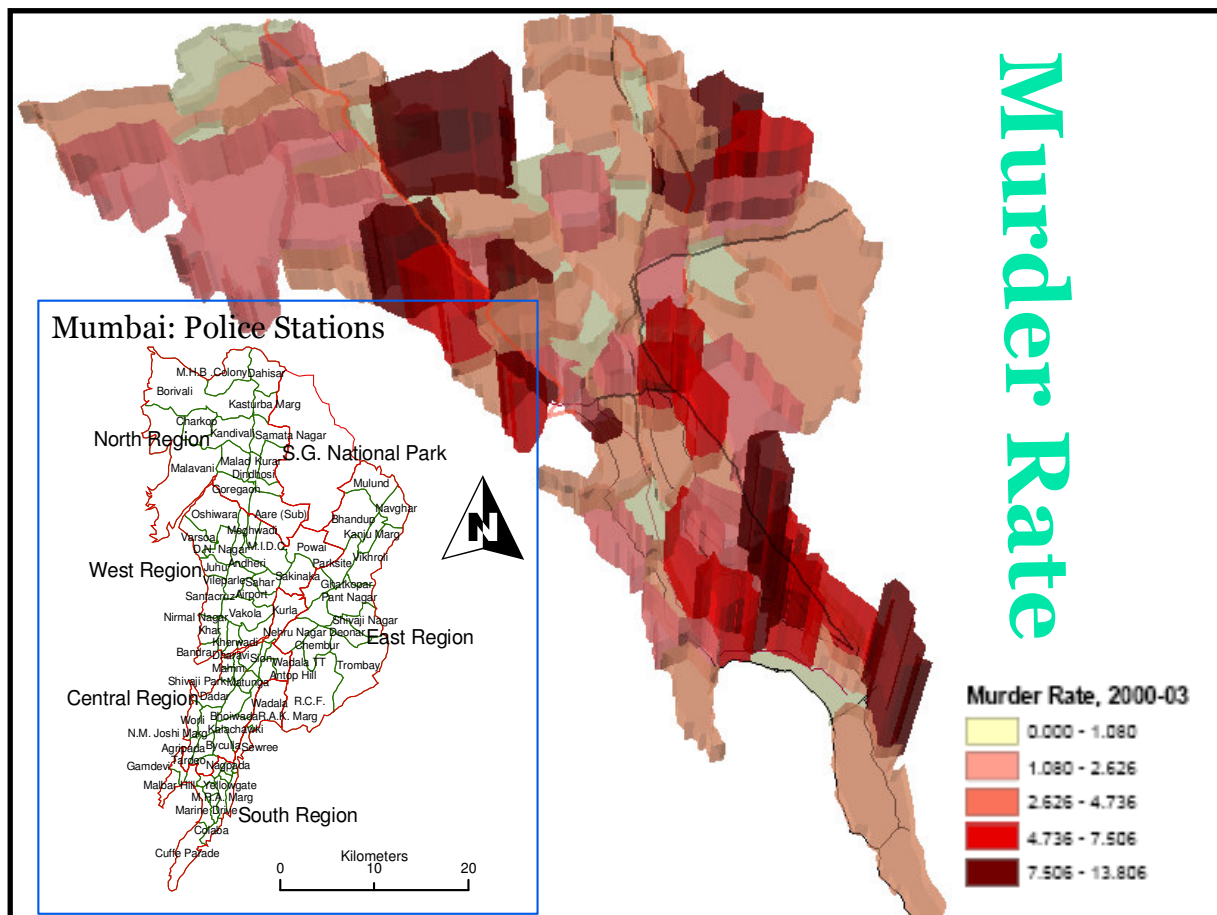


# CITY, CRIME & SPACE : A CASE OF MUMBAI MEGAPOLIS



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(Abdul Shaban)

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## Abbreviations Used

ABS	:	Akhilbhartiya Vidyarthi Sena
ACM	:	Attempt to Commit Murder
BJP	:	Bhartiya Janata Party
BMC	:	Brihan-Mumbai Municipal Corporation
CHNAM	:	Culpable Homicide not Amounting to Murder
CSO	:	Central Statistical Organisation
D-gang	:	Dawood Gang
FICCI	:	Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry
GIS	:	Geographical Information Systems
HBT	:	House Burglary & Theft
IPC	:	Indian Penal Code
ISI	:	Inter Service Intelligence
MCOCA	:	Maharashtra Control of Organised Crime Act
MLA	:	Member of Legislative Assembly
MMRDA	:	Mumbai Metropolitan Region Development Authority
MP	:	Member of Parliament
NCRB	:	National Crime Record Bureau
NSA	:	National Security Act
NSSO	:	National Sample Survey Organisation
RBI	:	Reserve Bank of India
SEBI	:	Security and Exchange Board of India
SLL	:	State and Local Laws
VHP	:	Vishva Hindu Prishad

