CHAPTER VII

SOCIO-CULTURAL BASE OF DACOITY
Sociological analysis begins with a problem. To begin with a problem means to identify some variations in human behaviour and attempt to explain the reason(s) for these variations. Such variations become the dependant variables. These variables are found in units of social structure and variations of human behaviour oriented to social structure.

Social structure is a concept used to characterise recurrent and regularised interaction among two or more persons. The basic units are not persons as such, but selected aspects of interaction among persons, such as roles and social organisation, which refers to structural clusters of roles. The important defining feature of social structure are that interaction is selective, regularised and regulated by various social controls. In the analysis of social structure, three basic concepts are particularly important: Value, Norms and Sanctions. Value refers to beliefs that legitimize the existence and importance of specific social structure and the kinds of behaviour that transmit in social structure. Norms refer to standards of conduct that regulate the interaction among individuals in social structure. Norms are more specific than values in their control of interaction in social structure. Sanctions including both rewards and deprivations refer to the use of various social resources to control the behaviour of

personnel in social structure. Aspects of this control includes the establishment of roles, the inducement of individuals to assume and perform roles, and control of deviance from expected role performance.

A concept which unifies the elements of social structure - including roles, collectivities, values, norms, sanctions - is the concept of institutionalisation. This refers to distinctive, enduring expectations whereby these elements are combined into a single complex. Social structures are classified in terms of some set of basic directional tendencies of social system in general. We tentatively identified several such tendencies - the creation, maintenance and transmission of cultural values: the pursuit of economic activity, the conduct of political activity, the maintenance of social integration.

Social system refers to the patterning of structural units in such a way that change in one or more units set up pressure for adjustment on the part of other units. Other views of social system allow for a greater degree of mutual influence among the component structures. In any case the notion of system is an analytic concept that enables us to talk about the relations among structural units in sociology and to generate proposition about these relations. Now do we clarify system? At the societal level we refer to the same directional tendencies - cultural, economic, political integrative - as the organising principles for sub systems.1

1. Ibid....... p. 27.
On the basis of historical analysis we have explored the origin of dacoity in these regions can be traced in the non-accommodativeness of the rigid traditional structure of Indian Society. Various social, historical and ecological factors combined to breed and feed the dacoity, system of control. It is indeed, a peculiar problem with its own network, norms, procedures and system of control. It is a paradox that it derives sustenance and stimulation largely from the same system that opposes and resists it.

The inmate dacoits in our sample study support the rural base of the problem. Some 93 percent dacoits in our sample belong to rural areas. A slight percentage of dacoits came from the urban dwelling in the profession. Most of them are from the villages of Doab. A majority of the dacoits were from Uttar Pradesh (92.19%) especially from the dacoits infested districts of Doab and Bundelkhand (46.41%) and its nearby districts (21.87%) of Uttar Pradesh. Mainpuri, Batala, Farrukhabad and Etawah appear to have been the largest source of dacoits in Doab. Banda, Jhansi and Jalaun accounted for the largest number of dacoits in Bundelkhand.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>No. of Dacoits</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Doab Districts</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>37.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Bundelkhand Distt.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Nearby Districts</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>21.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Other Districts of U.P.</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>29.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Out of Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>224</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.98</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The regional distribution of dacoits points out that the nearby districts of dacoits infested regions of Uttar Pradesh are equally dacoity prone. A cursory sociological survey showed that there are many contributing factors also, illiteracy, ignorance, superstition, belief, religious orthodoxy, naive faith in astrology and tanacious adherence to outdated social customs and traditions, in brief, social backwardness in general is one or more factors which complicated already difficult problem and situation. So far as the literacy of inmate dacoits is concerned, almost half of them (49.55%) were illiterate while rest of them secured their education upto primary, Junior high school, high school and intermediate and above as given in the table.

**TABLE 1: XXVIII**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>No. of Dacoits</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>49.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Literate (upto primary)</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>30.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Junior High School</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Intermediate and Above</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>224</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.99</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Social backwardness accounts for the high incidence of early marriage in rural society. Almost 69 percent of inmates
in our sample were found married before floated the law and took dacoity. Some 21 percent of dacoits were unmarried and a bare 9 percent were widowers. Also, the dacoits belonged, generally, to joint families. Hence, family pressure also provoked them to be deviants. In their families earning members were less and ill earned. A large majority of inmate dacoits (90.17%) was Hindu and 8.5 percent were Muslims by faith. Christians and Sikhs were nominal. Most of the inmates accepted that they were the worshiper of Durga or local deities.

The following are some major societal bases that support the system of dacoity not only in dacoits infested regions of Uttar Pradesh but alien states of central India.

**AGRARIAN PROBLEM**

Unlike the western countries violent crime is almost exclusively a characteristic of metropolis, in India it is predominantly a rural phenomenon. The general belief that rural societies are well integrated and homogenous, is not borne out by facts. They are, in fact, divided and subdivided on the basis of caste, occupation, social inequality, inherent status and roles, family feuds and political conflicts etc.

The root cause factors of this unharmonious panorama of agrarian society, are the growing family tension and population pressure, lack of additional employments, growing pressure on land, expensive rituals, illiteracy, debts, caste politics and factionalism. At present, the social values have degraded to such extent that even the females of rural community
are not secured without proper protection and safe. The societal resistance has slacken to antisocial elements as it grants dacoity a vigorous continuity.

One, may, therefore infer that along with harmony as understood by sociologists like Burkheim, Sorokin and Zimmerman, there are also areas of disharmony which generate friction, conflict and violence in rural peasant societies. As Srinivas,(1972:16 supported the fact that conflict and violence in rural society is due to the processes of social change.¹ Thus, the social structure of rural society in these areas is so deeply involved in deviant activities that a citizen in his individual capacity can not look to societal interest. The family, caste and religious feuds and rivalries, have gone so deep and led the rural people so hard that this has become their major occupation and normal respect to moral love for each other has been totally lost.

Besides it, one of the major cause for prevalence of dacoity in agrarian society is the physiographic advantage which precludes or hinders effective resistance to dacoity. Besides the ravious land of Chambal valley, the bad lands of Uttar Pradesh - the belt between Sah, Bawan and Mainpuri is flat, dusty and barren, provide a good hideout for fugitive of law. The dead arms of streams and their dry channels offer a good sanctuary for the dacoit gangs. Using the river embark-

ment a number of dacoit gangs sought shelter in jungles and riversides of Chambal, Yamuna and Ganga including their tributaries. Thus, social setup in the rural area not only provides protection but supports for deviants.

**FAMILY AND KINSHIP SYSTEM**

Both family as well as kinship provide a sense of security and fulfillment which a dacoit require to bear the burdens of vagabond life style. Besides it, family environment shapes the character, attitude and mental make up of a man. Criminality in family play a vital role in generating dacoity - first, it provides a criminal background to the offspring and its members, secondly it sustains the system also.

