charges	D.M.C.Charges	Census Towns	Villages
Lodhi Colony	279	Half 343	-	-
Vinay Nagar	280, 281	-	-	-
R.K.Puram	-	352, 353, 354	-	-
Vasant Vihar	-	One-third 356	-	-
Mehrauli	-	One-third 356	22 to 28 & 37	207, 208, 211, 216 to 221, 241 to 266
Naraina	-	318	-	-
Hazrat Nizamuddin	-	Half 343	-	-
Lajpatnagar	-	344 Half 347	-	-
Defence Colony	-	345, half 348	-	-
Sriniwaspuri	-	Half 346, half 347	-	-
Badarpur	-	Half 346	31	267 to 272
Hauz Khas	-	Half 348, One-third 356 349, 355	-	-
Kalkaji	-	350, 351	29, 30 & 32	-
Delhi Cantt (283)	-	-	-	-

Source: District Census Handbook, Delhi 1981; List of Areas from each of the 14 police stations;
Adjustment of the data by the author.

Note: Names of villages and census towns are given in Appendix V.

CRIME IN SOUTH DELHI IN 1981

Police Station	Rate of crime per 10,000 of population	Incidence of crime	Share of crime in each Police Station to the total crime of South district (%)	Share of crime in each Police Station to the total crime of Delhi. (%)
Lodhi Colony	68.0	321	4.03	1.09
Hazrat Nizamuddin	281.3	624	7.83	2.13
Vinay Nagar	76.8	518	6.5	1.77
R.K.Puram	53.0	509	6.38	1.73
Naraina	127.0	386	4.84	1.32
Delhi Cantt	33.5	285	3.57	.97
Vasant Vihar	117.6	301	3.8	1.03
Mehrauli	16.8	350	4.39	1.19
Defence Colony	84.5	1097	13.76	3.74
Hauz Khas	41.3	867	10.87	2.95
Lajpat Nagar	72.0	602	7.55	2.05
Badarpur	52.7	313	3.92	1.07
Srinivaspuri	48.0	377	4.73	1.28
Kalkaji	54.8	1423	17.85	4.85
		<u>7973</u>		<u>27.17</u>

Source: From each of the 14 Police Stations and computations by the writer.

very high rate of crime (Table IV.2). That is 282.3, 127 and 117.6 cases per 10,000 of population respectively. Vasant Vihar which has a high rate of crime in fact had one of the lowest incidence of crime. This is because Vasant Vihar is the area where population density is among the lowest in Delhi. This is the area in Delhi where mostly the rich and the affluent live. It may be expected, therefore, that property crimes with and without violence (per 10,000 of population) must be very high in Vasant Vihar. This has been proved in the latter part of this chapter.

Kalkaji whose incidence of crime was highest in 1981 ranked only eighth among the fourteen police stations as far as rate of crime is concerned. This is because density of population must be high in Kalkaji. Delhi Cantt being an area occupied by the military has thus a very low incidence and rate of crime per 10,000 of population. Among the fourteen police stations, Mehrauli police station caters to the maximum number of villages. The density of population is generally low in the villages. Secondly, it has been proved by many scholars that urban crime rates are much higher than rural rates. On combining the above two statements it is clear why Mehrauli has a very low incidence and rate of crime.

IV.4 PERCENTAGE SHARE OF CRIME

(1) Share of crime of each police station area to the total crime of South Delhi: Kalkaji accounted for eighteen percent of crime (Table IV.2). Kalkaji together with Defence Colony accounted for approximately thirty two percent of crime. Hauz Khas and Hazrat Nizamuddin too accounted for a high percentage share of crime (19%). Since the above four areas account for fifty percentage of total crime of South Delhi, there must be various reasons why these areas are more vulnerable to the attacks by the criminals. In the absence of detailed investigative data one can only speculate that the affluency of these areas is responsible for such a situation. However, no definite claims can be made.

(2) Share of crime in each police station area to the total crime of Delhi: Where does South Delhi stands vis-a-vis with the rest of Delhi? There are six main police districts in Delhi. It means on an average each police district should account only for 16.6 percent of crime whereas South district accounted for approximately 28 percent of total crime of Delhi (Table IV.2). It means that Defence Colony, Hauz Khas, Hazrat Nizamuddin and Kalkaji accounted for 14 percent share of crime to that of total Delhi. Thus, this chapter attempts to identify a set of factors which induces a high incidence and rate of crime in some areas of South Delhi.

IV.5 RANKING OF VARIOUS SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES AND CRIME RATE

Crime is a social deviance which often erupts to the surface largely as a result of underlying social disharmony. The reasons for crime could be social, psychological, economic or a combination of these (Kulkarni 1981). According to Chengappa (1988) the massive influx of population to the cities from the villages has put civic services on the brink of failure.

This study takes into account the various socio-economic factors of micro urban areas for the analysis of crime phenomenon.

Can the following possible associations be evaluated by analysing the data?

(1) The higher the density of population, the higher will be the incidence of crime.

(2) The higher the percentage of illiterate people, the higher will be the crime rate.

(3) The higher the percentage of Scheduled Caste people, the higher the crime rate.

(4) The higher the percentage of non-workers and marginal workers, the higher the crime rate.

Rate of crime has been calculated per 10,000 of population. The various socio-economic variables calculated are: density of population per sq km; percentage of total Scheduled Caste population to the total population; percentage of total Scheduled Caste male to total male population; percentage of male

illiterates to total male population, percentage of total non-workers to the total population; percentage of male non-workers to the total male population, percentage of total marginal workers to total population and percentage of total male workers to total male population (Table IV.3).

All the 14 police stations were then ranked for the various socio-economic variables and also crime. The picture that emerges is as follows:-

(1) Density of population: (Wolfgang (1972), Leyhausen and Lorenz (1973), Kulkarni (1981), Denziger (1976), Boal (1979) are only a few of the scholars who have greatly emphasized the positive relationship between density and criminals.) But is this really so? (Swimmer (1974) and Spector (1975) had concluded that there is no significant relationship between population density and violence.) (According to Smith (1981) with increasing density there are closer spatial contacts among the residents which leads to lowering of crimes.) In the city the relationship is impersonal but where people are living in closer spatial proximity with each other there develops a certain set of values,

SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

Police Station	Density of population per sq km	%age of total Sch.Caste population to the total pop.	%age of male Sch.Caste pop.to total male population	Percentage of total literates	%age of male literates	%age of non-workers Total	%age of male non-workers	%age of marginal workers Total	%age of male marginal workers
Lodhi Colony	15843.7	10.05	10.04	75.07	79.41	65.35	46.09	.09	.10
Hazrat Nizamuddin	16741.13	12.07	11.95	71.47	74.97	66.0	46.96	.14	.16
Vinay Nagar	31970.14	6.72	7.16	81.44	85.33	63.95	46.30	.12	.14
R.K.Puram	20310.36	8.07	6.91	79.93	84.54	66.5	47.6	.11	.03
Naraina	13870.32	11.78	12.18	69.35	74.16	64.2	42.9	.03	.05
Delhi Cantt	1981.99	17.43	16.07	64.63	72.2	60.6	39.2	.08	.05
Vasant Vihar	3076.92	12.86	12.58	68.44	75.42	67.99	50.85	.18	.19
Mehrauli	1053.16	21.52	21.34	52.98	63.27	69.15	50.97	.51	.4
Defence Colony	17308.93	15.88	15.66	68.13	73.93	65.22	45.56	.11	.11
Hauz Khas	6703.13	11.47	11.56	71.7	76.44	65.68	46.54	.13	.13
Lajpat Nagar	19454.48	7.07	7.32	75.76	80.17	66.33	46.61	.05	.07
Badarpur	2168.88	20.29	19.57	50.07	60.32	62.97	42.73	.33	.28
Srinivasपुरi	6648.88	12.96	12.84	62.3	68.6	63.89	43.81	.14	.15
Kalkaji	7136.46	29.23	28.94	54.8	63.51	67.56	47.69	.13	.13

Source: District Census Handbook, Delhi 1981 and computations by the writer.

traditions and modes of living which are shared by the residents. Consequently, delinquent and criminal behaviour may be constrained.

From this study of South district it is clear that Hazrat Nizamuddin, where the rate of crime per 10,000 of population is the highest (281.3) does not have the highest density of population (Table IV.4). On the other hand where the density of population is the highest, i.e., Vinay Nagar (31,970 persons/sq km), the locality does not have a very high rate of crime. Vasant Vihar where density of population is very low (3076 persons/sq km) has a very high crime rate (117.6). On the basis of existential experience it may be said that this is not surprising since Vasant Vihar is one of the poshest colonies of Delhi. The density of population is inevitably low. Since it is one of the very affluent residential areas, it has a high crime rate. In this context it may be recalled that according to Sivamurthy (1982), property crime exists in the areas where people of high occupation and status live. He, therefore, suggests that the occurrence of property crime is a function of physical characteristics and economic prosperity of an area.

Mehrauli and Delhi Cantt have a very low density of population and they also have a low incidence and low rate of crime. So there is no compulsion as such that where density of population is high there crime rate is high and vice versa.

(2) Scheduled Caste population: (Kulkarni (1981) from his study on Ahmedabad came to the conclusion that crime rate of an area is based upon the proportion of people belonging to backward communities.)

Kalkaji has the highest percentage of Scheduled Caste population both total and male and it also has the highest incidence of crime, but when the rate of crime is calculated it has been found that Kalkaji does not have the highest rate. In fact Hazrat Nizamuddin which has the highest rate of crime does not have a very high percentage of Scheduled Caste population (12.07%) (Tables IV.3 and IV.4). The two conclusions that can be drawn are firstly that crimes are committed by people coming from outside areas (it can be Scheduled Caste or non-Scheduled Caste). Even Wolfgang (1972) had found that it is not necessary for criminals to live close to the place of crime. Secondly that non-Scheduled Caste population too must be contributing in increasing the crime rate.

RANKING OF VARIOUS SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND CRIME VARIABLES -- 1981

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Description	Lodhi Col.	H.N. Din	Vinay Nagar	R.K. Puram	Naraina	Delhi Cantt	Vasant Vihar	Meh-rauli	Def. Col.	Rauz Khas	Laj. Ngr.	Badar-pur	Srinivaspu-ri	Kalkaji
Rate of crime/10000 of population	7	1	5	9	2	13	3	14	4	12	6	10	11	8
Incidence of crime	11	4	6	7	8	14	13	10	2	3	5	12	9	1
Share of crime in each P.S. to the total crime of South Delhi	11	4	6	7	8	14	13	10	2	3	5	12	9	1
Share of crime in each P.S. to the total crime of Delhi	11	4	6	7	8	14	13	10	2	3	5	12	9	1
Density of population per sq km	6	5	1	2	7	13	11	14	4	9	3	12	10	8
%age of total Sch. Caste population to the total population	11	8	14	12	9	4	7	2	5	10	13	3	6	1
%age of Sch. Caste male to total male population	11	9	13	14	8	4	7	2	5	10	12	3	6	1
%age of total literates	4	6	1	2	7	10	8	13	9	5	3	14	11	12
%age of male literates	4	7	1	2	8	10	6	13	9	5	3	14	11	12
%age of non-workers(T)	8	6	10	4	12	14	2	1	9	7	5	13	11	3
%age of non-workers(M)	9	5	8	4	12	14	2	1	10	7	6	13	11	3
%age of marginal workers (Total)	11	4	8	9	14	12	3	1	10	7	13	2	5	6
%age of marginal workers (Male)	10	6	6	14	13	12	3	1	9	7	11	2	5	8

Source: As at Tables IV.2 and IV.3

(3) Illiterate population: Mehrauli and Badarpur have the largest share of illiterate population to the total population but crime rate and incidence of crime is less. Mehrauli consists of a number of villages. It is a known fact that crime rates are much less in rural areas as compared to urban. It is also true that illiteracy is more in rural areas than in urban. Thus we see that it is not surprising for Mehrauli to have a high percentage of illiterate population and a low rate of crime. Environmental opportunities do not favour property crimes in Badarpur is clear from Table IV.5 which shows the incidence of different categories of crime in the various police stations of Delhi. Defence Colony which is a posh colony of Delhi had registered about 700 cases of property crimes for the year 1981 while Badarpur registered only around 80 cases whereas percentage of male illiterates was much more in Badarpur than in Defence Colony.¹

(4) Non-workers: Does the percentage of non-workers affect the crime rate of any area? It should be kept in mind that non-workers include not only the unemployed male and females but also children and the aged. Here too it is found that the police stations which have the highest rate of crime do not have the highest percentage of non-workers

1) The very high rates of crimes in Defence Colony may be because of a more apt-reporting, whereas in poor and illiterate areas, the police may not be registering the complaints.