## Summary and Conclusions

Urbanisation and growing 'urbanism' have been blamed for much of the deviant behaviour in today's society. Urban life has produced 'mass society', virtually a chaotic crowd. It has led to clash between norms and values and breakdown of interpersonal relations. Cities have also been named as 'nations of strangers' where millions of people live 'feebly rooted' lives. Many claim that city population provide 'critical mass' for one to become deviant or for breeding deviants, while others say that cities filter out individuals and communities on the bases of social and economic achievements. This in turn leads to a sense of deprivation, being discriminated against (real or imaginary) and subjugation, leading to clash between groups/classes/individuals. As the law is also framed by the dominant groups, these are acts of deprived and lower class which do not get social sanctions and thus become unlawful. Among others these have been the reasons for of high crime rate in lower class.

Urban centres have not only been 'engines of economic growth', but also centres where many of the deviance and crimes are learned. Loose social control, anonymity, indifference, and lack of social support systems, in one way or other, helps in criminalizing the individuals and creation of deviants. Similar to the appropriation of physical and human resources from its periphery, the urban centres also attract criminals and hide them in the 'anonymity' of urban life. As the material achievements have become associated with social status, the criminality is becoming higher in both the low and high classes. Capitalism has been blamed for creating differentiated societies based on economic achievements, which has become superimposed on already fragmented and differentiated societies, based on religion, culture or ethnic groups, more so in case of India, thereby producing a strong positive correlations among various structures manifesting themselves in 'spatial forms'. The cumulative effects of these are that 'space' itself is being graded and labeled on the basis of attributes of its inhabitants and manifests the social products like crime bearing strong correlation with its spatial structures.

The combine effects of three major factors have been attributed to social and psychological consequences of city life (i.e. urbanism). These are: increased size of population, increased density of population, and increased heterogeneity or differentiation. The personnel effect of

these factors manifests itself in increased social incompetence, loneliness and mental illness on the one hand, and deviant behaviours of all kinds: from charming eccentric to dangerously criminal (Wirth, 1938; Simmel, 1969).

Within a city crime does not manifests itself uniformly over its space, but most aspects of deviant behaviours seem to exhibit a definite spatial patterns of some sort. Environmental conditionings in impoverished neighbourhoods, in general, produces 'under socialized individuals. This in turn curtails creativity, adaptability and flexibility of individuals who seem to come in direct conflict with established norms and values.

Spatial study of crimes are undergoing a sea change particularly with development of computer aided mapping, modelling, Geographical Information Systems (GIS), and geostatistics or spatial statistics. The descriptive ecological models have now become more analytical and recently available detailed data on various socio-economic and physical characteristics of an area has facilitated it. The spatial statistics and GIS tools are now used in most of the cities of the world for crime detection, mapping, tracking and prevention. The GIS is also helping a lot in designing of spaces for improving environment and creating 'defensible space'.

The present study has been an attempt to examine spatial distribution of various forms of crimes in Mumbai city (Municipal Corporation) and find out their correlates. More specifically the attempts have been made to find out 'hotspots' of various forms of crimes, to analysed the types of crimes which occur in close spatial association with each other, to inter-relate the spatial dimensions to other criminogenic factors, to examine whether recent emphasis on development has drastically changed the character of crimes and its causes where space has its role to play, and to study implication of space-induced crimes to law and order in the city. The major observations which emerge from the study are as follows:

1. The crime rate in Mumbai has been much lower in comparison to other cities in the world. Besides having low police-population ratio (about 2 police persons per lakh of population), the city has been able to restrict the crimes. Among the four megacities in the country (other are Delhi, Kolkata and Chennai), Mumbai, which ranked second after Delhi during 1975-95, has ranked third thereafter (after Delhi and Kolkata).