There are many examples like Man Singh who fathered dacoit offsprings. Among the surrendered dacoits of Bateshwar in 1976, some of dacoit chieftains had a chain of family members who were indulged in dacoities with them. Kataré reveals in his study, "15 dacoits out of 32 were the products of the families, who were engaged in illegal occupations such as smuggling, disposal of stolen property, theft, robbery and dacoities, and thus, the seeds of criminality were sown in the tender age."\(^1\)

Thus, it is known fact that criminality in family has been a significant factor in leading them to dacoity. As in the case of Man Singh, Bhaduri (1972 : 23) comments, "The biggest misfortune that can be fall a man in life is to be son

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of a criminal such was also the misfortune of Man Singh. The family histories of notorious dacoits like Jarman, Alwar, Mahavira, Chhabiram, Ramautar, Khardushan and Vinoda revealed that they did not belong to the families where their kinsmen or they themselves were finding it difficult to make their ends meet.

The kinship relation, as we found, is a very strong factor in harbouring the dacoits as well as becoming a potential dacoit. A dacoit's attachment to his relations is so strong that neither affiliation with gang nor living a hundred miles away from home affects the strength of his kin affiliation. An attempt has been made to gather information on relations in family who have been taken to a criminal career including dacoity; hardly 17 percent of inmate dacoits accepted one or more relatives or family members have been convicted or apprehended by the police for some penal offences. Actually on this point most of the inmates did not want to stigmatised their family saying about their criminal activities. Chieftain Janak Singh surrendered at Bateswari in 1976 with his seven relatives. Actually, kinship system is fountain head of harbouring the dacoity which later on become the source of potential dacoits.

CASTE SYSTEM

Caste among Hindus is an important factor determining a person's status and role he is expected to play in relations.


to others in society. It also intrigues the social and cultural standard of a person. Here, the role of caste is very complicated and multidimensional, because in general, it is getting stronger and weaker at the same time.\(^1\) Though, there are very few cases in which indulged person have become dacoits like Man Singh, Janak Singh or Shadasiv alias Fauji due to caste conflicts, but it is sure that caste has relevance in sustaining the gangster harbouer relationship. Caste conflicts are predominantly source of dacoities kidnappings and mass murders. Every caste has own nest and the criminals, who were forced to embrace criminalities due to mostly family feuds, were Ahirs, Lodhi, Kachhies from Mainpuri and Etah districts, Thakurs and Brahmins from Etah districts, Ahirs, Muslims and lower caste criminals mainly from Farrukhabad districts.

Our study reveals that potential dacoits are generally flared up from higher echelons of the caste while the female dacoits have mostly been from lower socio-economic strata and who have generally unhappy marital background. All the dacoits in our sample are male and most of them belong to locally dominant castes or higher castes like Brahmins, Rajputs, Yadavas, Lodhis and Karmies as expressed the caste distribution of inmate dacoits in table XIX.

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**Dacoits from the upper caste like Brahmins and Rajputs**

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2. See The Case History of Female Dacoits
who had thrived and profited under the feudal system, found their fortunes threatened by the socio-economic changes and transformations of the new era. As Cohen observes, 'The chamaras as well as Thakurs are affected by these changes. They raise their social status principally through attempting to organise themselves to achieve a better power position in the villages and trying to sanskritise their behaviour to make themselves more like the upper castes in their social and ritual activities.'

The lower caste people with growing economic facilities and employment opportunities are reluctant to do the menial type of Jobs and free labour. Now they do not like to be exploited by privileged castes. Consequently the lower castes people are conspired in petty crimes by upper and dominant castes. After a good deal of suffering the lower castes people also adopt the same way of rebelliousness which once was adopted by upper castes people. Garg (1965:59) reveals the fact,

"The Brahmans and Thakurs were traditionally in habit of exacting forced labour from the lower castes. It is naturally resented by the lower castes and particularly the Jatavas and they gradually stopped the performance." This situation created caste conflicts between upper and lower castes. In the post independent era, the inter caste relations changed considerably. The Indian constitution came into force Zanindari


was abolished, forced labour become illegal and practice of untouchability became punishable offence. It affected the thinking of lower caste people as Nargolkar(1974:302) finds, in these areas, "In the Chambal valley, the chamaras are of the most oppressed communities among the "untouchables" refused to practice free their ancestor profession of disposal of dead cattle and tanning hide. The Thakurs were most offended by this "arrogance" of one of the lowest caste. Moreover the system of adult franchise had conferred on the lowest among lowly the right to vote. So overnight, even the members of low castes attained a political status and importance."

Thus, those who were socially and economically powerful in their previous regime by reason of their belonging to higher caste, suffered a sudden loss of status and prestige. The radical change angered them that they came to oppose the newly established Government. They fancied that they were keeping up the glorious past traditions of rebelliousness against constituted authority, as we have discussed in the last chapter.

There is a striking fact why from the very inception of the institution of dacoity, most of the dacoits came from the Rajput clans and in present time from higher eonelons of society. Actually, traditionally these people have always commanded power and privilege and served manual work. The increase in population and sub division of property, as also the introduction of land reform have reduced a large number

of Thakurs to the status of petty land holders. It is difficult to maintain their customary status. The impoverished condition of Thakurs have led them to the lawless banditry as we have analysed in the previous chapter. Besides it, the violent norms, pattern of socialisation and reaction against the loss of power and economic interests are some societal determinants for germinating dacoity in some castes. In fact, the caste hierarchy has not lost its total grip over the political and economic decisions of the rural society yet the joint forces of backward and schedule caste making a dent into the power structure of the village. \(^1\) After Independence the backward castes have benefited to the great extent but the economic mobility of backward castes could not bring them to the top position in caste hierarchy. The result is that they want to compensate this situation through the hold or grip over the power structure. Thus, they try to establish superiority of caste in political sphere by hook or crook which results in castes conflicts and tensions. Neerja Choudhary wrote in her article: "A criminal in Bihar is no longer just a criminal. He is a hero of his caste and has a place in politics." \(^2\)

The same situation is prevailing in these dacoits infested regions also. The mass massacres committed by some dacoit gangs showed the same results, in which caste interests and caste protection came to forefront. Singh (1980:91) also supports the fact, "Those of the higher castes with impoverished

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1. Mishra, L.S.: "Social Inequality in the Peasant Society in U.P\(^2\)"

means and the lower castes who are ambitious and also capable of managing the necessary resources and exercising power, are the ones who resort to violence to get what they want - status, power, value and an outlet for aggression. Though Thakura played a dominant role in organising the gangs and committing dacoities, they had to employ the other caste people and aboriginals who by association also learnt the tricks of the trade and in course of time formed their own gangs.

**STRUCTURAL INEQUALITY**

The Indian experiments in development basically aims at equality of all sections of the population belonging to various castes, creed and classes, and both the sexes. It has social, economic as well as political dimensions. The aim of social equality is primary to abolish the hierarchical caste structure.