TABLE IV.5

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CATEGORIES OF CRIME

Area	Riots	Major offences against person	Minor offences against person	Property offences without violence	Property offences with violence	Accidents	Other I.P.C. + Acts
Lodhi Colony	2	2	5	189	2	42	79
Hazrat Nizamuddin	1	8	26	388	5	81	115
Vinay Nagar	3	9	31	255	4	109	107
R.K. Puram	1	13	27	342	-	79	47
Naraina	1	3	16	155	1	84	126
Delhi Cantt	1	14	13	94	2	92	69
Vasant Vihar	1	6	15	175	1	52	51
Mehrauli	3	25	16	105	3	86	112
Defence Colony	1	12	43	702	4	95	240
Hauz Khas	3	17	35	514	6	151	141
Lajpat Nagar	1	10	26	376	5	83	101
Badarpur	2	9	19	75	4	49	155
Sriniwaspuri	-	15	9	176	1	59	117
Kalkaji	7	49	67	787	3	123	387

Source: Same as at Table IV.2

to the total population of the same. There is no change in the pattern when non-workers (male) are taken in relationship with that of crime. For example the percentage share of non-workers (male) is maximum in Mehrauli but the incidence and rate of crime is very low.

(5) Marginal workers: Here too it is found that the police stations which have the highest rate of crime do not have a high percentage of marginal workers. At this juncture it may be pointed out that so far the observations are based on visual comparison of data without any statistical back-up. In the following paragraphs an attempt has been made to have a statistical correlation between crime and various socio-economic characteristics.

IV.6 CORRELATION COEFFICIENT BETWEEN CRIME VARIABLES AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

The 19 categories of crime have been aggravated for the purpose of convenience and manageability in the study. The seven main groups are:

1. Offences against public tranquility: The only category of crime in this group is that of riots.
2. Major offences against the person: The three crime categories included in this group are: (i) murder (ii) attempt to murder; and (iii) kidnapping and abduction.
3. Minor offences against the person: The three crime categories included in this group are: snatching, hurts and molestation of women.

4. Property offences without violence: The three main categories included in this group are: all kinds of thefts, burglary and cheating.
5. Property offences with violence: The two main categories included in this group are robbery and dacoity.
6. Accidents
7. Other miscellaneous crimes and acts.

The various socio-economic variables have been correlated with 7 categories identified above. These variables are further correlated with rate of crime (crime per 10,000 of population), percentage share of crime in each police station to that of total crime of South district and total crime in Delhi.

(1) Density of population: Density of population seems to have no bearing upon the rate of crime ^{in general.} Although the correlation between the two is positive, the relationship is not statistically significant ($r = .295$, Table IV.6). On the other hand, major offences such as murder, kidnapping and abduction show a statistically significant negative correlation with population density ($r = -.603$). This seems to support Smith's (1981) contention that the spatial proximity is inevitable in a densely populated areas discourage crimes for obvious reasons. However, one should not envisage a unilateral association between crime and density of population. For, property offences (without violence) such as theft and burglary are positively correlated with density of population ($r = .54$).

CORRELATION OF CRIME VARIABLES WITH THAT OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC VARIABLES

Population	Rate of crime	Share of crime S.Delhi	Share of crime Delhi	Percentage of riots	%age of major offences	%age of minor offences	%age of property offences without violence	%age of property offences with violence	%age of accidents	%age of I.P.C. + Acts
Density of population	.295 *	.148 *	.149	-.223	-.603 @	.065	.540	-.144	-.275	-.472
S.C.population (Total)	-.244	.407	.407	.383	.558	.147	-.453	.060	-.054	.541
S.C.population (Male)	-.227	.429	.430	.393	.535	.129	-.446	.068	-.079	.552
Total illiterates	-.271	.076	.076	.378	.631	.111	-.684	.280	.057	.778
Male illiterates	-.202	.107	.107	.322	.582	.053	-.653	.279	.009	.783 **
Total non-workers	.129	.298	.298	.181	.097	-.003	.407	-.228	-.42	-.323
Male non-workers	.106	.195	.194	.248	.069	.085	.413	-.158	-.351	-.382
Total marginal workers	-.256	-.220	-.221	.665	.689 @@	.262	-.562	.463	.182	.485
Male marginal workers	-.121	-.179	-.174	.631 ***	.575	.211	-.534	.529	.095	.526

Source: As at Table IV.4 and computations by the computer.

* Significant at .1 level when N = 14

@ Significant at .05 level when N = 14

*** Significant at .02 level when N = 14

@@ Significant at .01 level when N = 14

** Significant at .001 level when N = 14

These two seemingly contradictory relationship between density of population and crime can be explained. In a crowded situation petty crimes can be committed without much problems: hence the positive association.

(2) Scheduled Caste population (male & total):

The percentage of Scheduled Caste population seems to have a negative bearing on the crime rate as indicated by the correlation between the two ($r = -.24$). Although the correlation is not statistically significant, the tendency for the negative association is apparent. However, when the percentage of Scheduled Caste population is correlated with major offences against persons, the situation changes. The correlation of coefficient becomes positive, r being .55 which is significant. It may be that when there is not much disparity among Scheduled Castes themselves in their standard of living, the tendency to steal neighbour's property is less. On the other hand they are known for their drinking habits. When they get drunk they easily pick up a quarrel with their neighbour. Since they are not literate enough to think of the consequences, they hit out with their knives (may be not with the intention of killing the other person). This may explain why there exists a positive correlation between Scheduled Caste population and major offences against the persons.

(3) Total illiterates: Here too it is found that there is a low negative correlation between illiteracy and rate of crime ($r = -.27$) (Table IV.6). The relationship between illiteracy and percentage share of crime is surprisingly very low ($r = .07$). However, its relationship with that of percentages of major offences is very high ($r = .63$). This indicates that the pattern followed by illiterate population is similar to that of Scheduled Caste. On observing the computer results it has been found that there is a high positive correlation between Scheduled Caste male and illiterate male ($r = .878$)*. It has been further found that Scheduled Caste population (total and male) and illiterate population (total and male) have a negative correlation with property offences without violence. It is also noticed that there is a positive correlation between Scheduled Caste population and illiterate population with that of percentage of miscellaneous I.P.C. and acts.

(4) Non-workers: Non-workers have an insignificant positive correlation with that of crime rate (both for non-workers total and male). This may be because non-workers include children, aged and females too.

* This is because most of the illiterate people in urban context belong to Scheduled Caste population.

(5) Marginal workers: It has been found that there is a positive correlation between marginal workers and Scheduled Caste population ($r = .48$). It has further been found that there is high positive correlation between marginal workers (male) and illiterate (male) ($r = .64$). Thus we find that marginal workers total and male follows the pattern similar to that of Scheduled Caste and illiterate population as far as correlation with crime is concerned. Therefore marginal workers has a negative correlation with rate of crime ($r = -.25$) a high positive correlation with percentage of major offences ($r = .68$) a negative correlation with percentage of property offences without violence ($r = -.56$) and a positive correlation with percentage of miscellaneous I.P.C. and Acts ($r = .526$).

IV.7 POLICE STRENGTH OF SOUTH DELHI

South district consists of fourteen police stations. The total police force of each police station is not the same (Table IV.7) Some police stations have more police force and some have less. The area that is covered by each police station is also not the same. Nor is the population. That is some police stations cater to more people and some to less. When the number of policemen per 1000 of population is calculated it is found that there is a wide variation.

POLICE STRENGTH OF SOUTH DELHI			
Area	Total police strength	Total population	No.of policemen per 10,000 of population
Defence Colony	280	129817	2.15
Lodhi Colony	87	47135	1.84
Hazrat Nizamuddin	109	22182	4.91
Lajpatnagar	126	83557	1.5
Sriniwaspuri	149	78490	1.89
Kalkaji	468	259339	1.8
Badarpur	131	59449	2.2
Delhi Cantt	133	85166	1.56
Naraina	156	30376	5.13
R.K.Puram	131	96068	1.36
Vasant Vihar	145	25600	5.7
Hauz Khas	133	209674	.63
Vinay Nagar	156	67457	2.31
Mehrauli	87	207799	.41

Source: As at Table IV.4

TABLE IV.8

SEGREGATION INDEX	
Area	Segregation index
Lodhi Colony	.. 57.75
Hazrat Nizamuddin	.. 70.01
Vinay Nagar	.. 48.33
R.K.Puram	.. 44.84
Naraina	.. 76.02
Delhi Cantt	.. 60.95
Vasant Vihar	.. 61.31
Mehrauli	.. 61.31
Defence Colony	.. 59.1
Hauz Khas	.. 59.61
Lajpatnagar	.. 58.5
Badarpur	.. 55.43
Sriniwaspuri	.. 57.93
Kalkaji	.. 40.5

Source: As at Table IV.3

It is observed that Naraina and Vasant Vihar have the largest number of policemen per 1000 of population. In spite of this there is a high crime rate in these two areas (127 and 117 per 10,000 of population respectively). Mehrauli on the other hand does not even have two policemen per 2000 of population. But in spite of this crime rate in Mehrauli is the least (16.8 per 10,000 of population). It means that where crime rate is more in Delhi there number of policemen per 1000 of population is also more. Pearson's coefficient of correlation has been calculated for crime rate and police strength of a place per 1000 of population. It has been found that there is a high positive correlation between the two ($r = .7$). Thus indicating the fact that where there is high crime rate there police force per thousand of population is also more.

IV.8 SEGREGATION INDEX

In the following paragraph, an attempt has been made to correlate segregation with that of crime rate. To estimate the segregation a statistical method, i.e., segregation index is used (Table IV.8). When a correlation between segregation index and crime rate is attempted for various police stations of South Delhi, the r value comes out to be .5 which ^{is} statistically significant. This means higher the segregation index

higher is the crime rate. That is to say, when there are exclusive pockets of non-Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Castes and no spatial inter-mixing, the crime rates are high². Inter-mixing would mean that the Scheduled Castes are living together with non-Scheduled Castes. It may be hypothesised that under these circumstances the relation between them would be one of Jajmani nature in a restricted sense. The Scheduled Caste people will have a sense of 'belonging' to the area and with those they are living with and not the feeling of externally transplanted alienation.

2 It may be recalled that the way segregation index is computed for a given locality which has its population belonging to either the non-Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Castes, the values for segregation becomes very high.

IV.9 CONCLUSION

In sum, in 1981 Delhi consisted of 75 police stations which were grouped into 6 main police districts. South district consisted of 14 police stations.

The main aim of this chapter had been to identify certain socio-economic variables to help us explain the occurrence of crime with the help of micro level data.

The area having the highest incidence of crime did not necessarily have the highest rate of crime per 10,000 of population. Out of the 14 police stations of South Delhi, four police stations accounted for fifty percent of crime. These are Kalkaji, Hazrat Nizamuddin, Defence Colony and Hauz Khas. However, all these four did not have a high rate of crime except for Hazrat Nizamuddin. Further, Naraina and Vasant Vihar had a very high rate of crime despite of low incidence of crime.

A visual comparison between crimes in general and various socio-economic indicators did not yield very helpful results. However, certain socio-economic characteristics do have significant bearings upon certain categories of crime. This statement pertains more to statistical analyses than the visual comparison on the basis of ranking.

Where density of population is high there the ^{criminal} opportunities for certain activities is low. Property offences with violence do not generally take place in congested colonies with small houses since firstly there is not enough to loot and secondly a quick escape is not possible. On the other hand property offences without violence are positively correlated with density of population.

There is a high negative correlation between density of population and major offences against the person.

On calculating the correlation matrix it has been found that Scheduled Caste males are mostly illiterate and belong to the category of marginal workers. The area having a high Scheduled Caste population has a low rate of crime. However, Scheduled Caste males indulge in major offences against the person. This study thus questions the assumed linear relationship between Scheduled Caste population and crime in general as contended by quite a few scholars.

To estimate the segregation a statistical method, i.e., segregation index has been used. When a correlation between segregation index and crime rate was attempted for various police stations of South Delhi,

the r value came out to be .5 which was statistically significant. This means higher the segregation index higher is the crime rate. That is to say, when there are exclusive pockets of non-Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Castes and no spatial inter-mixing, the crime rates are high. Inter-mixing meant that the Scheduled Castes are living together with non-Scheduled Castes. It was hypothesised that under these circumstances the relation between them was one of Jajmani nature in a restricted sense. The Scheduled Caste people will have a sense of 'belonging' to the area and with those they are living with and not the feeling of externally transplanted alienation.

