CHAPTER II

INTRODUCTION
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Knavery, skulduggery, cheating, unfairness, crime, sneakiness, corruption, graft, dishonesty, in short devianc—in one shape or another exist everywhere in human society—large or small, progressive or stagnant. Yet there is no gainsaying that the pattern of dacoity in India where a large number of organised gangs have operated for centuries, has no parallel. Discrete cases of robbery and even dacoity may be seen almost everywhere even now, but a number of gangs disturbing and para-lysing the entire civil life is a phenomenon peculiar to central India.

Dacoits have been terrorising, plundering, killing people over decades. Even the dawn of the independence could not bring any major relief to the people in rural area of Uttar-Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. These brigands do not only violate the law or become a threat to the well being of the society but also to the individual liberty as well as social peace. Besides a number of atrocities committed by them, the incidence of mass murders have opened the new dimension of savage display of cruelty.

The Police organisation that was constituted in 1861 A.D. was never faced with such a challenging situation especially in Uttar Pradesh before the massacre of Behmai (14th Feb. 1981). Where the prestige of both—the State Government as well as the Police Department was at stake. The incidence led to a flood of similar mass-murders. Despite the dissolu-tion of the then cabinet and transfer of top Police Officials,
the law and order situation continued to deteriorate in Uttar-
Pradesh. It resulted in the gunning down of 12 Ahirs at Jaymai,
11 Harijans at Badanpur, 5 Thakurs at Jakh, 9 Yadavas at Khiiriya,
12 Thakurs at Pakipur, 9 Lodhi and Kachhis at Jareila, 24 Jatavas
at Deoli and 7 Policemen at Nagalureda. These sequential inci-
dences added a new chapter in the history of dacoity. In the
mass slaughters the dacoits ransacked the whole villages and
left behind a gory trail of mass murders. It is vastly more
devastating in the effect to create a feeling in the minds of
rural people that the law is merely a paper tiger and the Govern-
ment is merely an organisation in words. The dacoit chieftains
establish their own code of law over a specific area, create
conditions of awe and terror by swooping down to loot, murder
and kidnap individuals for ransom.

In the recent past Chambal and Bundelkhand regions
have been widely known for the perennial problem, but recently
it progressed to monstrous proportions in some districts of
Uttar Pradesh. Among the dacoits infested regions of Uttar-
Pradesh, the Doab and the Bundelkhand regions are equally crime
prone. Agra, Etah, Mainpuri, Etawah, Farrukhabad from Doab
and Jalaun and Banda from Bundelkhand have always been terro-
rized by the dreaded dacoits. From Kanpur to Etawah there is
a long strip on both the sides of the river Yamuna which is
permanently dacoits infested. The dacoits gangs take shelter

in the ravines which are found on both the sides of the Yamuna river. This dacoits infested range covers Jaulaun and Banda also. It is very difficult to trace and track down these gangs as they find easy hide-out in the forests and ravines of this strip.

Besides shooting, killing and arresting the thousands of dacoits, the poly of surrender could not check the germination of new dacoit gangs. The policy of surrender is a contractual poly in the hands of Government and the underworld for shared benefits. Obviously, it may be concluded whether these violent and non violent measures of resistance were not successful in putting stop to dacoities and robberies. In spite of all such concerted coercive measures the institution has persisted in pockets. They failed to attain their objectives mainly due to the fact that no social stigma was attached to dacoits and robbers.

Present developments in the experimental non violent measures for the control of the menace show that unless the structural and moral framework of society undergoes a radical change, surrender or any such innovation will not bear any fruit. A close analysis of these incidences reveals certain striking facts. It is not a simple generalisation as to how dacoity has come to be a part of the rural life in these dacoits infested regions. But dacoity, as we shall analyse, is not a manifestation of individual characteristics - biological or psychological. Dacoity is the product of a multiplicity of factors that produce and perpetuate the problem in rural society.
of India. Social factors play a determining role in the existence of dacoity system in these areas.

Dacoity is not mere a law and order problem; it has more to do with our administrative system, approaches to crime, the kind of corruption and social inequality that prevails at various levels. In this regards it is a point to think as to what are the bases of survival or long continuance of the problem in these regions.

There are two perspectives to study the problem, one relating to the system and the other to the individual. Actually these are two interrelated viewpoints as they afford a coherent and complete understanding of the problem. The guiding idea and connecting thread in the study is the conviction that such deviation from accepted social norm is not a product of mental deficiency, of phychosis, or other form of personal and Psychic aberration but rather it has social roots and is caused by social conditions.

As we will see in the ensuing chapters that there are three major bases of dacoity - the ecological, the historical and the Socio-cultural. It is undeniable that the valley of Chambal and the forest of Bundelkhand provide good niscouts and shelters for the fugitives of law, mostly the victims of injustice and oppressive system of society but it is the institutional net work of society at different levels that lead people to split in to factions and break into conflicts and tension. System of dacoity, in fact, derives its strength and support from the larger social system. Without social succur
the system of dacoity can not survive. There is a regular feed back of people and other facilities from the broader social system acting as host.