There has been a growing awareness in rural area that although, according to democratic principles goods and services should be distributed on the basis of equality to everyone, the principle is essentially only an ideal and does not exist in reality. Caste hierarchy is still dominant in the dacoits infested areas. The people of middle and lower castes who think that inequality in society exists because of selfishness of privileged castes, vested interest of economic

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and political elite and the Government employees and also because of powerlessness of lower caste people. This situation creates tension occasionally and lower caste people are also trapped in false cases of dacoity, robbery and other crimes.

The economy of village is generally based on agriculture and to some extent on jajmamy system which demands corporate life of people but the hostilities created by social as well as economic elite have dire consequences for the middle and lower caste. Many lower caste people have high aspirations but the poverty as well as social inequality do not allow them to fulfill their ambitions, we know well that on social side the inequality will not remove overnight. In general the traditional social structure was viewed as a mile stone round the neck of India in its path of development. This led to reform movements and pressure on the government to take legislative action for "reforming" Indian social structure.¹ It is also fact, that in post independent era, the inter caste relations have also changed considerably, but the values of modern society still do not hold roots in the rural communities of these areas.

MARTIAL TRADITION AND CULTURE

Every country has distinctive culture and various territories or communities within a society which have their own sub-culture. Likewise, some of the castes of these regions have also a sub culture which in some ways different from that of similar socially backward areas in these regions. The justi-

¹. Sharma, K.N., op. cit., p. 50.
fication for violence in any community is derived from the particular belief system, historical and cultural values and norms of that society. Rajputs clans and other aboriginals of these areas belong to martial communities. "Historical records show that Chandragupta Maurya secured the help of various hill tribes from Chambal and Bastar area. It would thus appear that the tradition of military service and participation in wars are very old for the inhabitants of these regions."¹

This was the reason that Mr. Hume during the British regime, once the collector of Chotanagpur had stated, "Give the Rajputs and fighting men reasonable means and happy homes, free them from these instruments of torture, the civil courts and the native assessors, and they will fight for order and the Government under whom they are well off. Make it easier for Gajjar, Ahirs and other classes to grow richer by agriculture than by crime and besides making criminal administration cheaper, most of these will, for their own sake, side with Government."²

Leaving the past history of warfare aside, still about one member of each family serves military or police armed forces. In Rajput Regiment Centre, Patangarn the number of soldiers would be higher of these areas infested regions whether they belong to any caste.³ In fact, one of the many

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3. Tripathi, S.K.: "Regional Dacoity Problem and Its Eradication"
reasons for the emergence of the problem of decay in these regions is the existence of long martial tradition and culture which support the violence. As we have stated previously that Doab, Bundelkhand and Chambal areas are dominantly inhabited by early settlers of Rajputs clans, Yadavas, Sujars, Jats who had glorious past. The long history of rebellion and lawlessness has also affected the cultural pattern of social life in these regions.

John T. Hitchcock (1973) presents a real sketch of the martial traditions of Rajputs. "One for example, relates now a Rajput who is old, weak and hungry considers becoming a sneak chieftain in order to provide for his needs. But he decides instead to act like a Rajput and go out on to the high road and take what he wants by force."¹ The very thought fills him with such anger and bigger that he easily indulges in violent activities.

He further says, "The tendency to rely on force which characterises the martial Rajput in his dealing with his own castemen also colours his relations with lower castes. This is justified by his belief that it is his duty to maintain the proper order and hierarchy in social relations".²

These warlike sentiments often lead these martial caste people to violate customary right of other members of

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Traditional India, Milton Singer, (ed.),

2. Ibid.
the village caste brotherhood. Resentment and fear of the powerful individual often flare into violence and he is either killed or else he incurs such a severe blow to his prestige that he is very much weakened. In this situation each person absconds and joins a gang, as the proverb is popular among the inhabitants of this region, "Ya To vanco Ya dalo saba Sanata Hai".

VALUE SYSTEM

Social structure, social institution as well as social interaction and behaviour are all based upon social values. The study of values is a very fruitful approach to the understanding and prediction of social behaviour, and social institution. In order to interpret concrete behaviour one must have a knowledge of the basic assumption of the people, their performances - or values. All the agitation and direct actions which have occurred so frequently in recent decades could be traced to the changes in social values.

On the one hand there is a conscious, deliberate effort to change the social structure as a result of the assimilation of new social values. Because of the struggle for political freedom and the desire for economic reconstruction, and equality new social values have been incorporated in our society, based on the ideals of social justice and equality of opportunity. On the other hand, there is fear that the old social values are being repudiated and destroyed by the values of social justice and equality which pose a challenge
to the past privileges based on caste aristocracy.

**Conflict Between The Old And New Values:** At present in Indian society the situation is complicated by the fact that many of the modern values are neither new nor alien. The Indian Parliament passed several legislatives acts in order to implement these new values and norms into practice. Reference may be made to the acts regarding marriage, inheritance of property by women, removal of inequality, bonded labour etc., but accepting these principles and even the enactments which render any infringement of these laws punishable, does not perfectly ensure that these new values have been assimilated into our cultural matrix.

Let us start with the problem of equality. In principle, equality as a social value has been accepted for thousands of years in our society. But in practice ever since the epic age, in post upanishadic and post Buddhistic time caste system and inequality have been practised extensively and rigorously. There are similar obstacle to the assimilation of a rationale outlook in life. Though, the Indian constitution is secular, one does not see any sign of the emergence of a secular outlook either among the elite or among the masses.¹

One can find the difficulty of assimilating the new value in the context of old values, which are vital and of immense significance to the development of the individual as well as society. But the society is struggling to retain the

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old value while assimilating the new values is beneficial to the social development. All aspects of rural life in our country are permeated by hierarchy. The social structure is not hierarchal, it is also based on birth and there is hardly any scope for social mobility. Another important feature of traditional caste system is that upper castes people especially Thakurs and Brahmins do not like to enjoy manual labour. For agricultural pursuits they hire lower castes labourer which also create tension in rural folk.

The Regional Value System:— The concept of violent regional sub culture does not, however, explain why certain communities within the same area are more prone to dacoity than others. It might be more relevant here to apply the idea of an occupant or caste sub culture, which is based on the assumption that certain elements, like norms, value, choices or expressions, of criminal orientation — are common to the members of a particular caste. We have seen that aggressive values predominate in the socialisation of the Rajputs, Anirs, Sadradas and Gujar. Russel (1975:171) finds the same expression in proverbial style.

"Anir, Sadrada, Gujar, E tinon taken ujar."¹

The same proverbial statements are repeatedly told by the inhabitants of Chambal:

"Kattar Funi hai Chambal ka Chidia Pie das ho jaye."