It has been found from this study of South Delhi that there is a positive correlation between the police force per 1000 of population and crime rate. This has already been indicated in chapter III too. It may be that a more visible police force encourages a better reporting. Or, if more crimes are committed more police force is sent to the area concerned. In the absence of relevant data no conclusive statement can be made.

Thus it can be concluded that crime is a complex phenomenon and the interplay of various factors contributes to the patterns observed.

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CHAPTER V

C O N C L U S I O N

Even a casual overview of literature which deals with crime brings out clearly that the essential focus of these studies could be classified under four main heads. These are rural-urban differences in crime; factors responsible for high crime rate in cities; relationship between crime and geography; and role of police, political leaders, judiciary, etc., in matters of crime. Very few researchers have tried to treat variation in crimes as related to space. In the light of this observation, the present study contributes significantly to our understanding of this variation. The spatial aspect seeks to explore the relationship which might exist between high crime rates and specific regions in the Delhi Union Territory. Apart from identifying different aspects of distribution of various types of crimes, the study aims in sorting out the socio-economic correlates of crimes.

(Thus, this spatio-temporal analysis of crimes in Delhi provides a historical perspective into an understanding of urban society in general and metropolitan situation in specific.)

The first step in this study was to place Delhi in a proper perspective. An attempt had thus been

made to analyse the incidence and volume of crime on a national basis. This involved finding out the position of Delhi among the States, Union Territories and major metropolitan cities of India (1960-1980).

(When compared to other countries the rise in crime rate in India is not at all alarming. It would be foolhardy to attempt an explanation for this phenomenon in the absence of further research. The disparity perhaps reflects different definitions of what constitutes crime or perhaps differential capabilities in terms of police control and reporting. Most importantly, it may be a reflection of the general disparity in economic development between the Indian sub-continent and other countries (Nayar 1975).)

Throughout the post independence period only once there was a major decline in the total crime of India and for its different categories and that was during the emergency. One is tempted to argue that if there is a stringent police control (as perhaps there was during the emergency) then the incidence of crime could be reduced markedly.

On calculating crime rate (crimes per 1 lakh of population) for 20 years, i.e., 1960-1980, it was noted that Delhi held the second rank among the thirtyone States and Union Territories. Incidence of

crime is very high in all the States of Central India and also Tamil Nadu from south. A regional pattern seemed to emerge on analysing the crime rate in the States and Union Territories of India. States of north-east India except for Nagaland and States of central India have a very high crime rate, whereas the States of north India have a low crime rate.

It was very surprising to note that the States having a low crime rate had in fact a very high growth rate. These are the States of Arunachal Pradesh, Lakshadweep and Nagaland. Delhi, Mizoram and Pondicherry had both a high crime rate as well as a high growth rate. Central India and south India on the whole have a very high growth rate.

What is the position of Delhi viz-a-viz the eight metropolitan cities of India? On calculating the twenty year mean (1960-1980) it was found that Delhi had the second highest incidence of crime, rate of crime and growth rate. Bombay had the highest incidence of crime, whereas Bangalore was characterised by the highest rate of crime. The highest growth rate of crime rate was recorded by Kanpur.

The next step was to look into the spatio-temporal variation in crime within the Delhi Metropolitan area and to identify a set of

socio-economic parameters to help explain the observed pattern.

Among the six districts, South district accounted for the highest percentage share of total crime and for all categories of property crimes. New Delhi district had the highest rate of crime per 10,000 of population. It is worthwhile to note that South district, inspite of having a large number of villages, had the second highest rate of crime.

In the case of offences against property it was found that although South district had the maximum incidence but the highest rate was noticed in New Delhi. South district had the second highest rate for all the three years, i.e., 1984, 1985 and 1986.

The following similar conclusions were drawn from the district rankings and detailed study of socio-economic and crime variables:

(i) Where the percentage share of Scheduled Caste, illiterate population and non-workers to the total population is low there crime rate in general is high. However for certain categories of crime (i.e., major offences against the person) has a positive relationship with Scheduled Caste population.

(ii) High density of population has a positive correlation with rate of offences against the person, specially in the case of attempt to murder, like in central district.

(iii) Low density of population in urban ^{areas} has a positive correlation with that of property crimes as seen in the case of South district.

Districts having a high percentage share of industrial workers to the total population do not have a very high rate of crime, e.g., Central and East districts. This may be due to lack of reporting, etc.

Segregation index which implicitly identifies extent of inter-mixing of non-Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Caste population does not have a positive bearing upon the crime rate, when Delhi is studied as a whole. However, a correlation between segregation index and crime rate for the various police stations of South Delhi shows a statistically significant relation. This means higher the segregation index higher is the rate of crime. That is to say, when there are exclusive pockets of non-Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Castes and no spatial inter-mixing, the crime rates are high. Inter-mixing meant that the Scheduled Castes are living together with non-Scheduled Castes. It was hypothesised that under these circumstances the

relation between them was one of Jajmani nature in a restricted sense. The Scheduled Caste people will have a sense of 'belonging' to the area and with those they are living with and not the feeling of externally transplanted alienation.

The weather or climate does not seem to play a significant role in influencing the emotional and physiological activities of the individual except for burglary which takes place more in winter.

It has been found from this study of South Delhi that there is a positive correlation between the police force per 1000 of population and crime rate. This has already been indicated in chapter III too. It may be that a more visible police force encourages a better reporting. Or, if more crimes are committed more police force is sent to the area concerned. In the absence of relevant data no conclusive statement can be made.

There is a positive correlation between the official data on crime and the data from newspaper reporting. It was mistaken to assume that only the crimes from posh areas like South and New Delhi districts are published in the newspapers. Even at the micro level study it was found that there existed a positive correlation between the official data on

crime and the data from newspaper reporting.

The South district accounted for the highest incidence of crime and also a very high rate of crime per 10,000 of population. Thus, the last section of this study sought to find out the reason for this high incidence and rate of crime in the South district of Delhi.

It was found out that out of the 14 police stations of South Delhi, four accounted for fifty percent of crime. These are Kalkaji, Hazrat Nizamuddin, Defence Colony and Haus Khas. However, all these four did not have a high rate of crime except for Hazrat Nizamuddin. Further, Naraina and Vasant Vihar had a very high rate of crime despite of low incidence of crime.

Thus it can be concluded that crime is a complex phenomenon and the interplay of various factors contributes to the patterns observed.

LIST OF AREAS OF CHARGES

	<u>Charge No.</u>	<u>Area in km²</u>
New Delhi Municipal Committee	1	2.39
	2	.23
	3	6.61
	4	9.64
	5	9.16
	6	1.65
	7	1.56
	8	.55
	9	11.2
Delhi Municipal Corporation	1	7.70
	2	12.29
	3	5.54
	4	1.27
	5	1.54
	6	12.61
	7	4.21
	8	5.13
	9	1.27
	10	.64
	11	.61
	12	.64
	13	.48
	14	.72
	15	.64
	16	.72
	17	.59
	18	2.28
	19	3.38
	20	1.14
	21	.64
	22	.75

	<u>Charge No.</u>	<u>Area in km²</u>
Delhi Municipal Corporation	23	.79
	24	.64
	25	.53
	26	.68
	27	.89
	28	.50
	29	.97
	30	.80
	31	1.17
	32	8.29
	33	2.83
	34	2.19
	35	2.11
	36	1.23
	37	1.47
	38	3.44
	39	2.38
	40	1.31
	41	1.40
	42	5.77
	43	.88
	44	1.27
	45	1.05
	46	1.43
	47	3.02
	48	2.37
	49	7.24
	50	3.89
	51	5.31
	52	10.64
	53	1.21
	54	3.11
	55	3.98
	56	27.07

	<u>Charge No.</u>	<u>Area in km²</u>
Delhi Municipal Corporation	57	2.15
	58	9.03
	59	2.65
	60	1.64
	61	3.47
	62	18.30
	63	5.31
	64	8.06
	65	15.46
	66	8.29
	67	14.72
	68	1.73
	69	1.27
	70	1.73
	71	3.47
	72	24.96
	73	5.17
	74	3.43
	75	3.11
	76	4.85
	77	4.48
	78	2.60
	79	4.99
	80	9.63
	81	.69
	82	2.00
	83	2.60
	84	4.25
	85	9.81
	86	3.56

TOTAL COGNIZABLE CRIMES IN THE STATES
AND UNION TERRITORIES OF INDIA (1960-1980)

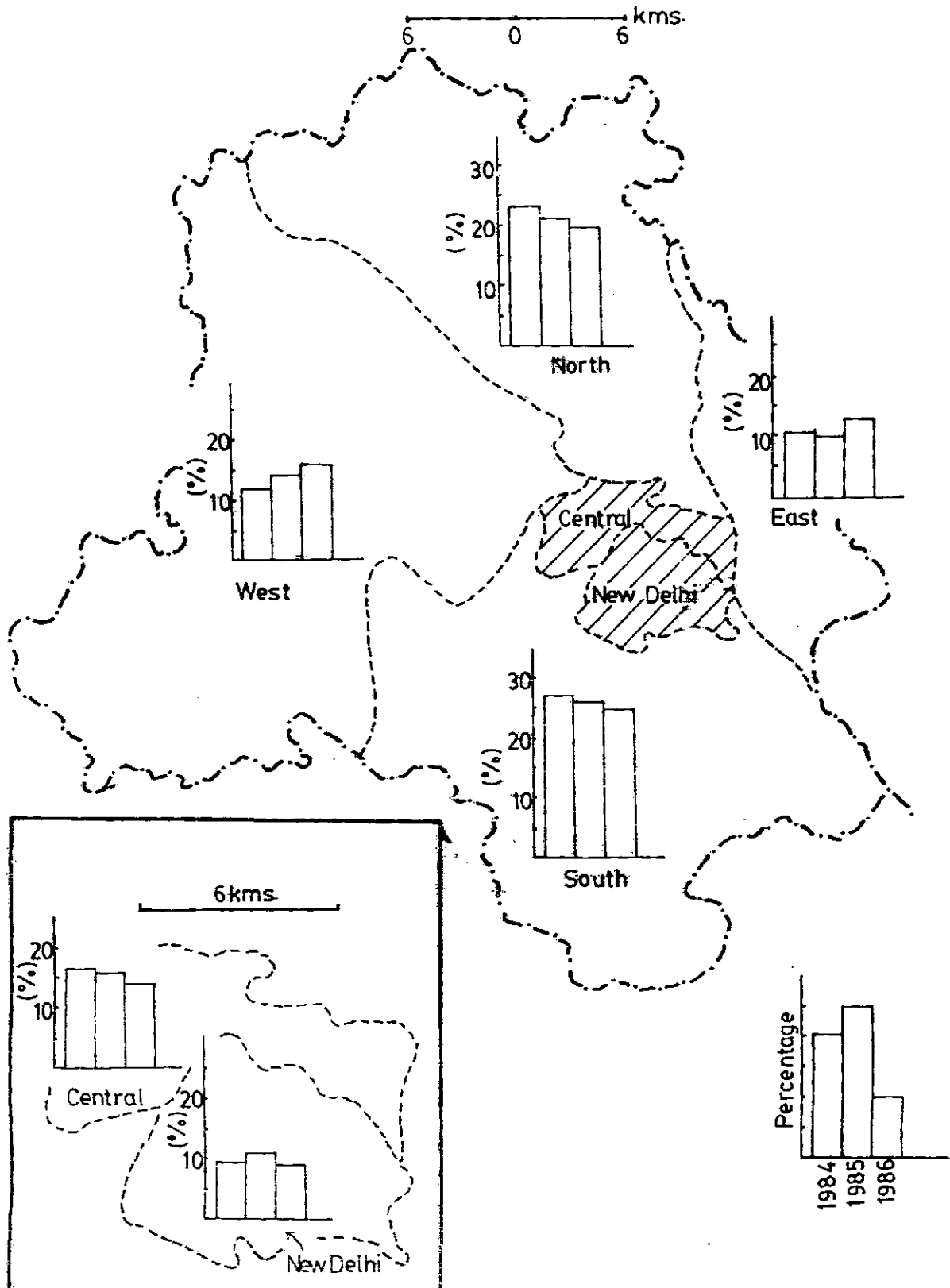
<u>States & UTs</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>States & UTs</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>States & UTs</u>	<u>1980</u>
Andhra Pradesh	35157	Andhra Pradesh	43942	A. Pradesh	69320
Assam	20411	Assam	25908	Assam	43773
Bihar	59598	Bihar	84091	Bihar	104225
Gujarat	31213	Gujarat	32225	Gujarat	61713
Jammu & Kashmir	4014	Haryana	8902	Haryana	16600
Kerala	16244	Himachal P.	2381	Himachal P.	4864
Madhya Pradesh	75643	Jammu & Kashmir	6421	J & K	15075
Madras	62706	Kerala	31617	Karnataka	77443
Mysore	25364	Madhya Pradesh	83537	Kerala	47641
Maharashtra	70161	Maharashtra	96552	M.P.	169751
Orissa	22384	Manipur	2122	Maharashtra	167347
Punjab	18337	Mysore	35566	Manipur	3505
Rajasthan	20925	Nagaland	744	Meghalaya	2203
Uttar Pradesh	64131	Orissa	31514	Nagaland	919
West Bengal	63938	Punjab	12478	Orissa	48081
Andaman & Nicobar Isls	213	Rajasthan	36230	Punjab	11679
Delhi	10072	Tamil Nadu	63619	Rajasthan	60846
Himachal P.	115	Tripura	2704	Sikkim	281
Manipur	1733	Uttar Pradesh	233754	Tamil Nadu	116110
Tripura	2699	West Bengal	84528	Tripura	6098
Laccadive Minicoy & Amindivi Isls	33	Andaman & Nicobar Isls	308	Uttar P.	198131
Nagaland	240	Chandigarh	1484	West Bengal	93618
		Dadar & Nagar Haveli	106	A & N Isls	805
		Delhi	31241	Arunachal P	852
		Goa	1195	Chandigarh	2118
		Laccadive	28	D&N Haveli	177
		Pondicherry	2225	Delhi	37588
				Goa Daman&D	2927
				Lakshadweep	15
				Mizoram	1055
				Pondicherry	3769