2. Increasing rate of unemployment, due to closure of textile mills, organizational clashes between labour unions, police and the mill owners, relatively lax policing, and also due to increased communalization of the society, led to increased crime cases in the city in 1980s and early 1990s. However, thereafter, substantial decline in crime cases have been observed.
3. Increased crime cases in the city in 1980s and early 1990s are also attributed to increasing economic inequality and associated sense of deprivation among the lower class. The successive governments since the Independence had talked about social controls of means of production, equality, and justice, but suddenly in mid-1980s decided to liberalise the economy and abandon the social controls. This led to increased clashes between labour unions, the police and the mill owners, and the city became a battle ground for this in 1980s. However, since mid-1990s a strong message had been sent by the government that economic liberalization and resulting labour reforms are irreversible. Over the years, the labour unions and organizations have dissipated from the city landscape, and there is a general sense of surrender before the mighty State and forceful economic forces in the remnants. The declines in number of the clashes have largely led to the decline in crimes in the city. Moreover, after the serial bomb blast in 1993, the city police has become more alert and cautious as well as proactive, leading to arrest or encounter killing of notorious criminals, leading to further decline in crimes in the city.
4. There has been persistence of all sorts of crimes in a few areas in the city. These high delinquency areas or hotspots of crimes have been south Mumbai, south central Mumbai, area along the Mahim Creek or Matunga-Mahim- Bandra axis, Juhu, Sahar and Vile Parle area, and Shivaji Nagar-Pant Nagar area.
5. Almost all kind of crimes in the city are highly localized in the areas mentioned above. The major correlates of the crimes (in other words, characteristics of the areas of high crime rates) are found to be high floating population (resulting in lower population density), high literacy rate (as they are mostly business areas), relatively high proportion of total working population, and concentration of minority (it is based on general observation as no data on religious groups are available for police stations). The lower population density in the high crime rate areas in the city results mainly due high floating population in these areas and a large proportion of built space devoted to commercial purpose, e.g., in south and central Mumbai. In the

eastern suburb and the area along the Mahim-Creek is still vertically low developed. This results in high congestion at the ground but relatively lower population density. And this leads to negative relationship between crime rate and population density in the city.

6. Some other observable characteristics of the 'hotspots' of the crime, mentioned above, are as follows. The first 'hotspot', south Mumbai, which comprises of police stations of Malabar Hills, D.B. Marg, V.P. Road, L.T. Marg, M.R.A. Marg, Azad Maidan and Kolaba, is an area of rich class and economically motivated crimes prevail here. The area due to high magnitude of floating population (commuters) also becomes ghost town during night, providing a suitable environment for drug peddlers, prostitutes, and wayward to indulge in their unlawful acts. Put it differently, 'lifestyle crimes' dominate in this area.

The second cluster or 'hotspot' of crime in the city comprises of police stations of Pydhoni, Dongri, J.J. Marg, Byculla and Nagpada. This area was earlier dominated by textile mills and the mill workers, but is now inhabited by lower and middle class people (many of the workers and their families of erstwhile textile mills are still living in chawls in this area). The landscape is dominated by *chawls*, and old buildings, though emerging skyscraper mostly on mill lands are also visible. This area also contains acres of vacant mill lands, which is now in eyes of corporates, politicians, bureaucrats, and the underworld, which refuses to die. The area has visual presence of drug dealers, prostitutes, pimps and single family homes being converted into multifamily use. In Kamathipura pimps and prostitutes have brazenly taken over the streets. In this area literacy rate is low and room density is as high as 5-6 people (10 ft by 10 ft rooms). Due to lack of space, often people of various generations live in a single room resulting in no privacy to individuals and couples. In this process, children and youth suffer the most who due to lack of space have to remain on streets for most of the time or sit in tea-shops on the streets getting familiarised and learning most the unwanted acts. Streets are narrow with hardly any open spaces. There is also lack of playgrounds and schools in some of the areas like Temkar Mohalla/street. It is not surprising therefore that the major dons in the city's history were borne either in this area, or were/are connected with this place in one way or other. Karim Lala, Dawood Ibrahim, Chhota Shakkel, Haji Mastan are a few examples of what the place