One major reason is clear that differential patterns of socialisation and avengeful thinking is the result of those

value which are internalised during the course of socialisation. A man's aggressiveness is formed and sustained by feudal values such as lure for arms, caste superiority, revengeful feelings toward enemy or rival etc. This kind of conditioning begins early in childhood in some castes like Rajputs and criminal tribes. He is geared to retaliate by his colleagues, family members, his clan and castemen.

The people of these regions are found to be anxious to acquire more and more arms and their licences at the risk of selling their lands. This is the reason that there is no social stigma attached to heinous crimes. The rebels and dacoits are looked upon as noble and brave heroes like the old valiant warriors who never cared for their life. Dacoity is the means to power and prestige for such people in these areas. A father whose son has become dacoit is never treated ill by the local inhabitants.

Thus, violence is endemic and forms a part of the social norms in these regions. War like sentiments of a number of glory battens and skirmishes are nurtured by the ballads or local songs like Allan, noli and other songs which affect the psychology of a man. One illustration would be quite sufficient to imagine the effect of 'Allaha'.

'Fie upon that kind of life in which a person's enemy sleep happily, without worrying about a sudden attack.'¹ Thus, the justification given an act largely accounts for its continued recurrence. The same case is with the menace of

dacoity. People subscribe to the dacoity sometimes for fear but more often for money, status and power. This means that a man is as influential as his cudgel is long. Besides it, once again the eroding moral values and the institutional framework have created multidimensional corruption in our society, which feeds deviance in general. Girilal Jain comments on the corrupt situation of our society, “Corruption is a form of anarchy - moral anarchy. In some ways, it is in fact much worse. It is at once more insidious and more disruptive. We have almost reached a point where the people have lost faith in the moral integrity of the rulers and the rulers have lost the necessary moral authority.”

**ECONOMIC FACTORS**

It is fact that the sole or main cause of dacoity in this area is not economic but the pressure on land and hard economic conditions are bound to have comparatively more serious repercussions in the areas where armed gangs offer opportunities to get revenge. Though, dacoity is a product of socio-historical forces but the economic factors can not be lost of sight of a minor percentage of simple dacoits. A table listing their occupations before they embarked on a career of crime is catalogued below:

**TABLE I XXIX**

Pre Dacoity Occupational Distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No. of Dacoits</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Owner cultivator</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>37.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Cultivator-cum-tenant</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>15.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Servicemen</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Cultivator-cum-Tajmani</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>99.99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of dacoits were engaged in agriculture before they took up dacoity. As the highest percentage of dacoits came from the agricultural sector, generally from the owner cultivators (37.57%), it is relevant to consider the size of their land holdings prior to their joining dacoity.

**Table I XXI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Size of Holdings (Acres)</th>
<th>No. of Dacoits</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>0-5</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>41.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>5-10</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>17.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>10-15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>15-20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>20-25</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>25 and above</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Landless</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>224</td>
<td><strong>99.96</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As much as 41.51 percent of the inmate dacoits had land holdings below 5 acres. Large size land holdings had been owned by higher caste dacoits. Lower caste inmate dacoits were found possessing nominal land holdings or they were landless. The depressing economic conditions in these areas require a brief explanation. The proverbially land hungry peasants are fast becoming landless labourers and standing in the que
of unemployed. Land and property disputes even though confined to relatively high economic level group are results of fragmentation of holdings and poor return from land. Sharma (1981:52) says, "I found that the decrease in the size of land holdings was caused primarily by family partitions. If there is exclusive dependence on agriculture the members of a family owning 7.5 acres will become landless labourers within three generations." The price of land are soaring high which lead to illegal occupation of land and brings disputes over land.

The results of rising value of land observed by Mehta (1966) highlights the fact:

1. First, the farmers are now trying to secure as much as land by any means.
2. The illegal encroachments of land have created the rivalries and conflicts among the village people.
3. The number of violent fights between village factions have increased due to disputes over land.

A comparative analysis of land holdings and size of farms also tells the fact which is important for understanding the problem of land disputes and related violence in these regions. The most prominent feature of socio especially is a large number of small holding as we have seen already in chapter III page 54-55. The number of small holdings shows

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that the economic resources of the area are inadequate to support the vast population. A vast sheet of land in the districts of Doab region is bad land which makes the land uncultivable. Another paradox in these regions is that there are no alternative means of living except farming or labouring. The problem of employment has now become particularly acute in recent years because of the unprecedented increase in the population.

**SOCIAL CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT**

It is now fact that the social change and development are not a simple function of a single factor alone. Technological advance, agricultural commercialisation, urbanisation and industrialisation have made far reaching structural change. We have analysed these consequences in terms of differentiation and integration. The structural changes associated with economic development are likely to be disruptive to the social order for following reasons as Smelser (1963:114) analyses sociological aspect of economic development:

1. Differentiation demands the creation of new activities, norms, and sanctions - money, political position, prestige based on occupation and so on. These often conflict with old modus of social action, which are frequently dominated by traditional systems. These traditional standards are among the most intangible of obstacles to modernisation, and when they are threatened, serious dissatisfaction and opposition arise.

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(2) Structural changes is, alone all, uneven in periods of development. And throughout the society, the differentiation occasioned by agricultural, industrial and urban changes always proceeds in a see saw relationship with integration. The two sets of forces continuously breed, legs and bottlenecks. The faster the tempo of modernisation, the more severe are the discontinuities.

(3) 'Dissatisfactions arising from these discontinuities sometimes are aggravated by attempts to overcome them. Some discontinuities may be relieved in part by new devices. Such innovations are often opposed, however, by traditional vested interests because new forms of integration compete with the old.' The result of these discontinuities is a tug of war between the old and new forces of integration.

Developmental factors contributed to deviation by aggravating social tensions. As S. Venugopal Rao writes in his book, "Dynamics of crime: Spatial and Socio-Economic Aspects of Crime in India." Dacoities and robberies are likely to increase considerably in the general context of the development process. Bank robberies have been virtually unknown in India, but with the phenomenal expansion of banking in rural and remote areas, a spurt in such offences may reasonably be anticipated.

The sharp increase in the incidence of violent crimes in the countryside is the result of several factors including the green revolution which has put a high premium on the possession of land. The channelisation of the develop—

mental inputs through Government agencies and panchayats has lent a bitter edge to the struggle for political power. Thus, the violence that increasingly characterises political rivalries at all levels and the resort to methods like murder of opponent, humiliation and torturing during the elections. Efforts to ensure social and legal justice, which have been a part of the development process, have ironically their own lacunae. For instance, the half hearted attempts at land reforms have not changed social and economic relations in the rural communities but aggravated land dispute and feuds which are the fountain source of violence and litigation in these areas.