A P P E N D I X I I I

MAPS SHOWING DISTRICTWISE SHARE OF TOTAL CRIME AND ITS DIFFERENT
CATEGORIES FOR THE YEARS 1984, 1985 AND 1986

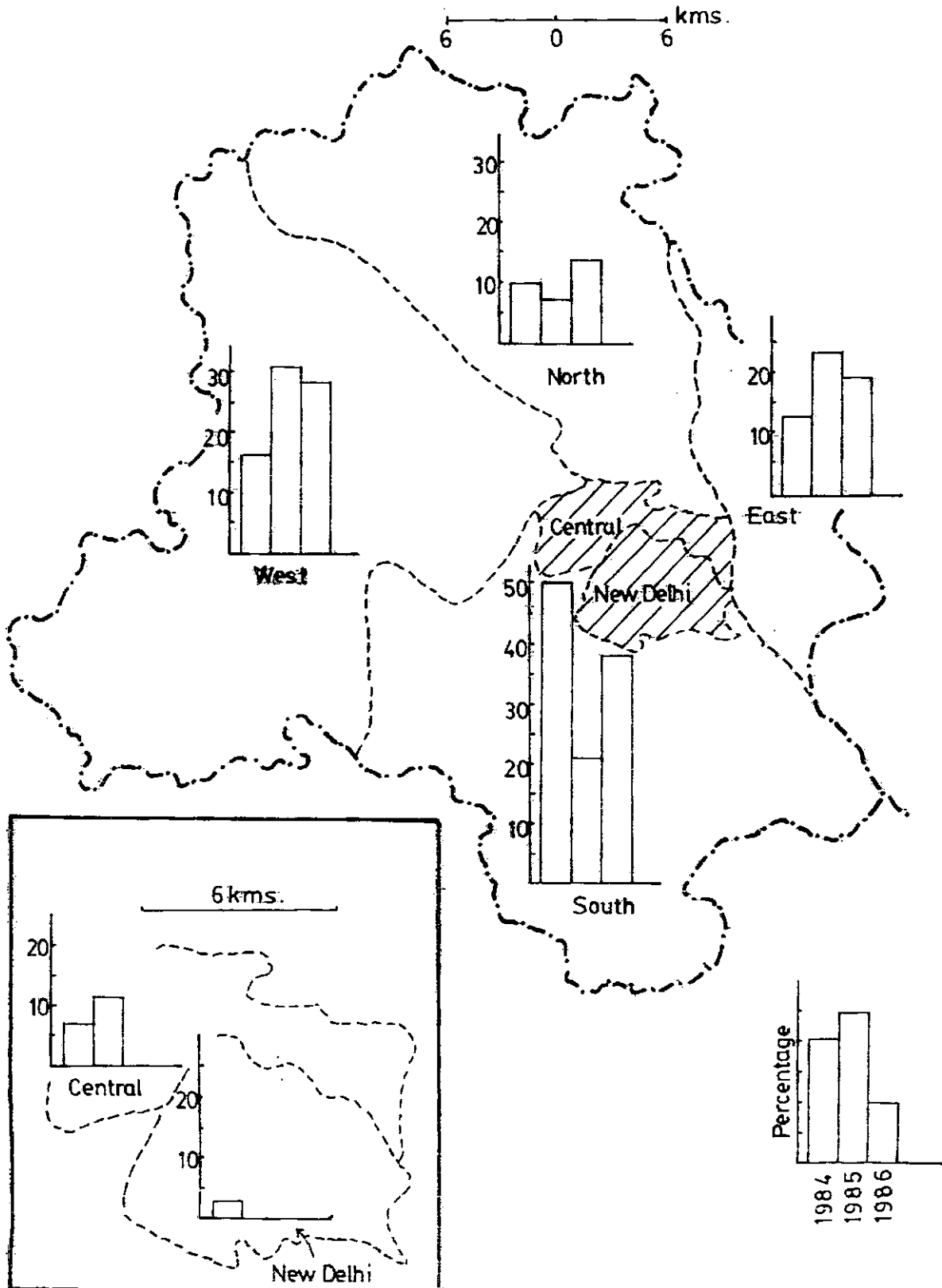
DELHI

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF TOTAL CRIME IN DISTRICTS (1984 TO 1986)



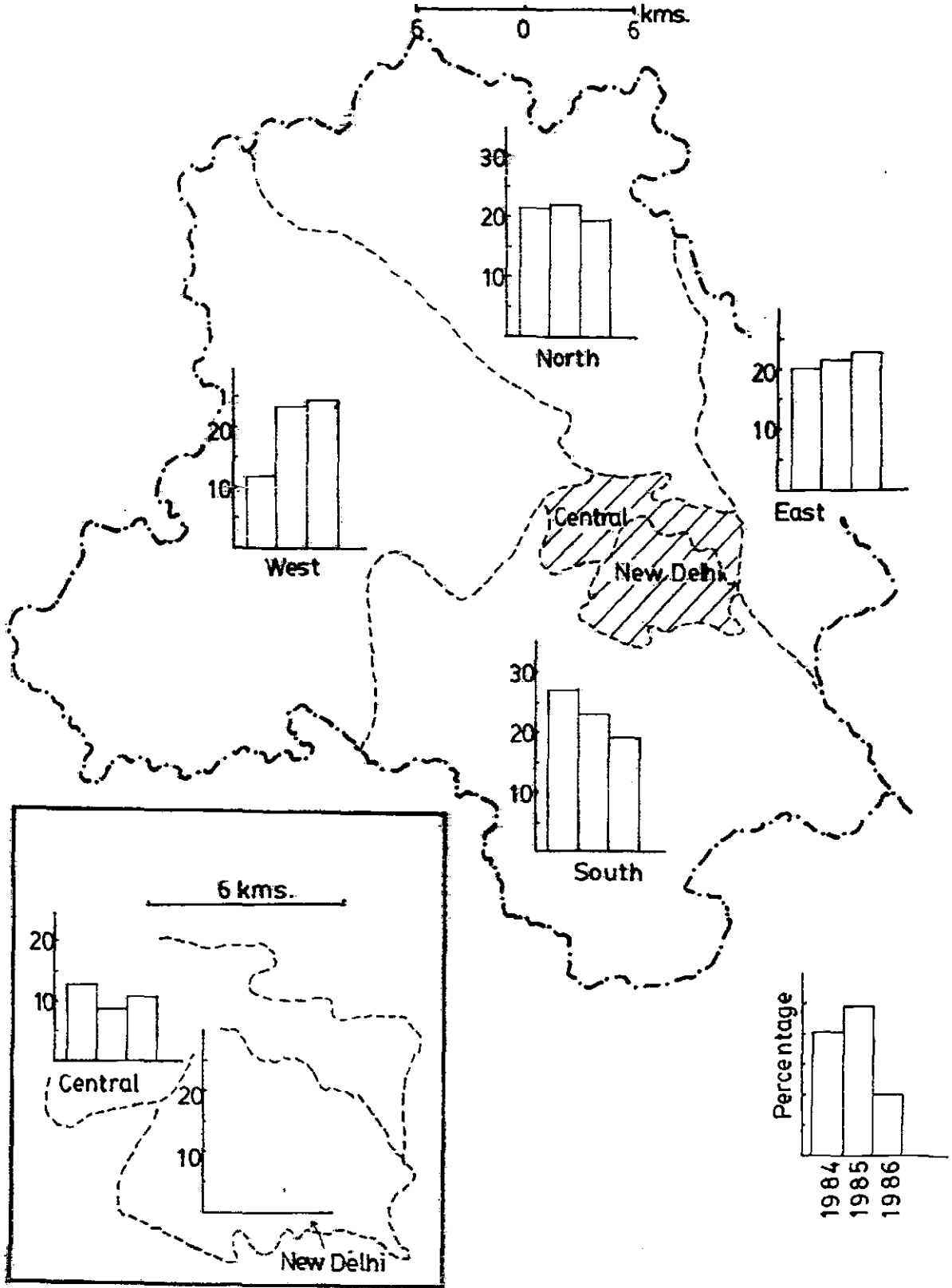
DELHI

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF DACOITY IN DISTRICTS (1984 TO 1986)



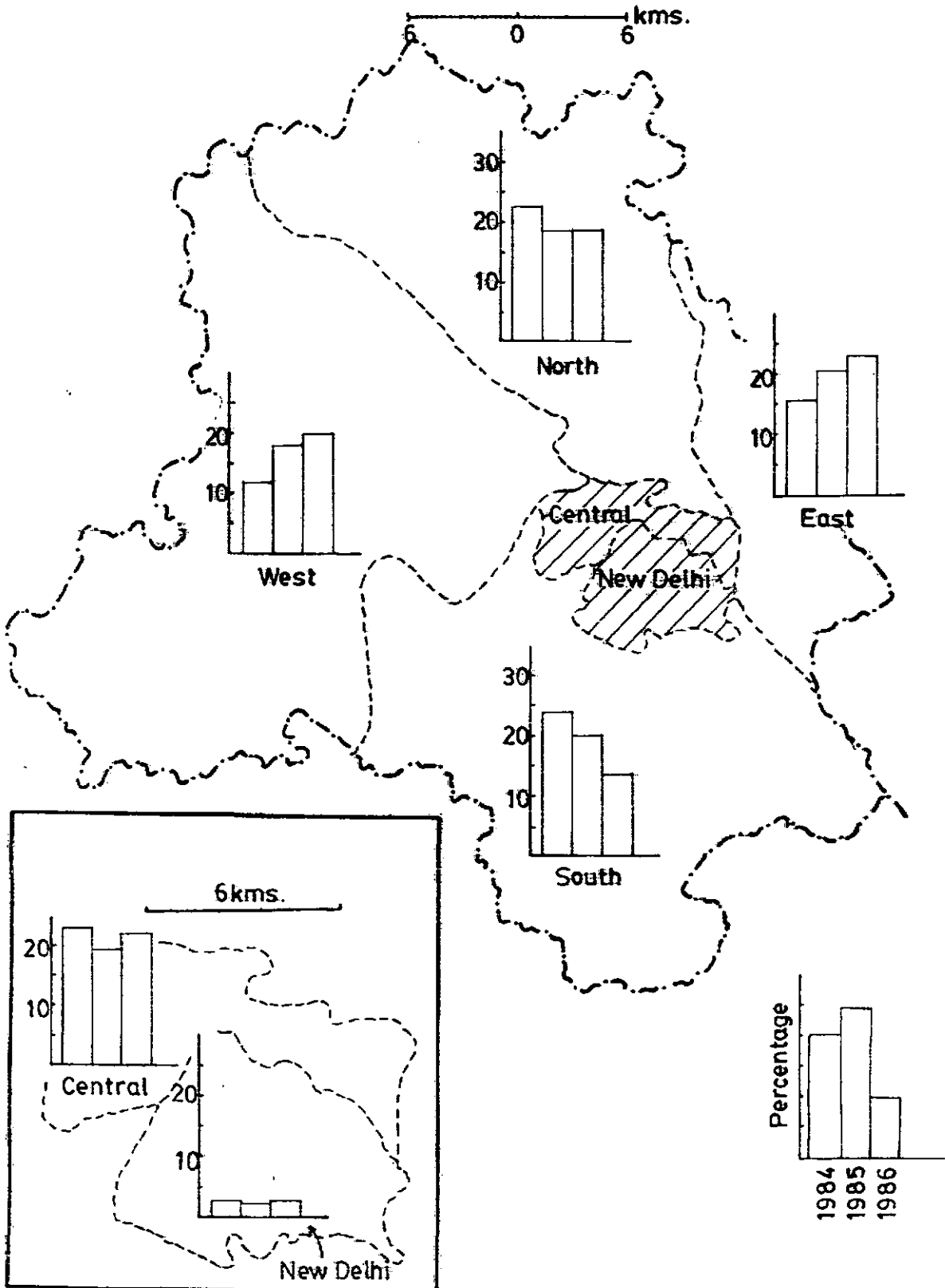
DELHI

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF MURDER IN DISTRICTS (1984 TO 1986)