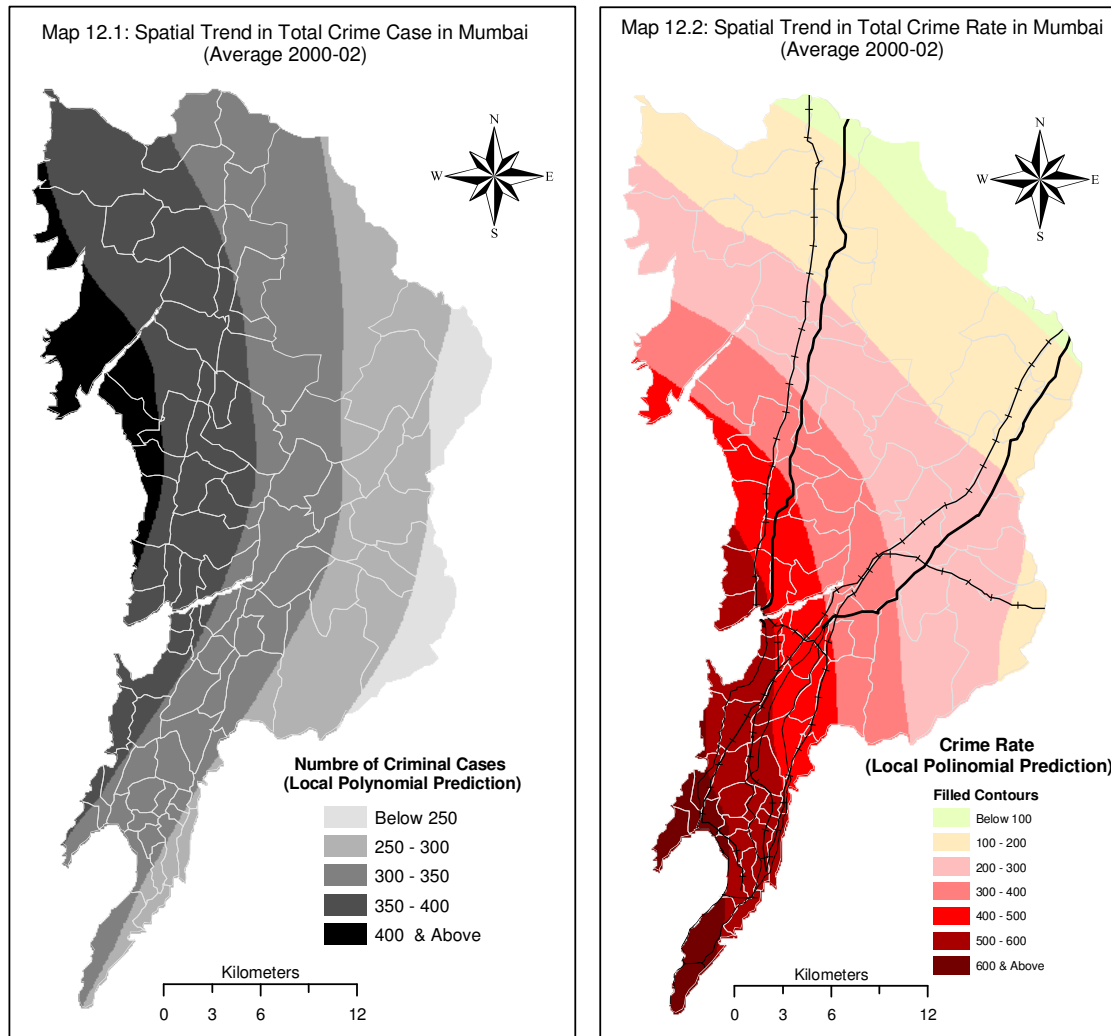
has produced. Within this area also live Arun Gawli, the dreaded don turned politician. The layout or design of this area very much corresponds with the layout of Five Oaks, Dayton, Ohio. In fact, under the guidance of Newman, the layout of Five Oaks was changed in 1991-92 to prevent the high incidence of crime in the area. One wonders whether there is a need for similar kind of replanning of this area of Mumbai city as well in order to improve the social situation and stop the high rate of crime.

The third 'hotspot' is along the Mahim Creek and includes police stations of Shivaji Park, Mahim, Kherwadi, Nirmal Nagar, and Bandra. In fact, Bandra, after Matunga, is the second most crime prone area in the city. The area under this cluster/hotspot is full of contradictions. Where there are palatial residences and high rises of film stars and other rich, the area is also inhabited by lakhs of poor living in slums, shanties, on pavements, and under bridges. The biggest slum of Asia, Dharavi, lies on the periphery of this cluster. Perhaps nowhere in the city juxtapositions in culture, lifestyle, and built environment can be seen as they are visible in this area. And these contradictions and juxtapositions have been the reasons for high crime rate in this area.