Brahmans and Thakurs traditionally held most of the land in Uttar Pradesh. Before the time of independence the main cultivating castes in Bundelkhand did not possess adequate land. "In Banda Rajputs occupy one third of the whole cultivated area and Brahmans one fourth. In Hamirpur the Chief cultivating castes are Lodni, Brahman and Rajputs who in the year of settlement held 25, 16 and 14 percent of the tenants holding area respectively," while "in Jalaun the chief cultivating caste are Rajputs, Brahmans, Lodnies, Kurmi, Ahirs and Gujars who at the recent settlement held 25.83, 16.94, 12.28, 11.92, 4.63 and 4.38 percent of the total holding area respectively." Following the enactment of land ceiling

laws, some parts of their land have gone to the intermediate caste such as Yadava, Kurmis, Lodhias and Mallahas and to some extent to lower castes. "If this has made the Brahmins and Thakurs resentful, their new found social and economic status has made the intermediate castes assertive."¹ This situation prevails in both the regions where the principal conflict is found among the Brahmins, Rajputs and Yadavas and Jatavas. In some area like Mainpur, Agra the conflict is between intermediate castes and scheduled castes like Jatavas. In both the regions of Doab and Bundelkhand, caste tensions and land disputes have led to bloody violence because of the involvement of dacoits who have become the protectors of their own castes.²

Karlekar states, "Caste tension, however, constitute one of the factors which explain the steep rise in dacoities and robberies, there are others, which are also the offshoots of the development process and which contribute to a varieties of crime besides dacoities. One of them is urbanisation and the accompanying process of migration from the village to the cities."³ Thus, the development process have created hostility agitation and violence in rural mass.

**POLITICAL FACTORS**

As social system grow more complex, political systems are modified accordingly. Any system move towards greater

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2. See, the Mass Murder Incidents, Committed by Dacoits.
differentiation as population grows and economic and cultural heterogeneity increases. In Indian context the political system have evolved much further, with the appearance of political parties, pressure groups and even parliamentary systems. This modification has led to the formation of new caste lobbies which constitute some of the strongest and most explosive political force in India. Seling Harrison has argued, "far instance, that modern development in India have changed the significance of caste from the traditional village extension of joint family to regional alliances of kinused local units."

In the preindependance setting in our country political integration is closely fused with kinship position, caste membership, control of the land and control of the power. The power structure, as an integral part of the political system, created and sustained criminality in these regions for a long time. The old landlordus wield powerful influence on the social, political and economic life of the village community. From generation to generation leadership is handed down from father to son. The conditions of leadership in the villages today is very much fluid. Besides caste chieftains, faction leaders also occupy important position in rural society.

But, the principle of political equality stands in direct contradiction to the hierarchical order of caste, relation and the power structure of traditional village society. It was, therefore, found to come in conflict with existing social order. During Panchayat elections, due to hostility

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created by groups conflict quarrels flare up. The rivalry of village leaders divide the whole village or rural community in many factions. Hold of castes and cots on village democracy is the main problem. No one can depend totally on one's caste members for ensuring success even in the elections. Still the caste play important role in the crystallisation of power in rural society, as Vanugopal (1983:85) observes,

"Rigidly stratified through the caste system which ordains each man his place in society, it functions as a sub society which permits and assist certain elite sections to assume power. When the system is attempted to be disturbed, conflict emerges either in the form of factions representing the interests of sub group among the privileged segments or in class struggle. In the later contingency, the sub groups, however, hostile to each other, join forces against a common threat to their power."\(^1\) On the other hand, "In the absence of caste Panchayat and effective caste leaders, the division of caste into several lineages at the pressure of conflicts arising in joint families have made castes much less cohesive groups than one would presume."\(^2\)

A number of observers of Indian socio political scene have found caste playing a crucial role in elections:

1. People became conscious of the influence and powers of political institutions and privileges attached with it.

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2. Sharma, K.N., 1982: A Profile of Indian Experiment In Development. op. cit., p. 44.
2. Rivalries have been created by elections and the villages were divided into many hostile camps as we have discussed.

3. Number of violent incidents took place immediately before and after elections. Defeated group keeps up fight and take help of anti social elements to resolve the disputes.

4. The village leaders could not provide leadership for construction because there is power vacuum due to the constant conflict in rural communities.

Besides, the above affects, the main thing is that the political leaders provide protection to antisocial elements including dacoits in their areas. In order to provide protection for them they interfere in the working of police. A study conducted by Khan (1983:173) demonstrates, "that 34.66 percent of functionaries came across interference by politician frequently, whereas 32.13 percent came across interference in working by politicians at times." Infact, sometimes the role of these politicians are like brokers between police and antisocial elements.

The inroads the influence of the organised gangs started making in the politics of the affected regions was gradual to start but came to become the deciding factor during the elections which were held during the course of last three decades, and thereafter. Even, some of the politicians secure the blessings of dacoits gang in their areas to win at the poll.

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LEGAL SYSTEM

Problem of day to day deteriorating situation of law and order is related with corruption, delay in justice interference by politicians and so many other lacunae in the legal system. Law enforcement depends upon the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. Time has shown at a very severe cost to the nation that the existing legal system has miserably failed in dealing with the problems of contemporary society. The very purpose of law is defeated because existing laws and their enforcement are defective.

The justice, though in spirit is democratic but in practice has become very technical, expensive and time consuming. It is beyond the reach of a common man. Except for a few seasoned litigants, the rest, at the cost of their own losses, either try to resolve at their own level by spending lots of money rightly or wrongly or taking law in their own hands or prefer to suffer than to go to court of law for justice. Sitalvad, M.C. comments, "No true administration can endure without a system of administration of justice of which the poorest are able to take advantage. It would be an exaggeration to ask that the very existence of free Government depends upon making the machinery of justice available to the humblest of its citizen."

What Ghosh (1980:6) observes "Today injustice is the rule and


Social Mission of Law, Orient Longman, New Delhi.
justice is exception because of defective system of judicial administration. There are two types of factors responsible for defective legal system. On one hand, it is inefficiency of laws and on the hand the process of administration of justice is delaying. Iyer (1975:80) concludes the reverse effect of these factors, "inefficient laws is worse than no law because it undermines the faith of the community." He further comments on the process quick justice, "quick justice is the best justice when complex questions do not arise where the weaker stand to benefit, and where social welfare bodies and labour unions are involved in the legal system."  

Dealing with case of dacoity a correct identification of arrested dacoits or looted property becomes a main problem. Most of the witnesses find unable to identify the gangsters. Generally none of the the dacoit of organised gang has been caught with looted property. Law can not punish him without the recovery of looted property. Even victims avoid to recognise the gang members during the identification due to fear. Identification of looted property is another problem for police. According to the facile provision of bail most of the hard pressed criminals including dacoits jump out. Our study findings also support the fact that most of the notorious dacoits absconded on bail. In the light of above problems, there is basic need to change the laws.