DELHI

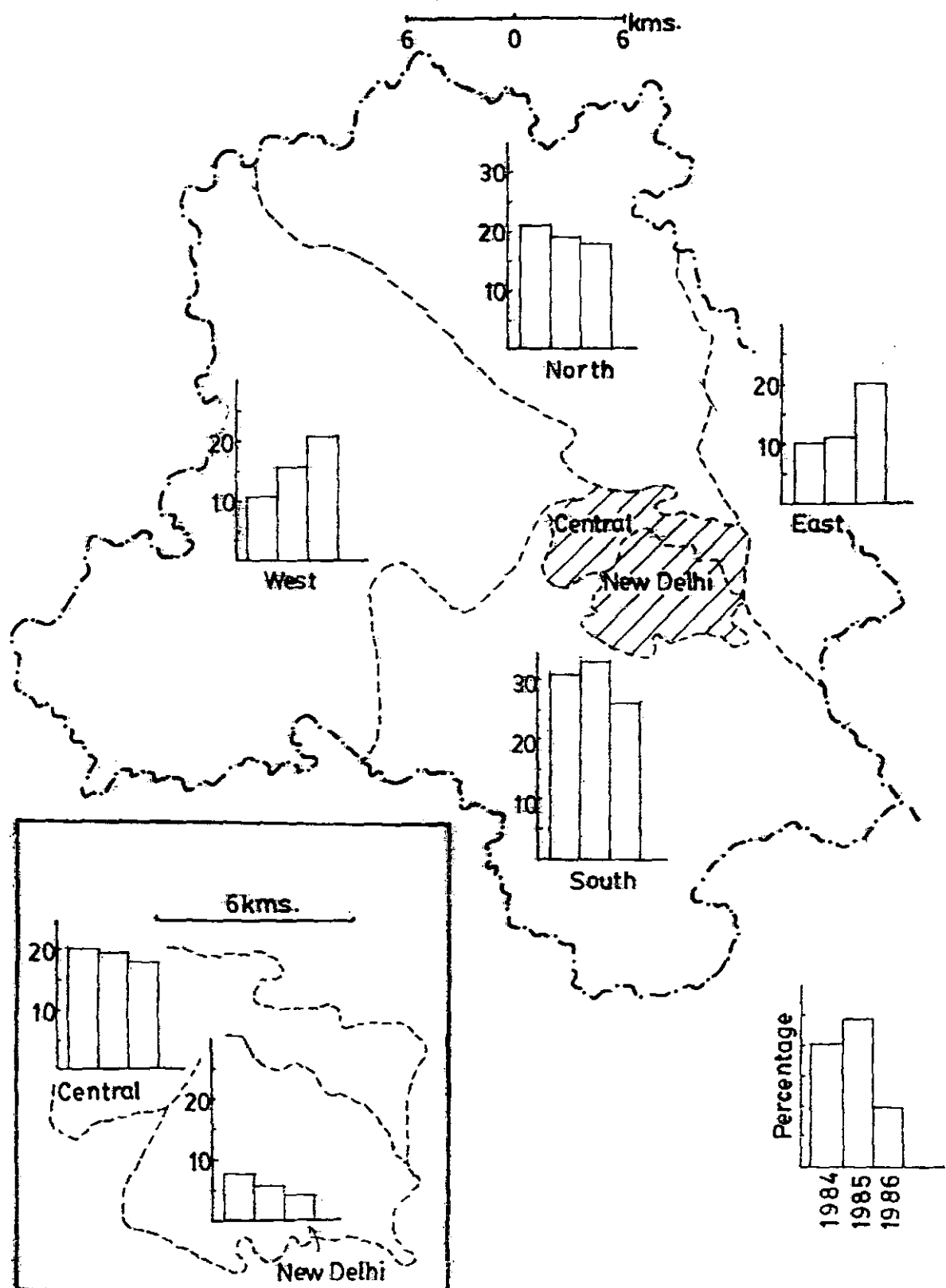
PERCENTAGE SHARE OF ATTEMPT TO MURDER IN DISTRICTS (1984 TO 1986)



DELHI

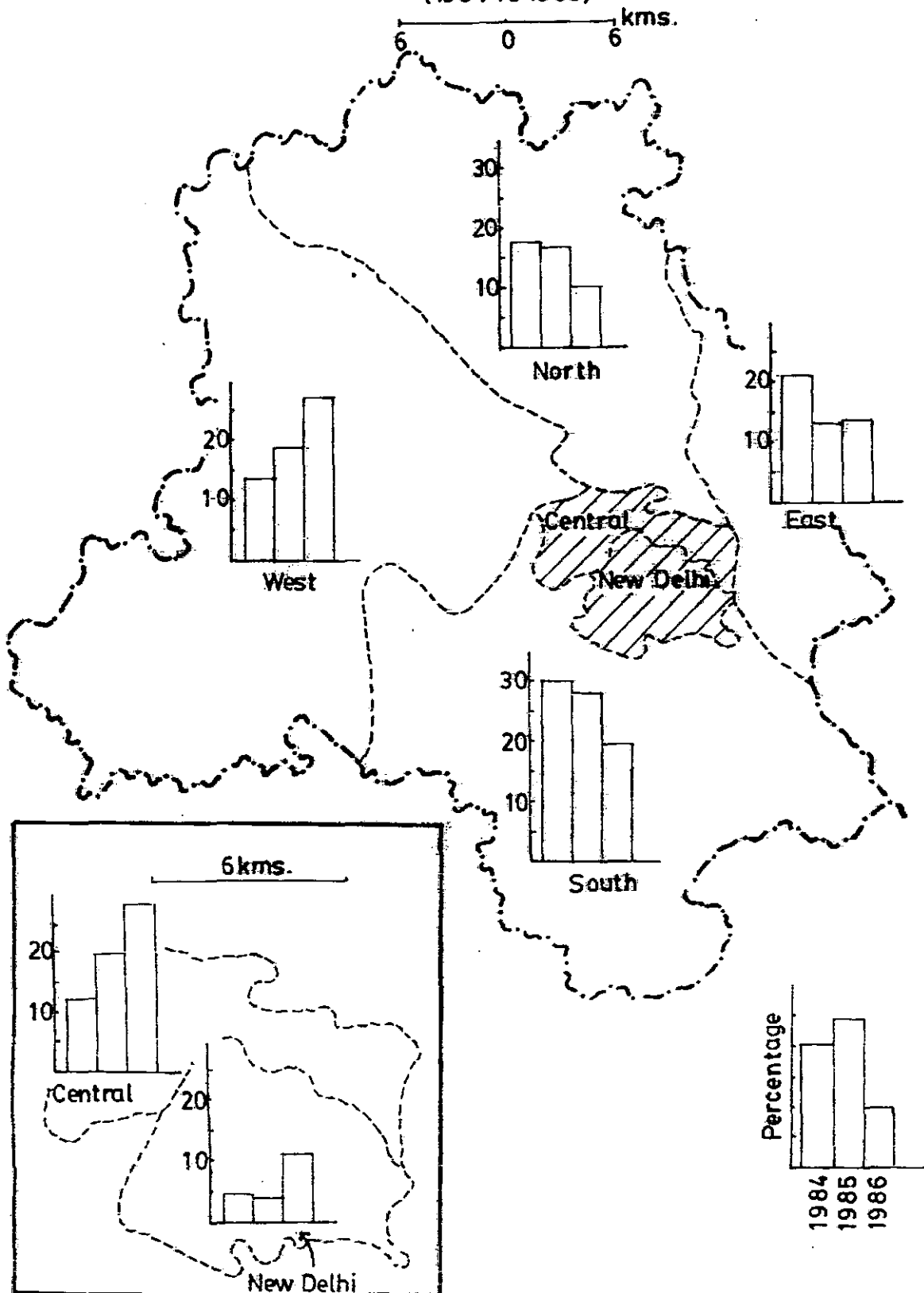
PERCENTAGE SHARE OF ROBBERY IN DISTRICTS

(1984 TO 1986)



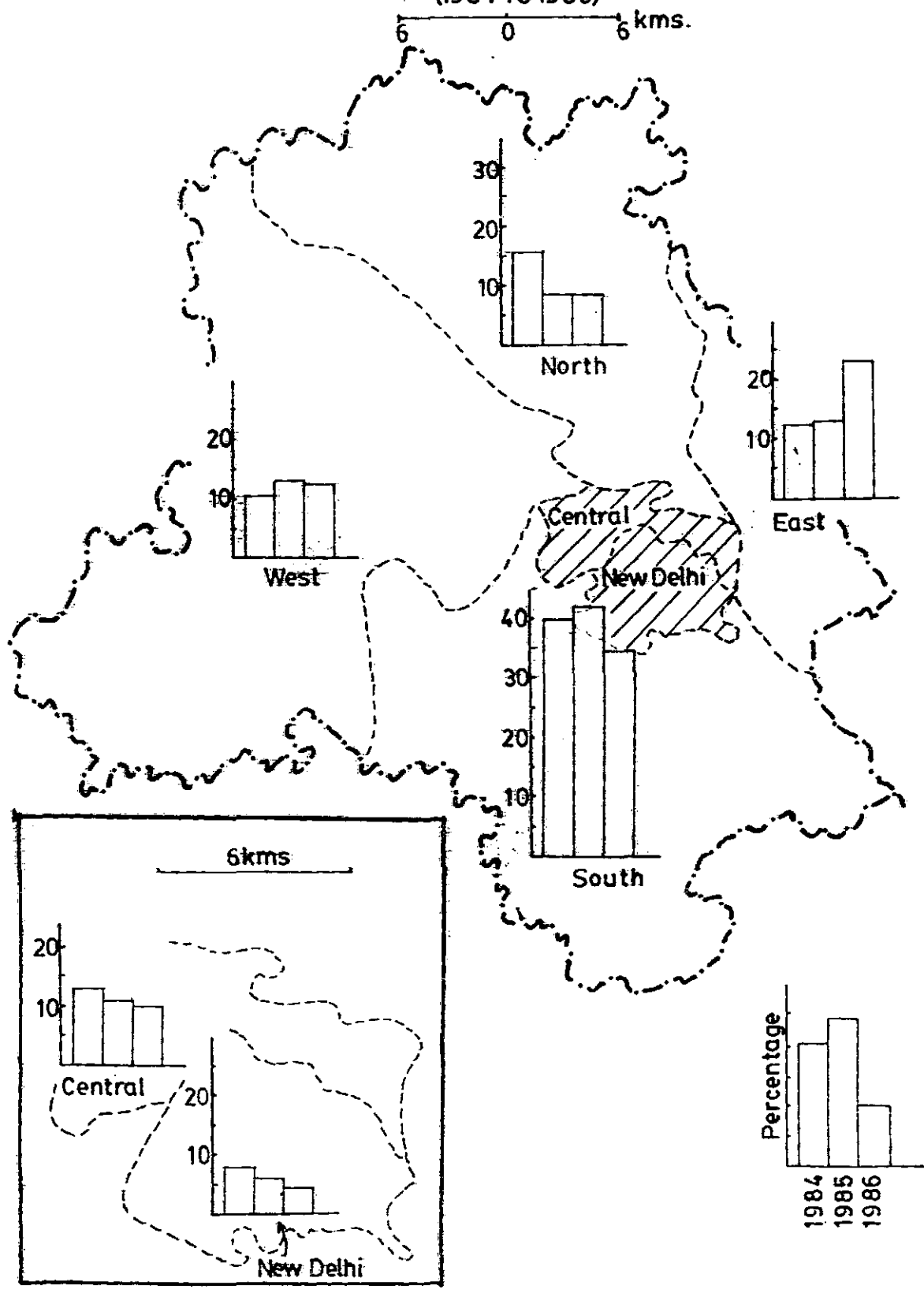
DELHI

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF RIOTS IN DISTRICTS (1984 TO 1986)