The fourth hotspot centres on police stations of Juhu, Vile Parle, Santacruz, and Airport. It is traffically a very busy area. Juhu, full of night clubs and beech life, records the highest crime in this cluster. The fifth hotspot of crime in the city centres on police stations of Pant Nagar and Shivaji Nagar in eastern suburb. This area is dominated by lower class mainly living in slums and shanties. Struggle for survival, struggle for domination among the rough, and strong desire to catch up the rich by any means makes the area relatively high crime prone. Besides the above 'hotspots', an area of high crime rate also runs from south-west to north-east direction from R.A.K Marg, Matunga to Chembur. This area is also very congested and is traffically a very busy area.

7. Incidence of Crime and Crime rate besides having a gradient from-south west direction to north-east direction in the city (Maps 12.1 & 12.2), are also found to be high along the major transport routes: railways and roadways. This shows that these transport routes offer opportunity and means for easy and quick escape from the scene

of crimes to criminals. As railway stations, bus stations, buses and trains remain highly crowded they provide opportunities to offender to commit crimes.



8. Among the 24 major types of crimes analysed in this study, Mumbai, in the four megacities (besides Mumbai, other are Delhi, Kolkata and Chennai), in 4 crimes (hurt, robbery, burglary, and criminal breach of trust), based on crime rates and its persistence over the years 1975-03, ranks 1<sup>st</sup>; in 8 crimes (murder, dacoity, preparation and assembly for dacoity, theft, motor vehicle theft, rape, arsons, and other IPC crimes) ranks 2<sup>nd</sup>; in 6 crimes (kidnapping and abduction, death by negligence, counterfeiting, molestation, cruelty by husband and relatives, kidnapping and abduction of girls) ranks 3<sup>rd</sup>; and in 6 crimes (attempt to commit murder, culpable homicide not amounting to murder, cheating, sexual harassment of women and girls,

dowry deaths, and riots) ranks 4<sup>th</sup> (see the summarized results presented in Table 12.1). In case of 10 crimes (mainly economic and property crimes), the city on an average has had higher crime rates than that at the national level, and these crimes are: hurt, robbery, burglary, preparation and assembly for dacoity, theft, motor vehicle theft, criminal breach of trust, cheating, counterfeiting, and other IPC crimes.

9. In terms of spatial distribution, almost all the crimes in the city have shown similar clustering patterns as mentioned above. The five clusters or hotspots of each crime have been well-marked on the social geography of the city. Most of the crimes (rate) have also shown strong spatial associations indicating that spatial neighbours (police stations) do matter in deciding the rate of crimes in any particular police stations.
10. Riots in the past and viciated and communalized social atmosphere are leading to ghettoisation of Muslims in the city in some areas. Some of such areas are Mazgaon, Kurla, Nagpada, Mohammed Ali Road, Bhendi Bazar, Millat Nagar, Bandra East, Bharat Nagar, Gowandi, Jogeshwari, Sonapur-Bhandup, and Mumbra (in Thane district). The growing fear of life and property has forced even educated ones to move to those ghettos. The city now stands more communally polarized, which can bring much devastation in any communal flare up in future. Moreover, the spatial segregation may also hurt the process of nation building. Besides, it may also be utilized by 'fanatics' for their benefits and creating troubles.
11. As shown in various Chapters by maps, a strong spatial consistency in occurrence of crime rate is found in the city. In other words, it can be said that the city has five to six well marked 'delinquency areas' (mentioned above), where all sorts of criminal activities are high. This spatial consistency in crime rates is further summarised by bivariate Pearson correlation between the crimes (rate) presented in Table 12.2. The Table shows that barring stabbing rate (in fact data on stabbing is very scanty), and few crimes like preparation and assembly for dacoity, and pocket-picking (which do not show strong association with some other crimes) all crime are significantly associated with each other. Further, Fig 12.1, which presents eigen values for crime rates for 83 police stations, shows about 60% of the consistency in spatial occurrence of different crimes in the city. In other words, it can be said that almost all the crimes in the city have similar geographies.
12. With time, the types of crime have undergone some definite changes in the city. The shares of homicide (murder, culpable homicide not amounting to murder, and death



by negligence), and crime against women have risen in the city over the years (see Table 12.3). However, the share of property crimes and other IPC crimes have declined. The rise in crime against women are both the results of increasing genderisation of crimes and increased reporting of such crimes. Whereas with change in lifestyle and relative emancipation of women have made them more vulnerable towards violent crimes, the increase in educational level, awareness, and formal protective institutions and law have made women more comfortable in reporting crimes against them. The rise in homicide cases in 1990s and post 2000 in comparison to those in 1970s shows that with development personal intolerance is also becoming quite prominent. Although, the shares of economic crimes are largely stable, there has been a sharp rise in motor vehicle theft in the city. This shows that with economic changes the form and type of economic crimes are also changing in the city.