The delay in legal process is causing much hardship to the common man. Ghosh (1980) finds, "Had there been a good and efficient administration in courts a lot of laws delay, corruption and economic exploitation of justice seekers would have been a thing of past. Lakhs of civil and criminal cases are pending for years in various courts in the country. Rich and powerful parties have succeeded in delaying trials by various means, while small fish get caught the big sharks escape through the meshes." Here, we are concerned with the cases of dacoity. The disposal of dacoity cases yearly in our country presents a sad picture, as given in the table:

**TABLE : XXXI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Trial Process</th>
<th>Yearly Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Percentage of Cases pending.</td>
<td>80.6 81.8 80.8 84.7 80.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Percentage of Cases in which trials were completed.</td>
<td>190 17.3 17.9 16.3 13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Percentage of Cases Completed.</td>
<td>37.5 36.1 38.7 43.3 37.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The in-build injustice in our society forced men to dacoity. They had the desire for revenge against the insults.

done by superior rivals which breaks their patience. The law
can not protect them from the cruelties and humiliation com-
titted by stronger rival. They take the law into their own hands
because they know there is no other justice. As a counterpoise
to his lawlessness, most of the accused have accepted that they
are the victims of injustice. They could not reconcile the dis-
putes. A slight provocation after violent clashes, injuries
and killing plunged them into acolyty. Due to defective juici-
cy system the real culprits have been acquitted and innocent
persons suffered, as Kamble (1982) observes, "The criminal res-
ponsible for arson, loot women and soon have all gone unpunished
as the culprits have been acquitted by the judiciary."¹

The nature of society and the legal system to a great
extent are the related with each other. The police organisation,
in a way, represents to the legal system and in the day to day
functioning satisfies societal expectations. "In case the legal
system due to the conceptual or procedural system is faulty,
or the societal expectation or legal structure, a gap will
develop and the organisational component is sure to develop
distortions. The performance by way of service will suffer
and the organisation will not be able to maintain a set of
conditions in society as whole and the violator, where can
continually and impartially mediate."¹

The people expect to receive a different type of

Publishing House, New Delhi.

Publications, Kurukshetra.
behaviour from the police rather cherished as the agent of rulers. The bitterness towards police increases the process of decollisation as we have analysed in the nature of decolity.

POLICE AND PENAL SYSTEM

Every organisation has its quota of bad huts and the police in this country can not be an exception to the general rule. Police organisation is susceptible to public criticism for many reasons. Actually, police is generally criticised for causing undue harassment to the family members and others who may have kinship or close friendship with proclaimed outlaws. In order to get secret informations they are tortured. In Uttar-Pradesh the saying is very popular 'DIN MAIN POLICE, RAT MAIN DAKJ SABATE HAIN.'\(^1\) In fact there has not been much of change and the Uttar Pradesh police commission of 1960-61 in its reports observed, "We regret to note that the old crude methods of investigation still continue to persist. Complaines of beating, physical torture, maltreatment and harassment of police officers are not wanting."\(^2\)

The second major reason for police criticism is fake encounters. Malhotra comments the situation, "Some of the most of responsible citizens of Uttar Pradesh testify even fake encounters have become money-spinners in more ways than one. Intended victims can buy reprieve by paying the agreed price.

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Alternatively, someone desirous of rubbing off an enemy can get the job done by the police at consideration.\footnote{Malhotra, I. "Brutalities By The Police", Time of India, Daily, July 22, 1983, New Delhi.} There is lack of fairness and firmness both, in police officials. They take sides of them who pay them well. Besides this our analysis is that police failed to check political interference and pressure also. It is fact that since the legal processes are too long and too tedious, in most of the cases real offender are acquitted from the clutches of law. Sadly enough, it is not even the seasoned dacoits who are killed most of the time.

Like police the penal system also has also its own criminal fallout. It is very clear that a reverse effect of imprisonment goes on the offenders which is called prisonisation. How does the culture of prison community impinges on the individual offender who is subjected to it, is the key issue in the reformation of criminals. Generally, it is seen that in place of reformation most of the neophyte dacoits become hardened criminals who after getting bail jump into ravine and join the parent gangs.

Thus, the roots of dacoity in modern times may be seen in the wide spread inequality and injustice that characterising the structure of rural society and the resultant feuds and conflicts over property and power. Increasing population, the lack of job opportunities, social and economic backwardness and poverty force a large number of persons to opt for dacoity.

There are number of socio-economic factors contributing to the persistence of dacoity in these regions.
CONTROL TO DACTITY

The institution of dacty as we have discussed in the preceding chapters, is to a large extent an outward manifestation of the tensions generated within the social system. Although social institutions like family, school, religion and social values impose various forms of moral and cultural restraint over the people, still some persons become outliers, because they become accustomed to illegal behaviour. The initial resistance once broken, they resort to anti-social behaviour with lesser resistance and little feeling of guilt. "They can always find some justification for their anti-social behaviour and then can find rationale for their law violations - law violations becomes an accepted mode of living." 1

Cohen (1970) explains the control theories of deviant motivation, "A control conception of human motivation is built around two sets of variables. On the one hand is the impulse side; a hostile, destructive, aggressive, acquisitive, or otherwise anti-social impulse, on the other is the control side; something inside the actor or in the situation of action that denies or forbids the expression of the impulse. The outcome depends on the relative strength of these two contenders, if the impulse is stronger, the outcome is deviance." 2 Here, we are dealing two sided control theory to dacty. The actual


control of structural factors, that affect the incidence of
dacoity, have so far been limited to organised resistance
offered by society via the agencies of state forces or via the
media of voluntary organisation. Besides it, the manifest
control structure itself become a major locus of deviance. The
society places in the hands of police, judges, staffs of correc-
tional institutions and others, great responsibilities and also
great power. Whatever processes are at work producing deviance
in the general population are also at work among the occupants
of these roles, among whom deviance may take the form of negli-
gence, favouritism cruelty, corruption.\(^1\)

In this situation we are confronted with the problem
of the social control of the agencies of control. As Cohen(1970)
comments, "Quis custodet ipsos custodes", who will guard the
guardians?\(^2\) In fact, this is the reason that there have been
successes as there have been failures in eradication of dacoity.

The lack of effective social control grants dacoity
a vigorous continuity. The police and armed forces have been
used persistently and from time to time a large number of dacoits
have been killed, arrested or made to surrender. And yet, because
of its social sanction the system survives, following the failure
of violent methods to eradicate dacoity a moral campaign against
the system has been launched. We have been using the expression
'social control' to refer to social processes and structures

2. Ibid. p. 40.
tending to prevent or reduce the menace of dacoity through many ways which may be classified in two broad categories - Latent control structure and Manifest control structure.

**LATENT CONTROL STRUCTURE**

The means of social control have either changed their form to meet the changing needs or have vanished into the obliterion of history. The way in which opportunities for employment are distributed, the content of mass media, education, development of road and transport facilities may have the important consequences for actual eradication of any menace but there is no social awareness of the development of these means and no conscious manipulation of them.