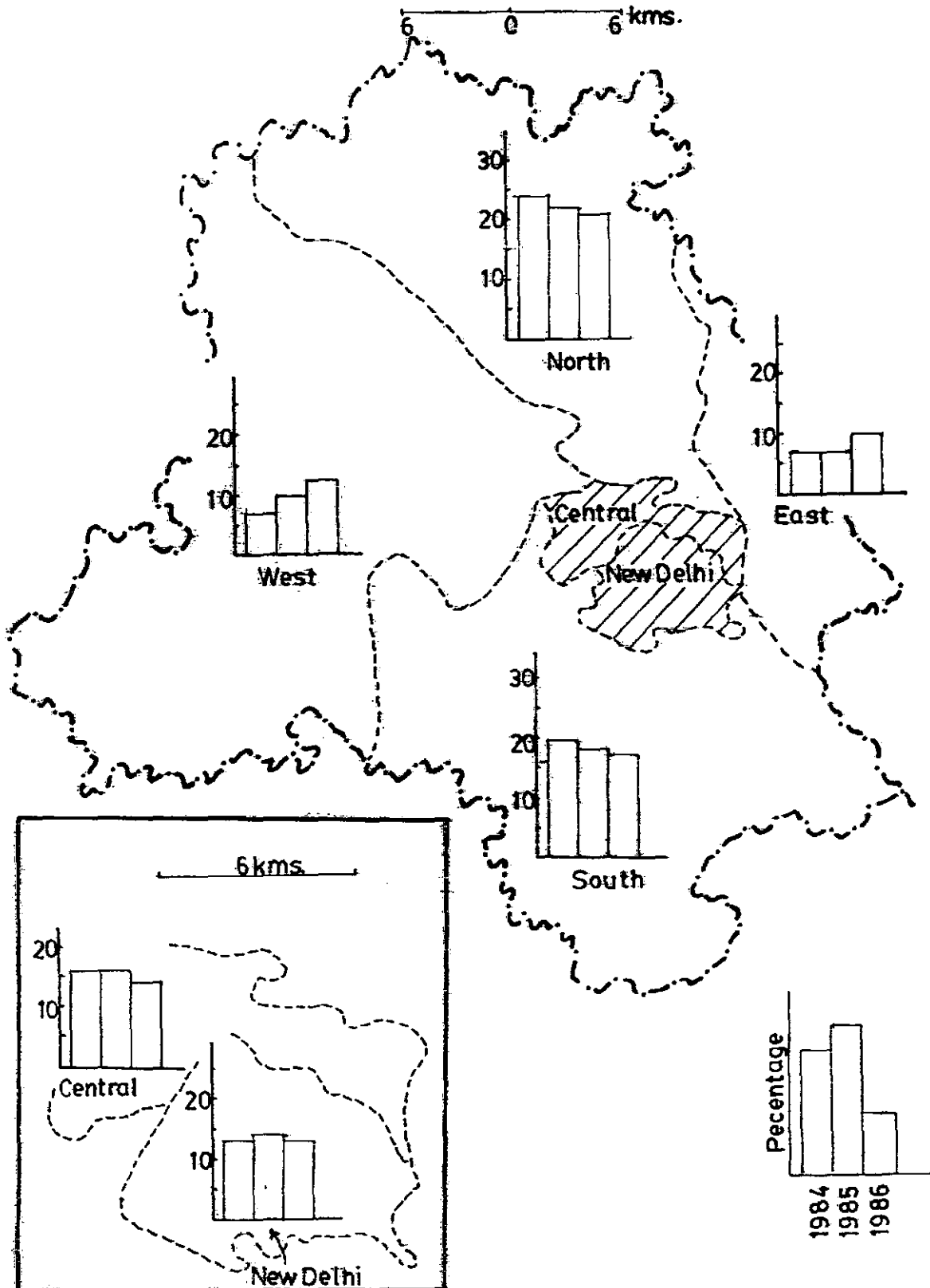
DELHI

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF BURGLARY IN DISTRICTS (1984 TO 1986)



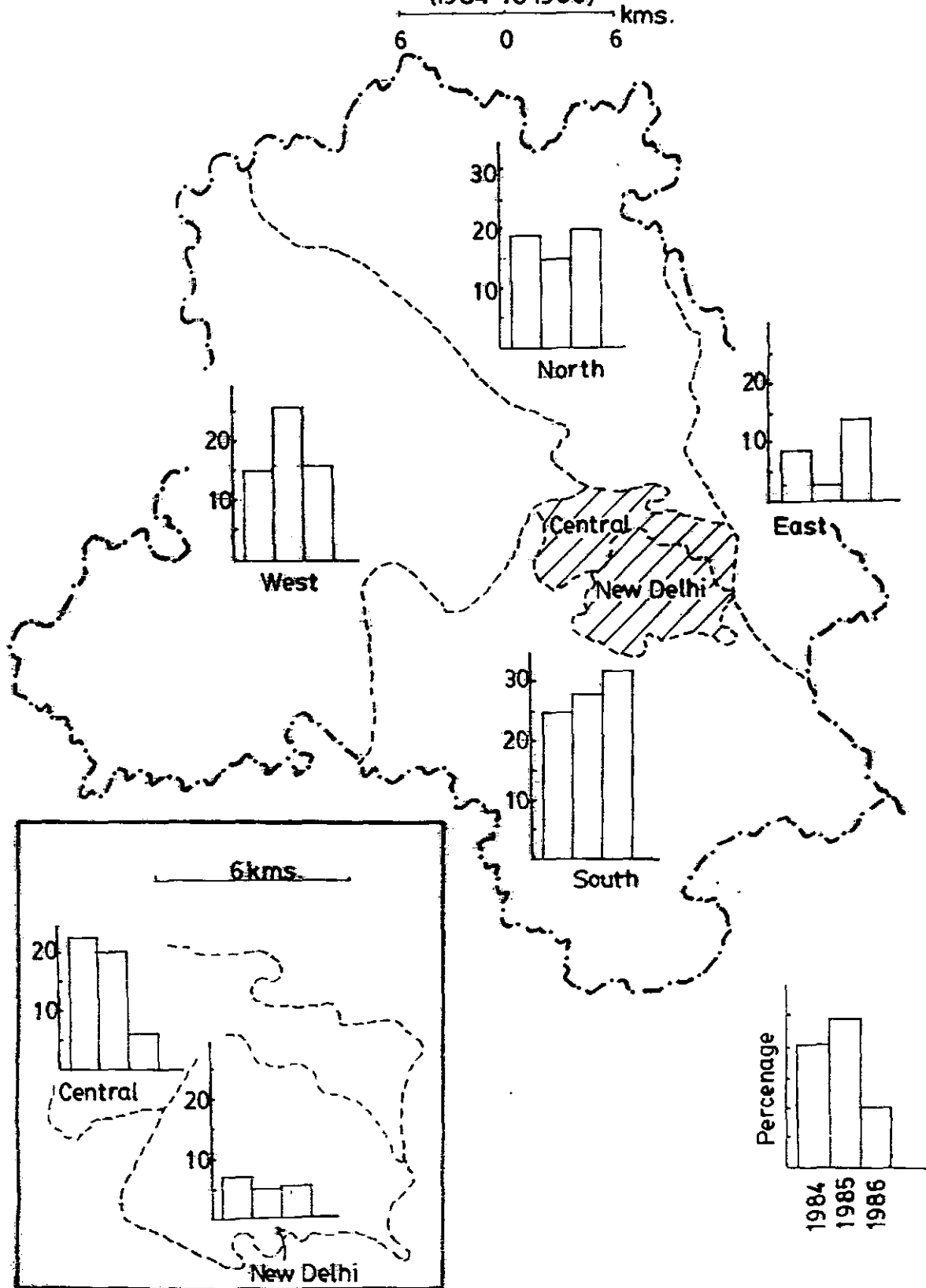
DELHI

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF THEFT IN DISTRICTS (1984 TO 1986)



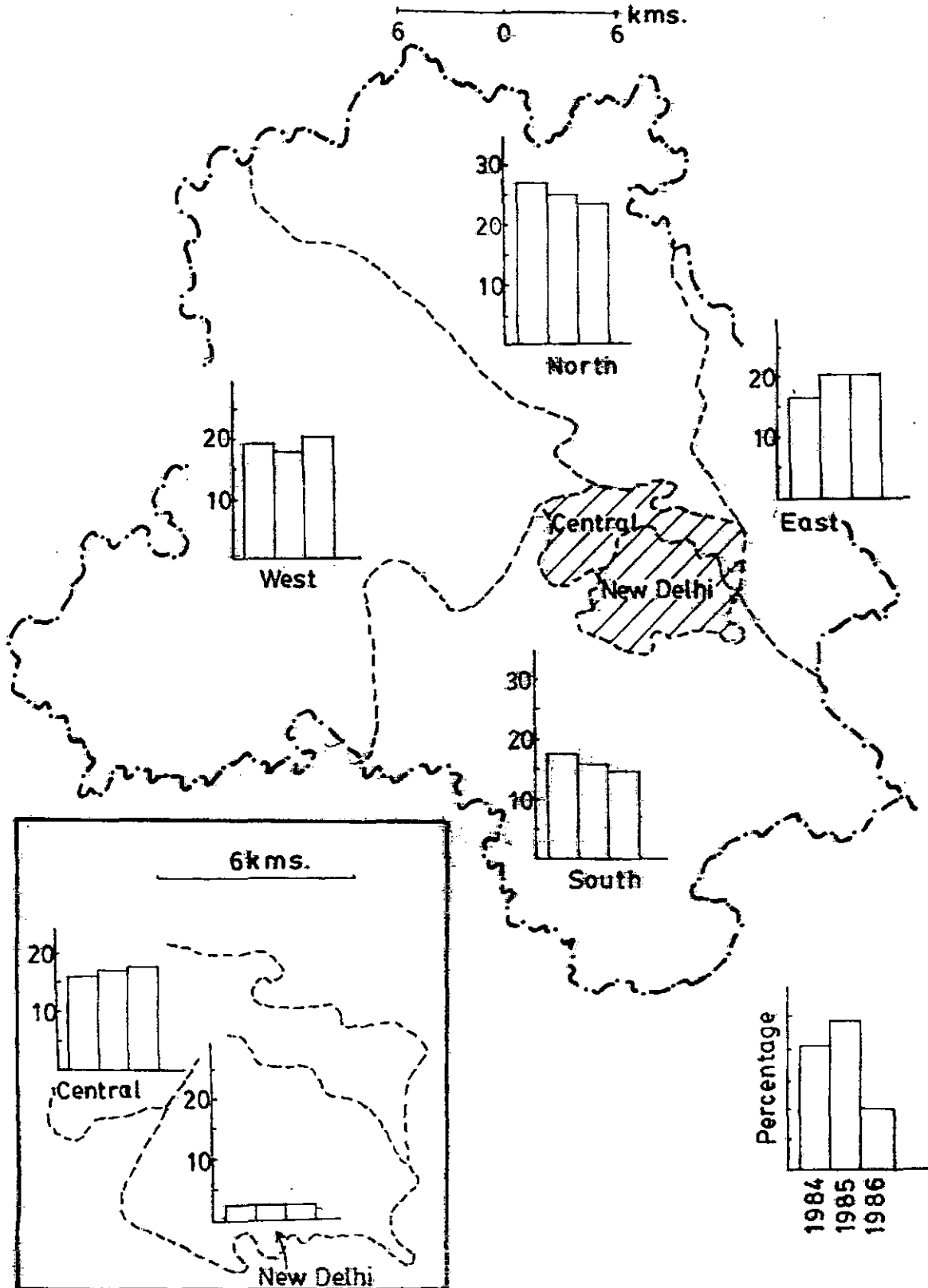
DELHI

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF SNATCHING IN DISTRICTS (1984 TO 1986)