13. Sexual vagrancy has also been on rise in the city. The impact of mass media and changing lifestyle, norms, values, and ethics are playing a big role in proliferation of such crimes. Whereas the lewd remarks on women and girls by street wayward, and at work places are increasing, there has also been mostly lifestyle driven sexual perversion among a section of new generation women. One can encounter such women and girls at railway stations, bus stops, along beaches, and along roads and streets in south Mumbai Fort area. However, one cannot ignore that many of them are forced in this trade by insensitive socio-economic structures and their male counterparts. Women and girls in some places in the city are sold and bought. They are brought from far off places like North-Eastern States, West Bengal, Orissa, Jharkhand, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Nepal, Bhutan, and also from rural Maharashtra, and traded in sex markets like any other commodity. The streets of Kamathipura are grim and chilling reminders and evidence of this.
14. The cyber crime has also been rise in the city. Although no detailed data on this type of crime are available but news paper reporting show that this crime is definitely penetrating deep into the society as the awareness about information technology is spreading and technology itself is reaching to common people. The pornographic materials, obscene pictures, hacking (illegal intrusion into a computer system), cyber stalking, virus dissemination, software piracy, inter relay chat obscenity, credit card frauds, net extortion, and phishing (the act of sending an email to a user falsely

claiming to be an established legitimate enterprise in an attempt to scam the user into surrendering private information that will be used for identity theft) are becoming common, and the cases are rapidly rising in the city. However, reporting of such cases to the police is still much limited. Only 5 cases each were registered under IT Act 2000 by Mumbai Police in 2002 and 2003, which increased to 6 in 2004. No case under IPC Section was registered in the city in 2002, but in 2003 and 2004 total 10 and 4 cases, respectively, were registered by the city Police. This shows that there has been definitely an under-reporting of the cases. The traditionalism of the Police needs to go in order to detect this form of crime.

15. Gangsterism or organized crime has largely been controlled in the city. Many of the underworld dons have been killed by the Police or left the country. Those sitting in other countries are still running their activities in the city but expanse of their network and business has severely been uprooted by the police. Before 1993, the gangsterism and organized crime was flourishing in the city, however after the serial bomb blast in 1993 the police got its work together and killed large number of such criminals in encounters, and arrested many. Total 615 notorious criminals have been killed in the city by the Police since 1993 till November 24, 2005; 21 have been injured and 3,949 have been arrested. This has given a body blow to the criminals in the city. However, in recent years the underworld is again becoming active.

**Table 12.1: Rank of Mumbai among the four Megacities in the Country based on Persistence and average Rate of Crimes, 1975-03.**

<b>Crimes</b>	<b>Rank (in Descending Order)</b>
<b>A. Crime Against Life</b>	
1. Murder	Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, Kolkata
2. Attempt of Commit Murder	Chennai, Kolkata, Delhi, Mumbai
3. Culpable Homicide not Amounting to Murder	Delhi, Kolkata, Chennai, Mumbai
4. Kidnapping and Abduction	Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai, Chennai
5. Hurt	Mumbai*, Kolkata, Chennai, Delhi
6. Death by Negligence	Chennai, Kolkata, Mumbai, Delhi
<b>B. Property Crimes</b>	
7. Dacoity	Kolkata, Mumbai, Delhi, Chennai
8. Prep. & Assembly for Docoity	Kolkata, Mumbai*, Delhi, Chennai
9. Robbery	Mumbai*, Kolkata, Delhi, Chennai
10. House Burglary and Theft	Mumbai*, Delhi, Chennai, Kolkata
11. Theft	Delhi, Mumbai*, Kolkata, Chennai
11.a Motor Vehicle Theft	Delhi, Mumbai*, Kolkata, Chennai
<b>C. Economci Crimes</b>	
12. Criminal Brach of Trust	Mumbai*, Kolkata, Delhi, Chennai
13. Cheating	Kolkata, Delhi, Chennai, Mumbai*
14. Counterfieting	Chennai, Kolkata, Mumbai*, Delhi
<b>D. Crime Against Women</b>	
15. Rape	Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai
16. Molestation	Kolkata, Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai
17. Sexual Harassement	Chennai, Kolkata, Delhi, Mumbai
18. Dowry Death	Delhi, Chennai, Kolkata, Mumbai
19. Cruelty by Husband and Relatives	Kolkata, Chennai, Mumbai, Delhi
20. Kidnapping and Abduction of Women and Girls	Delhi, Kolkata, Mumbai, Chennai
<b>E. Crime Against Public Order</b>	
21. Riots	Kolkata, Chennai, Delhi, Mumbai
22. Arson	Delhi, Mumbai
<b>F. Other IPC Crimes</b>	
	Delhi, Mumbai*, Kolkata, Chennai
<b>Total IPC Crimes</b>	Delhi, Mumbai*, Kolkata, Chennai
<b>Rank Position of Mumbai (except Total Crime): Rank 1= 4; Rank 2 = 8; Rank 3= 6; Rank 4= 6.</b>	