As pointed out earlier, the dacoits infested areas are lack in transport and communication facilities due to peculiar topography and social backwardness. By evoking a new social awareness with new values and norms the people of the area who seldom think of dacoity to be an antisocial act, will thus be made them to realize that dacoity is an evil and it should be perennial for ever. The communication has much to play in bringing about this change.¹

In an integrated area development approach the needs of social infrastructure like education, irrigation roads, electrification of villages must be examined along with usual economic sectors. The present inequality in rural areas stems

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in the large part from the fact that small farmers have no means of agriculture facilities.

Ravine's per se constitute the gravest threat to the development of these regions. Compared to ravines elsewhere, those in Agra and Etawah districts particularly on Chambal and Yamuna are very deep. Due to heavy pressure on land and reckless tilling without giving adequate resistance to the abrasive action of water the spread of ravines has been spectacular.

The Government of India set up a study team on ravine reclamation to draw a "7 years Plan for ravine reclamation for the dacoity infested areas of Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan and also a five year plan both starting from 1972-73." But the seriousness of the problem caused by ravines is not being fully realised. Long before Dr. Rajendra Prasad rightly suggested, "It is the time we approached it in a constructive way so that we may have the double benefit of reclaiming some men and reclaiming a vast area of land."1

To check the problem of ravines the land has to be properly levelled, fields preferably laid out in proper sizes, water courses and field channels constructed to carry water to individual field. Un controlled grazing and cutting forest has made the problem of soil erosion sharp. Rapid plantation is the easiest available remedy to check soil erosion.

To reduce the pressure on land and agriculture the development of agro industry is another such subject which is

important in order to improve the economy of the area. Rural residents may be made eligible for better in-centives with facilities for vocational training. The development of dairying, carpentry, leather industry and animal husbandry may give supplementary income to small and marginal farmers. Besides, it, to avoid land disputes the improvement of land records and strengthen of revenue administration must be corrected. Unless correct measures are taken immediately, the tempo of development will lost.

We have till now discussed only the infrastructure, to maximise the benefit of these investments complementary and closely coordinated efforts are needed to change the social infrastructure also. To teach the snies of a new social order and to dislodge outmoded ways of thought a rationale outlook must be educate. Dignity of labour has to be respected by all. The prevalent attitude towards atrocities on Harijans should be changed. There is a crying need for remoulding the psychology of the people in order that law and order may be sustained by the cooperation of people.

All aspects of society are functionally interrelated for this reason we must examine the educational system as an aspect of the total society in the light of the over all process of cultural change. It is an old saying that where reason ends and logic fails, belief begins. The old belief based on caste, superstitions and inequality should be removed by social education. Before considering education as an agency of social change, we should review of the prevalent expectations of
education. In these regions this is expected to prepare youth for vocations. To combat the problem of dacytity, the area should throw up a differently motivated leadership, which should be nurtured and encouraged. We may think of these aspects of society as the latent control structure always capable, however, of being incorporated into the manifest control structure.

**MANIFEST CONTROL STRUCTURE**

Manifest control structure may include prevention, detection, taking into custody, determination of guilt, diagnosis, and evaluation, treatment, punishment, restitution and so on. Such more or less functionally specific control agents and agencies, are police, courts, correctional institution, inspectors, auditors, now and then deans of men and certain social agencies and youth serving organisations. Manifest control structure takes two forms: (i) Non violent Control and (ii) Violent Control.

**NON VIOLENT CONTROL**

Non violent control to dacytity is a process of desacralisation based on some etiological concepts of religion. Much of our culture is a product of our belief in non violence and practice of the principle of non violence. Non violence occupies a central theme in the teachings of Indian philosophy. Here, in the field of penology, non violence constitutes an alternative approach to the question of dealing with crime. Its basic proposition is, "violence is not a solution of itself."

The non violent approach to crime rejects the age old deterrent and retributive theories. The philosophical basis of
non violent experiment in the field of dacoity is explained by Sri J.P. Narayan that "I would say the philosophic basis is the same as that of Bhoodan, Gramdan and Gandhiji's idea of trusteeship - the idea that the human heart can be changed if a proper approach is made, that no body is irremediable and that the dacoits of Chambalghati are no exception."\(^1\)

Gandhiji and their followers like Vinoba Bhave, Jai Prakash Narayan, Dada Dharmadikari took a sympathetic attitude towards criminals. Their ideas are based on the philosophy of non violence that "evil, and not evil doer, should be eliminated. Of what use is a therapy if the patients die of their use?". In short, non violent control prescribes a change of heart in the evil doer. Although the non violent conversion of criminals is not a frequent phenomenon, it is not altogether unknown. Valmiki and Angulimal, the notorious dacoits were converted to goodness.

In the present age there is a series of mass surrender of dacoits based on the philosophy of non violence.

**The Surrender of 1947:** Before independence the notorious bandit chief Devi Singh of Bundelkhand surrendered with Moorat Singh, Pooran and some others, in 1947. Those were subjected to heavy harassment by police. So, they managed to escape with his men from the jail in 1948, and terrorised the whole of the area for nearly a quarter of a century.

**The Surrender of 1960:** In 1960, Vinoba Bhave, visited the Chambal area and appealed to the dacoits to transform themselves peaceful

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citizens. Some twenty-one dacoits, mostly remnants of Man Singh-Roopa gang, surrendered to him.

Surrender of 1963:— This surrender of 43 wanted vicious dacoits belonging to the community of ex-criminal tribe Kabutra-Hats, took place in January 1963. This was unconditional surrender of those notorious dacoits before police. They were awarded different terms of imprisonment.

Surrender of 1972:— The surrender of 1972 was the first truly revolutionary step to control the ancient menace. The favourable attitude of the Government facilitated the process of mass surrender of dacoits in Madhya Pradesh. As a result 503 dacoits — 393 from Chambal and 110 from Bundelkhand surrendered.

Surrender of 1976:— After the surrender of 1972 on the call of Sri J. Prakash, the dacoits of Uttar Pradesh also influenced by this great leader. Some 83 dacoits surrendered at Bateshwar and Agra in 1976. They were kept in Bajji Sahar Grah, Fatehpur.

Excluding these surrender of dacoits, there were many dacoits who surrendered in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. In fact, mass surrender opened a new horizon in the field criminology. But the experiment is still bearing the stress and strain of conflicting ideas; consequently its role as viable alternative has not yet been resolved.

Justification for Surrender:— Adopting a liberal moral approach towards the criminals, the protagonists of the surrender held that if a society failed to check the conditions which fostered deviance, it could atleast give the reformed deviants a chance to rehabilitate themselves. Besides it, the surrender of these dacoits might be justified from many point of views.
(1) Their surrender has restored peace which could have not been achieved otherwise.

(4) The cost and price of eliminating one dacoit was an enormous drain on state exchequer.