DELHI

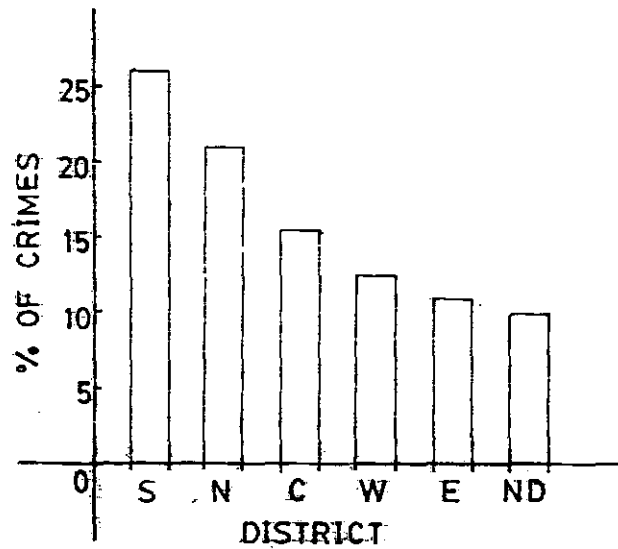
PERCENTAGE SHARE OF HURTS IN DISTRICTS 1984 TO 1986



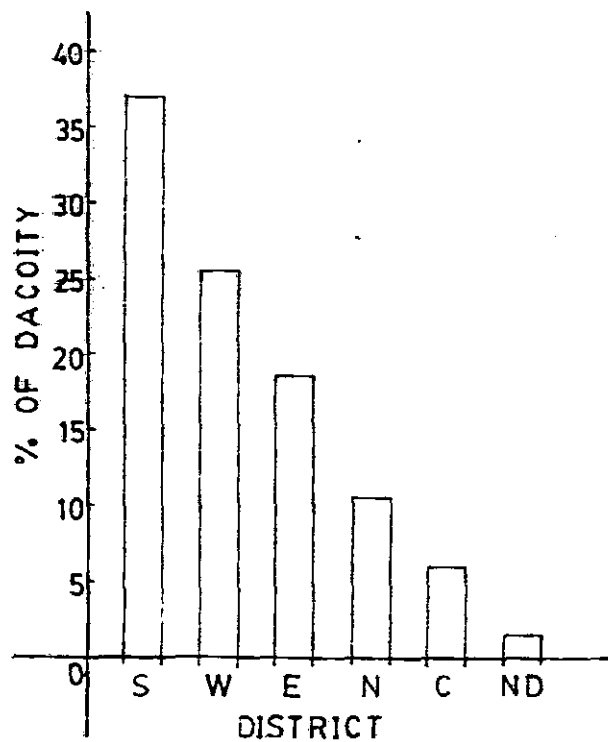
A P P E N D I X I V

GRAPHS SHOWING DISTRICTWISE SHARE OF TOTAL CRIME AND ITS DIFFERENT
CATEGORIES — AVERAGE OF 3 YEARS 1984, 1985 AND 1986

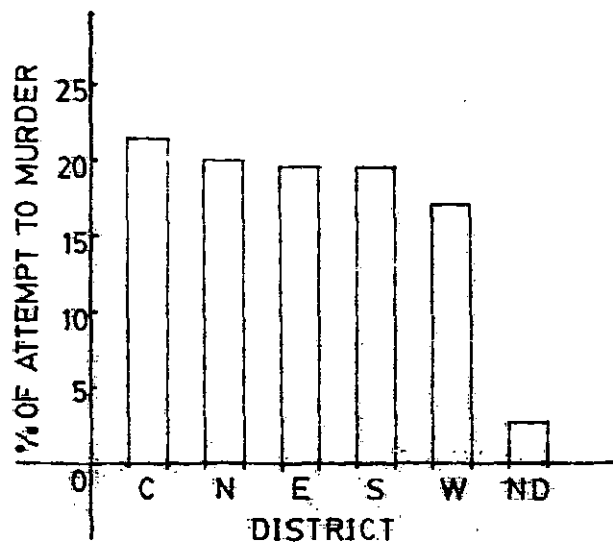
DELHI
DISTRICT WISE SHARE OF CRIMES
(AVERAGE OF 1984,85,86)



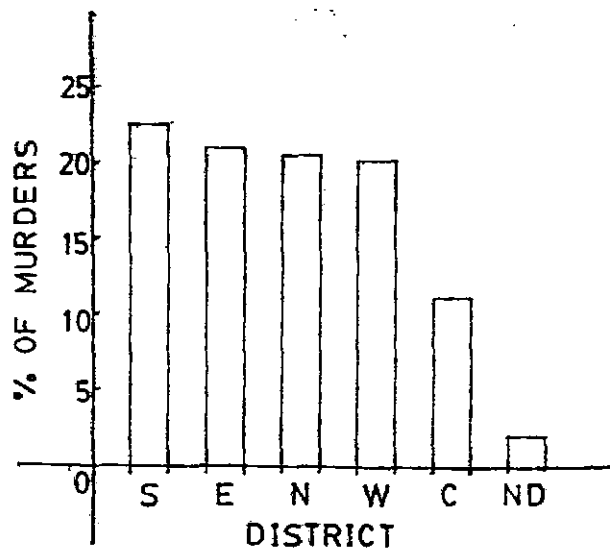
DISTRICT WISE SHARE OF DACOITY
(AVERAGE OF 1984,85,86)



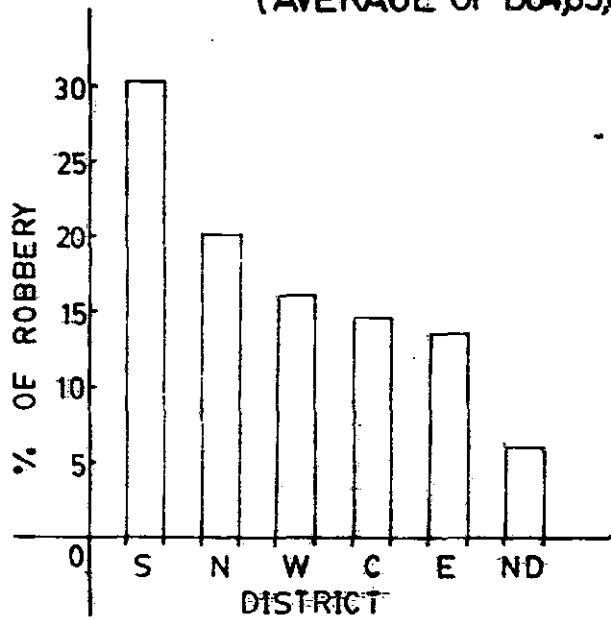
DELHI
DISTRICT WISE SHARE OF ATTEMPT TO MURDER
 (AVERAGE OF 1984,85,86)



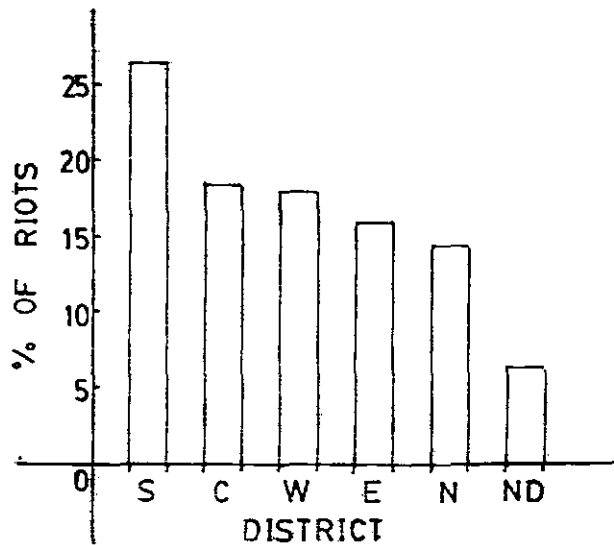
DISTRICT WISE SHARE OF MURDER:
 (AVERAGE OF 1984,85,86)



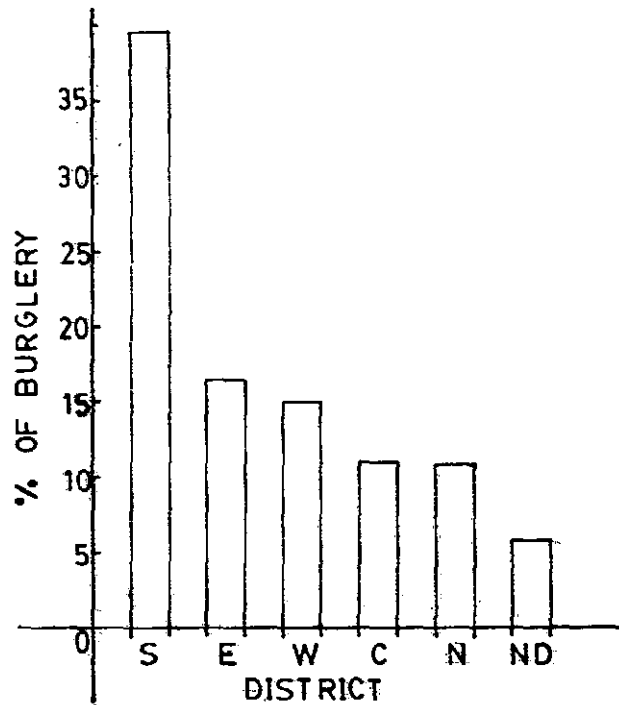
DELHI DISTRICT WISE SHARE OF ROBBERY (AVERAGE OF 1984,85,86)



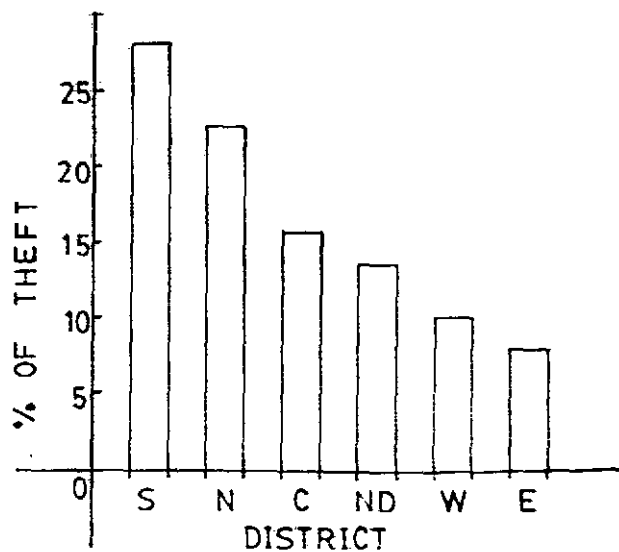
DISTRICT WISE SHARE OF RIOTS (AVERAGE OF 1984,85,86)



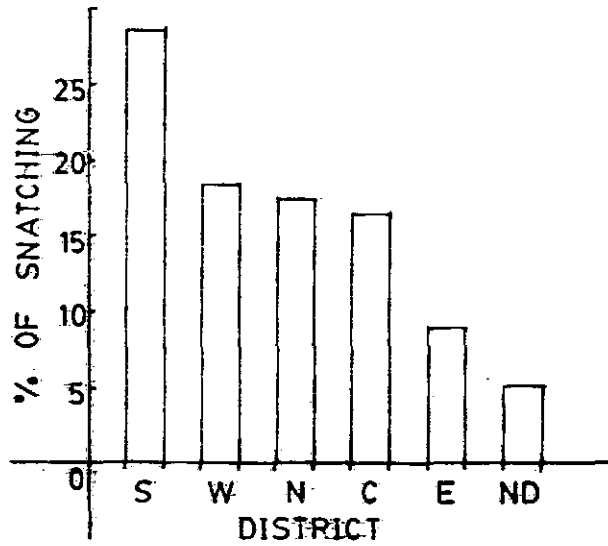
DELHI
DISTRICT-WISE SHARE OF BURGLARY
(AVERAGE OF 1984,85,86)



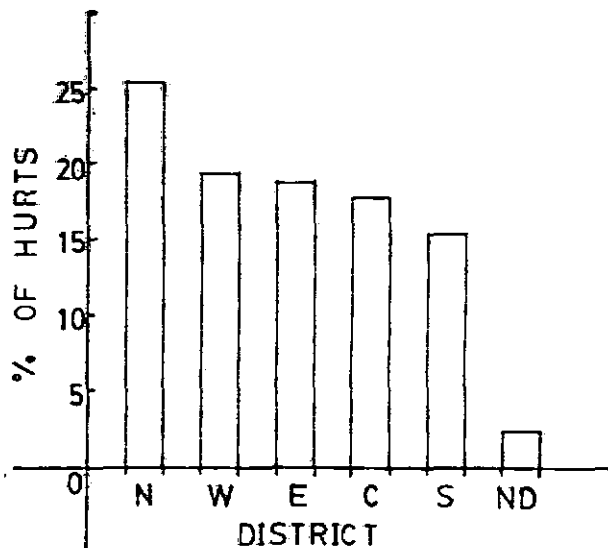
DISTRICT-WISE SHARE OF THEFT
(AVERAGE OF 1984,85,86)



DELHI
DISTRICT WISE SHARE OF SNATCHING
(AVERAGE OF 1984,85,86)



DISTRICT WISE SHARE OF HURTS
(AVERAGE OF 1984,85,86)



APPENDIX-VLIST OF VILLAGES, CENSUS TOWNS & CHARGES.