To analyse the problem in right perspective, we have to study the socio-economic and cultural matrix with historical background of the problem in these dacoits infested regions. Any way, it is undeniable that structural factors play largely a dominant role. So long as these factors persist in a society, the dacoity will continue to flourish. The basic assumption implied here is that dacoity is a systemic product which has grown to its present institutional from through a long historical process. Briefly, then the system of dacoity is governed by some general laws that relate to the general structure of society.

A social problem does not exist in society unless it is recognised by the people. Societal recognition gives birth to a social problem. But it is the problem that moves along with its course and not die aborning, it must acquire social legitimacy. It may seem strange to speak of social problem having to become legitimated yet after gaining initial recognition a social problem must acquire social endorsement if it is to be taken seriously and move forward in its career. It must acquire a necessary degree of respectability which entitles it to consideration in the recognized arenas of public discussion.¹


Notre Dau., Indiana, 46556.
knowledge of such relevant matters as the following: the role of judiciary in getting recognition for a problem, the role of violence, the play of interest groups and other interest groups who foresee material gains by elevating a given condition to a problem, the role of political figures and the role of powerful organisations.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The present work attempts to analyse the nature and bases of dacoity system. In this regards the present study tends to highlight the following objectives:

1. To analyse the dacoity system as a form of organised and institutionalised crime.
2. To study the historical background of the problem.
3. To analyse the socio-cultural conditions and establishment of the linkages between the society and dacoity system.

Persuant to be the above ends, a secondary objective of this research is to elicit facts upon which administrators and reformist may base their future policies.

EXISTANT LITERATURE

There are various forms of violent and organized crime. These have been studied by different social scientists in some context or other. Edwin M. Lemert (1991), Marshall B.

1. Ibid...... p. 301.
Clinard (1963) and Robert K. Merton and Robert A. Nisbet (1966) - the three text books are generally introduction to the field of "Social Problem" or "Social Disorganization," which is broader than deviant behaviour as we understand here. Crime and juvenile delinquency, on the other hand, are not so broad as deviant behaviour; however, a large part of deviant theory has its origins in criminology. Edwin H. Sutherland and Donald R. Cressey (1960) and Richard R. Korn and Lloyd W. Mo. Corkle (1959), these two good text books represent the knowledge of criminology. Useful readers in this are Norman Johnston, Leonard Sazitz and Marvin E. Wolfgang (1962), Gus Tyler (1961) and Shalanon Glueck (1959).


The classics of the Chicago tradition are William I Thomas and Florin Znaniechi (1958) and George Herbert Mead (1934). The latter does not deal specifically with deviance but it is the leading source of modern ideas on role theory and the self. Important contemporary works are those of Erving Gottman (1963) and Howard S. Becker (1963) and see also Frank Tannenbaum (1938) and Alfred R. Linsdell (1947). For leading works in cultural transmission stream of the Chicago tradition.
see references to Shaw and McKay, Sutherland and Cressey on pp. 94-97 of this volume.

Studies on juvenile delinquency that have general import for deviance theory are Albert K. Cohen (1955), Walter B. Millar (1959), James F. Short Jr. and Fred L. Stradenbeck (1955) and David Matza (1964).

Theories emphasizing internal controls mechanism of defense, personal pathology and internal conflicts are illustrated by Franz Alexander and Hugo L. Staub (1936), William Healy and Augusto F. Bronner (1938), Albert Bandura and Richard M. Walters (1959). Most of the work cited on these pages deal at length with social aspect of deviant behaviour.

Although the dacoity is within the ambit of law and order, it is a sociological problem and can be studied sociologically. To stimulate research efforts, some of the theoretical postulates having some relevance to the present problem, may well be mentioned.

In this classification, dacoity is one which is fairly widespread in the states of central India. Many books have been written in Hindi and English but mostly they are fictional, biographical and journalistic in nature and fail to analyse the problem scientifically. There are some master piece works that are descriptive and journalistic in nature. Among Bhaduri (1972), Gupta (1972), Tamanna (1972) the autobiographical sketches written Bhaduri are based on real investigation and search. Although these publications provide us much useful insight into the problem, their objective reliability is not to be said
sufficiently. Moreover, their focus is on the story and they do not pursue the subject objectively for an in-depth or precise study. Similarly, Kapoor's study 'Badmen of Badlands, (1960), Rao's 'The Facits of Crime in India' (1967) are of limited value from our point of view. Then, there are the studies which approach the problem scientifically:

Garg's study 'Dacoity Problem in Chambal Valley': published in 1965. It is an exploratory work which while analysing the structural elements adopts a micro approach to the problem of dacoity. The researcher emphasises on anthropological observation, case studies and utilises secondary data to shape its frame. Its conclusions are that caste rivalries, property disputes, village feuds and an unjust police administration contribute to the prevalence of dacoity in the area of Chambal. Katare's work 'Pattern of Dacoity in M.P.' (1972), can also be counted among good initial efforts to the study of the problem. He examines the spatial and temporal pattern of dacoity and brought out some of the salient features of the organisation and activities of the dacoit gangs. Like previous researcher, he too concludes some causative factors, but both of them fail to synthesise and condense the concluded material in any meaningful frame work.