(3) Those who had surrendered in 1960 had not reverted to type after their release. They had forfeited violence for a settle life.

(4) The favourable results of surrender facilitated the process of surrender in other states also.

(5) The mass surrender of dacoits created a vacuum for miscreants in search of shelter, and this considerably helped the police in rounding out and eliminating the fugitives.

Moreover, it is an effective check on fresh influxes.

This, moral persuasion exercises the endless cycle of feud, death and vendetta and prevents the inflow of more dacoits.

**The Spirit of Change of Hearts: A Critical Appraisal:** Actually, the mass surrender of dacoits started when Vinoba started his 'Change of Heart' mission on May 3, 1960 with some sarvodaya disciples who made an appeal to all the dacoits to surrender themselves so that their moral and material rehabilitation could be achieved.\(^1\) The spirit of his campaign was that only those who were genuinely repentant should come forward to surrender.

The philosophy of surrender could not satisfy both the Government and the dacoits. The mission could not win favour of all sections of society on the many points. Unfortunately, Vinoba glorified the dacoits by regarding them as noble citizens, while the then

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chief minister Dr. Kataja concluded the reality in these words, "It is desirable that the offenders should not be glorified. They should be made to realise that they have committed serious crimes." The mission bewildered the Government and the police by saying, "The police should stay at their posts and should keep the door open for the dacoits who wished to surrender to him." 

Thus, the law of surrender was contrary to the law of land objectives of Servodaya mission not only set back the police morale but created a dilemma. K.P. Rustam Jee (the then I.G. Police, M.P.) argued, "It took years for the police and the people of these districts to run the battle in their favours, and when we were nearing the end we were told that the courage and sacrifice of all had been in vain, that the police officials who had shed their blood for defending others had used a rifle and had there by created dacoits, and that the dacoit sincerely felt that they had been oppressed by police." 

Still, almost all dacoits completed their terms of imprisonment, who had surrendered in 1980. But the process and the spirit of later phenomenal surrender failed to gain its objectives. Surrender has lost its meaning and significance. It lacks spiritual content and is no more a subject of moral binding. The recent surrender of Malkhan Singh (17.6.84), Phoolan Devi Ghan Shyam (12.283) and others in M.P. give one the feeling that a criminal who can achieve new heights in brutality develops a

2. Ibid. p. 185.
capacity to rise above the law of the land. There are a number of questions that remain unanswered. The discussion is largely based on the views of Singhal (1981):

(1) What happens to the weapons that are not surrendered and the booty looted by these dacoits.

(2) Why are all the dacoits not covered and why do we get satisfied by the surrenders of only a few. After all if change of heart were to take place it should take place in all regions.

(3) What is the future of the cases in which these dacoits are wanted? How many were prosecuted and how many of them were finally convicted?

(4) The dacoits should not be glorified because their surrender have been caused because of police pressure and not because of any genuine change of heart.

(5) Does the law not lose respect in these cases? Will not such surrender encourage more lawlessness in the long run?

(6) What mockery is made of the cardinal principle of law – viz – equality before the law?

Thus, the principle of non-violence in the prevention of crime should, therefore, be practised with great caution. Laxity would breed lawlessness and anarchy in society.

**VIOLENT CONTROL**

Violent control, as the term suggests, implies haran aggression; the use of force or threat or terror through a visible display of strength. Not with standing the continuance of dacoity, a heavy force has always been used to control the menace
of dacoity, robbery, thuggery and other crimes. Over the last two centuries Pindaries and Thugs and other notorious outlaws have been successfully eliminated. In spite of all such concerted coercive measures it has so far been failed to eradicate dacoity completely as the given table shows:

**TABLE XXXII**

Police Achievement (1971-1981)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>No. of Encounters</th>
<th>Dacoits Killed</th>
<th>Dacoits Arrested</th>
<th>No. of Firearms Recovered</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1972</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>1662</td>
<td>961</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>409</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>1713</td>
<td>1097</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>867</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>3839</td>
<td>2413</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>1193</td>
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<td>4813</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1793</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>6771</td>
<td>4300</td>
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<td>6.</td>
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<td>1325</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>3186</td>
<td>3577</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>7616</td>
<td>4777</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>1979</td>
<td>2792</td>
<td>596</td>
<td>10223</td>
<td>6327</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.</td>
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<td>3386</td>
<td>983</td>
<td>10429</td>
<td>7762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>3397</td>
<td>1391</td>
<td>9447</td>
<td>7430</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Police Head Quarters, Uttar Pradesh, Lucknow.

Here, a question that deserves our attention why a number of dacoits are arrested and killed every year. One may rather look upon the problem from many viewpoints. Some of them are:

1. Physiographic conditions, such as difficult terrains, dense forests, inaccessible mountains and overlapping state boundaries
that provide good hideouts and channels of easy escape for the fugitives partly account for the persistence of dacoity.

(2) Police does not succeed in arresting or eliminating the entire gang in one sweep. This naturally means that in some of the best of the encounters only a part of the gang shall be accounted for and most of them would manage to escape.

(3) Sometimes total members of a gang do not surrender due to their vested interest. The remaining members organise their own gangs during the course of time.

(4) The institutional nature of the problem support that system commands from society, is also partly responsible for the persistence of the problem.

(5) A gang comprises of a large network of informers, suppliers, protectors and vested interest groups. Its men have infiltrated politics, the police force, administration and dept.

(6) Deficiency in the application of the control itself in the fountain head of many problems.

If the morale of a force implementing punitive measures is low, there is every possibility of broken loyalty, diminished confidence and failure. Imbalance between the responsibility and power of the law enforcing agency is one of the major problem. To minimise the pressure of force a gang always works to break the loyalty of the a policemen.

It is almost a well established practice among the police officials to accept bribes and presents offered by har- bourer. There may be inconsistency in the application of coercion, the right use of coercion would be to punish the guilt
and reward the deserving. More generally, as reported in many cases real culprits are spared and honest people made to suffer. In such cases, it fails to check people and acts, on the contrary as a spring-board to dacoity. In spite of above deficiency the achievement of police could not be neglected. The encounters between police and dacoits increased many times during the last decades. Physical coercion succeeded in eliminating a number of powerful gangs of dacoits, as shown in the given table:

| S.No. | Year | Total Gangs | No. of Encounters | Dacoits Killed | Arrested | Surr. | Gangs Eliminated
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>1978</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1980</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>1982</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|      |      |             |                  |               | 4       | 6    | 36               |

Source: Anti Dacoity Cell, Uttar Pradesh, Agra.

During the last few years, the population and crime rose steeply, but the strength of the police functionaries remain at static rate. The role of police and state armed forces is of immense importance in the maintenance of law and order in general, and in the eradication of dacoity in particular. In fact, there is greater need than ever before of social service agencies in these regions to work alongside the police to redress the injustices suffered by people, eradicate their ignorance and social backwardness.