CODE NO.	NAME
1,2,3,	Delhi Union Territory
4,5,6,	Delhi District
7.	Delhi Urban Agglomeration
8.	N.D.M. Committee
9.	Delhi Cantt.
10.	D.M.C. (Urban)
11.	Samaspur
12.	Bhalswa Jahangirpur
13.	Jaffarabad (C.T.)
14.	Badarpur (C.T.)
15.	Gokalpur (C.T.)
16.	Mandoli (C.T.)
17.	Kotla (C.T.)
18.	Roshampura alias Dichaon (C.T.)
19.	Nangloi Jat (C.T.)
20.	sultanpur Majra (C.T.)
21.	Nangloi sayed (C.T.)
22.	Bindapur (C.T.)
23.	Nasirpur (C.T.)
24.	Palam (C.T.)
25.	Mahipalpur (C.T.)
26.	Raajokri (C.T.)
27.	Chhattarpur (C.T.)
28.	Lado Sarai (C.T.)
29.	Tigri (C.T.)
30.	Deoli (C.T.)
31.	Molar Band (C.T.)

CODE NO.	NAME
32.	Pul Pehlad (C.T.)
33.	Bawana (C.T.)
34.	Alipur (C.T.)
35.	Pooth Khurd (C.T.)
36.	Pehladpur Banger (C.T.)
37.	Bijwasan (C.T.)
38.	Delhi Tehsil
39.	Mehrauli Tehsil
40.	Delhi Tehsil
41.	Lampur
42.	Bankner
43.	Bhorgarh
44.	Kareni
45.	Tikri Khurd
46.	Singhola
47.	Singhu
48.	Hamidpur
49.	Tajpur Kalan
50.	Akbar Pur Majra
51.	Palla
52.	Qallakpur
53.	Jhangola
54.	Sunger Pur
55.	Fatehpur Jat
56.	Tigidpur
57.	Bakhtawar pur
58.	Bankauli
59.	Khanpur
60.	Shahpur Garhi
61.	Razapur Kalan

CODE NO.	NAME
62.	Sanoth
63.	Ghoga
64.	Daryapur Kalan
65.	Hareoli
66.	Ochandi
67.	Mungeshpur
68.	Qutabgarh
69.	Ketewara
70.	Sazidpur Thakran
71.	Nangal Thakran
72.	Iradat Nagar
73.	Holambi Khurd
74.	Holambi Kalan
75.	Zindpur
76.	Hiranki
77.	Mohd.pur
78.	Tehri Daulat pur
79.	Ibrahimpur
80.	Garhi Khasru
81.	Mukhmelpur
82.	Bodhpur Bijapur
83.	Khera Kalan
84.	Khera Khurd
85.	Sultanpur Dabas
86.	Chandpur
87.	Sudhanpur
88.	Salahpur Majra
89.	Khor Jat
90.	Khor Punjab

CODE NO.	NAME
91.	Chatesar
92.	Jonti
93.	Garhi Rindhala
94.	Ladpur
95.	Kanjhawala
96.	Mohd.Pur Majri
97.	Karala
98.	Barwala
99.	Pansali
100.	Sahibabad Daulatpur
101.	Kankar Khera
102.	Siraspur
103.	Na ngli Poona
104.	Qadipur
105.	Salempur Mazra Surari
106.	Badarpur
107.	Pur
108.	Surari
109.	Libaspur
110.	Bhaiswa Jahangirpur
111.	Naharpur
112.	Pi tampura
113.	Yakut Pur
114.	Sahipur
115.	Haider Pur
116.	Shanjar Pur
117.	Mukand Pur
118.	Kamalpur
119.	Jharoda Mazra

CODE NO.	NAME
120.	Wazirabad
121.	Gopal Pur
122.	Jagat Pur (Surari)
123.	Sabapur
124.	Baqiabad
125.	Saadat Pur Musalmanan
126.	Saadat Pur Gujran
127.	Sher Pur
128.	Garhi Mendu
129.	Khajoori Khas
130.	Beharipur
131.	Qarawal Nagar
132.	Dayal Pur
133.	Jiwampur alias Johripur
134.	Khanpur Dhani
135.	Mustafabad
136.	Mipur Turk
137.	Tukmir Pur
138.	Ziauddin Pur
139.	Shakarpur Baramad
140.	Shamaspur
141.	Gharonda Neemka Bangar alias Patwar Ganj
142.	Gharonda Neemka Khadar
143.	Chilla Saroda Khadar
144.	Chilla Saroda Banger
145.	Dallo pura



CODE NO.	NAME
146.	Kondli
147.	Gharoli
148.	Tikri Kalan
149.	Nizampur Rasidpur
150.	Saoda
151.	Gheora
152.	Jaffarpur alias Hiran Kudna
153.	Bakarwala
154.	Bapraula
155.	Nangli Sakrawati
156.	Dichaon Kalan
157.	Neelwal
158.	Jharoda Kalan
159.	Surakhpur
160.	Mitraon
161.	Khera
162.	Dindar Pur
163.	Kharkhari Nahar
164.	Surera
165.	Kair
166.	Mundhela Khurd
167.	Mundhela Kalan
168.	Jaffarpur Kalan
169.	Khera Dabar
170.	Sherpur Deri
171.	Ujwa
172.	Shamaspur Khalsa
173.	Bagar Garh
174.	Isapur

CODE NO.	NAME
175.	Qazipur
176.	Malikpur Najafgarh
177.	Daryapur Khurd
178.	Goman Hera
179.	Jhuljhuli
180.	Sarangpur
181.	Dhansa
182.	Ghalibpur
183.	Raota
184.	Deorala
185.	Mehrauli Tahsil
186.	Madangur Dabas
187.	Rasoolpur
188.	Rani Khera
189.	Mubarakpur Dabas
190.	Begumpur
191.	Pooth Kalan
192.	Kirari Sulaman Nagar
193.	Nithari
194.	Mundka
195.	Tilangpur Kotla
196.	Ranholi Shafipur
197.	Qamuruddin Nagar
198.	Mangholpur Khurd
199.	Rithala
200.	Mangholpur Kalan
201.	Garhi Piran
202.	Jawala Heri
203.	Nilothi

CODE NO.	NAME
204.	Hastsal
205.	Razapur Khurd
206.	Nawada Mazra Hastsal
207.	Matola
208.	Mirzapur
209.	Dabri
210.	Saganpur
211.	Lohar Heri
212.	Kakrola
213.	Goela Khurd
214.	Tajpur Khurd
215.	Gutabpur
216.	Ambar Hai
217.	Toghanpur
218.	Bagrola
219.	Sahapur
220.	Shahabad Mohd. Pur
221.	Pochampur
222.	Dhul siras
223.	Chhawla
224.	Rewla Kham Pur
225.	Poprawat
226.	Khar-Khari Jatmal
227.	Khar-Khari Rond
228.	Pind-wala Kalan
229.	Pindwala Khurd
230.	Daulatpur
231.	Hasanpur
232.	Asalatpur Khawad
233.	Zinpur

CODE NO.	NAME
234.	shikarpur
235.	Jhatikra
236.	Nanak Heri
237.	Raghupur
238.	Badhosra
239.	Kangan Heri
240.	Bamnoli
241.	Bhartal
242.	Nangal Dewat
243.	Malahpur
244.	Kapas Hera
245.	Sambhalka
246.	Malikpur Koi alias Rangpuri
247.	Kusumpur
248.	Moradabad Pahari
249.	Masudpur
250.	Ghitomi
251.	Yahya Nagar
252.	Gadai pur
253.	suitampur
254.	Maidan Garhi
255.	Neb Sarai
256.	saidul Ajaib
257.	Rajpur Khurd
258.	Satberi
259.	Chandan Hola
260.	Jongpur
261.	Dera
262.	Mandi
263.	Fatehpur Beri

CODE NO.	NAME
264.	Bhati
265.	Asola
266.	Shahurpur
267.	Kotla Mahigiran
268.	Saidabad
269.	Aali
270.	Jaipur
271.	Mithapur
272.	Tajpul
273.	N.D.M.C
274.	

N.D.M.C.

CHARGE NO.

CODE NO.

1.	274
2.	275
3.	276
4.	277
5.	278
6.	279
7.	280
8.	281
9.	282

Delhi Cantt.

1.	283
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D.M.C

2.	285
2.	286
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18.	302

CHARGE NO.	CODE NO.
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CHARGE NO.	CODE NO.
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CHARGE NO.

CODE NO.

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SEGREGATION INDEX OF URBAN CHARGES & CENSUS TOWNS

	<u>Charge No.</u>	<u>Segregation index</u>
New Delhi Municipal Committee	1	44.08
	2	54.11
	3	50.25
	4	34.19
	5.	38.56
	6	57.75
	7	53.93
	8	42.72
	9	46.54
Delhi Cantt.	1	60.95
Delhi Municipal Corporation	1	49.25
	2	55.86
	3	63.3
	4	52.89
	5	53.51
	6	61.78
	7	62.27
	8	51.7
	9	56.95
	10	75.8
	11	76.77
	12	76.61
	13	77.15
	14	70.89
	15	63.98
	16	75.5
	17	75.31
	18	77.59
	19	68.70
	20	79.51

	<u>Charge No.</u>	<u>Segregation index</u>
Delhi Municipal Corporation	21	63.12
(continued)	22	72.35
	23	72.9
	24	54.98
	25	57.59
	26	51.14
	27	44.69
	28	47.82
	29	71.44
	30	51.58
	31	74.89
	32	67.55
	33	51.41
	34	76.02
	35	57.67
	36	66.03
	37	55.57
	38	59.22
	39	39.91
	40	60.27
	41	58.1
	42	68.63
	43	40.06
	44	60.76
	45	52.49
	46	59.00
	47	66.67
	48	60.5
	49	64.08
	50	63.66
	51	57.31
	52	41.97
	53	53.34
	54	58.12

	<u>Charge No.</u>	<u>Segregation index</u>
Delhi Municipal Corporation	55	65.28
(continued)	56	70.06
	57	50.85
	58	49.78
	59	70.01
	60	60.00
	61	56.93
	62	55.43
	63	57.93
	64	62.12
	65	61.17
	66	38.63
	67	43.00
	68	51.16
	69	34.04
	70	49.32
	71	55.56
	72	61.31
	73	36.45
	74	58.02
	75	56.50
	76	64.09
	77	59.23
	78	66.14
	79	60.90
	80	64.33
	81	65.05
	82	49.33
	83	81.23
	84	49.26
	85	53.89
	86	30.83

<u>Census Towns</u>	<u>Segregation Index</u>
Samepur	46.17
Bhalswa Jahangirpur	48.11
Jaffarabad	53.72
Babarpur	37.45
Gokalpur	21.95
Mandoli	34.51
Kotla	38.48
Roshanpura	24.61
Nangloi Jat	61.77
Sultanpur Majra	34.38
Nangloi Sayad	27.19
Bindapur	30.54
Nasirpur	32.73
Palam	49.68
Mahilpalpur	47.72
Rajokri	77.94
Chhattarpur	40.77
Lado Sarai	48.25
Tigri	28.56
Deoli	52.29
Molar Band	36.23
Pul Pahlad	39.5
Bawana	69.31
Alipur	61.76
Footh Khurd	64.49
Pehladpur Banger	38.57
Bhijwasan	84.68

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