Note: \* Shows that crime rate exceeds the rate at the national level.

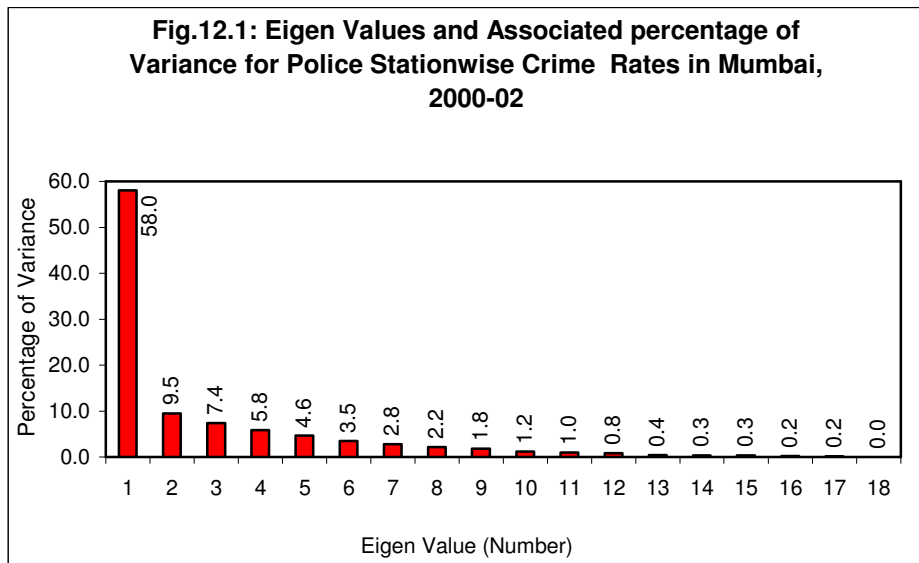
Source: Compiled from the previous Chapters.

**Table 12.2: Inter-crime (rate) Pearson Correlation Matrix Showing Spatial Persistence of Crimes in Mumbai, average crime rate 2000-02.**

Crime Type	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	
Murder (1)	1.000																		
Attempt to Comm. Murder (2)	.617**	1.000																	
Docoity (3)	.476**	.285**	1.000																
Prep. & Assemb. for Docoity (4)	.353**	.360**	.595**	1.000															
Robbery (5)	.683**	.666**	.744**	.670**	1.000														
Attempt of Comm. Robbery (6)	.521**	.362**	.677**	.358**	.732**	1.000													
Extortion (7)	.664**	.767**	.518**	.505**	.808**	.561**	1.000												
House breaking & Theft (8)	.736**	.649**	.584**	.596**	.865**	.699**	.857**	1.000											
Theft (9)	.607**	.662**	.647**	.407**	.842**	.721**	.710**	.708**	1.000										
Pocket-Picking (10)	.519**	.382**	.493**	.751**	.723**	.615**	.610**	.742**	.595**	1.000									
Motor Vehicle Theft (11)	.713**	.745**	.692**	.440**	.856**	.682**	.797**	.752**	.876**	.507**	1.000								
Chain Snatching (12)	.424**	.392**	.645**	.166	.591**	.684**	.396**	.489**	.731**	.189	.742**	1.000							
Stabing (13)	-.072	-.024	-.097	-.032	-.008	.089	-.031	-.010	-.081	-.054	-.073	-.028	1.000						
Hurt (14)	.742**	.572**	.298**	.213	.547**	.294**	.607**	.647**	.462**	.300**	.482**	.307**	-.016	1.000					
Riots (15)	.437**	.590**	.397**	.186	.540**	.471**	.690**	.563**	.635**	.381**	.558**	.396**	-.108	.542**	1.000				
Rape (16)	.572**	.716**	.327**	.220*	.545**	.238*	.500**	.466**	.555**	.128	.545**	.456**	.028	.758**	.459**	1.000			
Others IPC Crimes (17)	.522**	.558**	.485**	.326**	.627**	.569**	.642**	.599**	.692**	.439**	.674**	.511**	.033	.442**	.646**	.413**	1.000		
Total IPC Crime (18)	.723**	.730**	.665**	.463**	.880**	.733**	.819**	.823**	.935**	.613**	.906**	.703**	-.037	.614**	.706**	.605**	.858**	1.000	

Note: \*\* Significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed); \* Significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Source: Computed using data obtained from the Crime Branch Mumbai Police for 83 Police Stations in the city.



Source: Computed using data from sources given Chapter-2.

**Table 12.3: Share (%) of Various crimes in Total IPC Crimes in Mumbai.**

Crimes	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2003
1. Homicide	0.5	0.6	0.7	1.2	0.9	3.4
2. Kidnapping & Abduction	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.6
3. Crime against Women	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3	2.7	2.6
4. Property Crimes	64.0	57.1	51.8	48.3	48.0	49.3
5. Economic Crimes	6.4	5.6	6.0	5.5	5.3	6.4
6. Riots	0.7	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.5
7. Hurt	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	13.3	13.9
8. Atmpt to comm. Murder	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.7	0.5	0.4
9. Other IPC Crimes	27.7	35.3	40.1	42.5	28.2	22.8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Computed using data from 'Crime in India', Various Years.

16. Corruption is also widely rampant in Police in the city. Many of the police personnel have either been arrested or suspended from service in last few years because of this. Besides cold blooded killings of some innocent citizens like Khwaja Yunus, the police have also been blamed for its connections with underworld and acting on their behalf, eliminating rival gangs. The case of Daya Nayak, who is blamed for working for Chhota Shakeel and his recent arrest by the police, is suitable example in this regard. Many of the police men in the city have amassed disproportionate wealth illegally, and have turned out to be builders. Extortion of money by traffic police men brazenly on streets/roads can be seen by anyone. These demands for a reform in

police system and making rules more strict and comprehensive to detect crimes within the system and act suitably against the culprits. This will surely go a long way in restoring the confidence of citizens in the police system.

17. The localization of crimes in the city, as discussed above, has great implication for law and order in the city. The concentrations of almost all kinds of crimes in certain areas (mainly five pockets) show that those areas have become 'delinquency areas'. There is a need to strengthen the police surveillance in such areas, besides making simultaneous efforts to improve the environmental and social situations in these areas. It has been observed that city population is getting filtered out in space on the bases of class, caste, religion, region, and ethnic groups. This may be a big threat to law and order in the city in future as subcultures of crimes and deviance may develop within specific groups which may not be easy to deal with when a large size of the population of that group resides in that particular area. The study has also shown a specific need for improving environmental design in south central Mumbai, particularly at Temkar Street in order to arrest the high crime rate in the area. Mahim-Bandra (east) area and certain parts of Chembur, Gowandi and Pant Nagar also need urgent environmental improvement for controlling rising crimes in these areas.

Some large public housing projects, aided by the World Bank, to rehabilitate the slum dwellers have been taken up the MMRDA and the BMC in recent years. Thousands of families are to be housed in these projects. The design of the housing projects, as can be seen at Kanjur Marg, Gowandi, and Mankhurd, looks like as if the authorities are creating concrete slums. Studies have shown that big public housing projects with improper designs and congestion have more often than not created an environment in which crime and criminals flourish (Newman, 1996). It, therefore, will not be surprising if subculture of crime develops in these housing projects. One, therefore, feels an urgent need for social evaluation and assessment of such projects in the city. Perhaps, with the help of social planner, besides physical planners and architects, an improved environment in the city can be created and sustained. Social planners in such large projects must need to be consulted by the planning authorities.

Overall, Mumbai city, in terms of crime, is still a safer city in the country. Increased social inequality, communal and ethnic polarization and ghettoisation, increased influx of criminals from rural areas, changing lifestyle, underworld that refuses to die, and certain delinquency areas offer challenges to the administrators of the city. The successful management of the above would lead to low crime and deviance, which certainly will go a long way in keeping the superiority of the city in commerce and industry in the country.