Tomar in his doctoral thesis 'Family Problems of Long Term Prisoners From the Chambal Valley (1973), succeeds in bringing out family problems of long term prisoners. In this descriptive study he extracted some relevant informations about criminals
including dacoits.

*Khan's study* & *The Salient Aspects of the Problem of Dacoity in Chambal Valley (1973)* can be counted the first among good works. In this doctoral thesis he geared his efforts to understand the problem systematically and presented some ecological and socio-cultural considerations responsible for the problem. He also highlighted the process of dacoit gang formation including some case studies of major dacoits and dacoit gangs. But like other he too failed to diagnose the basic causal factors of dacoity in Chambal region. He explained the problem in terms of 'dacoity proneness' based on the popular myth that the Chambal region belong certain sub-cultural characteristics that naturally instill dacoity proneness among the inhabitants of Chambal. Actually the basic draw back of this study is that it neglects the historical base of the problem. Dacoity proneness is the out-come of those historical and socio-cultural conditions which have been prevailing for centuries.

*The Chambal Valley Project (1976)*, as study conducted by the Indore School of Social Work, is a comparatively larger undertaking in which a number of investigators and research officials were engaged. It covers a larger area under study and along with dacoity, it studies the problem of victimized families too. Its basic aim was to furnish the findings about immediate problems of such families to the Government. But side by side it provides relevant and useful material for research purpose too. The problem of the families of the dacoits of liabilities increased, decreased or unaltered with respect to the two periods
before and after the surrender. Thus, it gives a more comprehensive, precise and compact analysis in to the problem.

Socio-economic Development of A Dacoit Affected Area in Chambal Valley, published by Avari, New Delhi (1976) is a survey work which attempts to bring forth the socio-economic resources especially of selected area 'Johra Block' in Morena District (M.P.). It presents the possibilities of their exploitation to meet the demand for rehabilitation in this area. This study is basically a survey report and is purely confined to the economic opportunities that can be created to rehabilitate the families of former dacoits. In our view, the report does not provide any significant insight into the problem from causative point of view of dacoity.

Singh's study 'Victims of Dacoit gang in Chambal Valley' (1979).

In this doctoral thesis the researcher discusses the issues relating to victimisation. He presents the circumstances and situations in which dacoit gangs operate.

Zatar & Khan's 'The Problem of Dacoity In Bundelkhand and the Chambal Valley' (1980), is an introductory piece of work, which provides a comparative setting of the two regions with the retrospect. Both the learned scientists put the menace of dacoits, widely. They also outlined some antidacoity efforts and the panorama of surrendered dacoits.

Singh's study 'Terror to Reform' (1980), certainly venture to deviate in intent and orientation from earlier studies of the problem. The researcher unveils the complexities of the
dacoity system fairly and fully. The analysis of life in open prisons has succeeded in making the whole effort with wide understanding as it also deals with discrepancies between goals and the actuality of open prisons. This study is based on the rehabilitation of the surrendered dacoits of M.P. in, 1972.

**NEED FOR THE STUDY**

Most studies lack a sociological frame work. The few do not, are insular and confine themselves to one aspect of another. The scholar dealt only with those factors or conditions which make a man an outlaw and ignore the rest of the processes before he adopts dacoity as like style. To fill up this gap the present work follows a sociological perspective, approaches and method.

A number of studies conducted in the regions of Chambal and Bundelkhand in M.P. but Bundelkhand and Doab regions of Uttar Pradesh have been neglected by and large by the scholars. Here, I would like to mention that dacoity menace in the area of Chambal has been controlled to some extent in Madhya Pradesh but it has rapidly carved in some districts of Uttar Pradesh. That is why the Government of Uttar Pradesh has to declare these districts dacoits infested under an ordinance, dated 22 October 1981.

In recent time this issue has not only created law and order problem, but has raised many issues as regards to the
reorganisation of village's socio-economic and political structure. Thus, the recent development of dacoity in Doab region which is neither backward nor remote as compared to Chambal region of Madhya Pradesh, has led to take up a new perspective. Hence, we concentrate upon this newly dacoits infested area of study for research purpose as compared to the Bandelkhund or Chambal.

The present study also differs from all previous scholars for the following reasons:

1. In the past, scholars made some glimpses of historical events but did not present the historical changes, ups and downs of power and disturbances at length which are responsible for creating rebellion attitude among some weaker races.

2. The previous studies made so far have been confined to ravinous Chambal valley and wild Bandelkhund. Places like the fertile region of Doab is now the operation field of dacoit gangs, where there is not so ideal hideouts leaves some reasonable questions to be studied.

3. The present study also covers the nature and Bases of deviants like Pindaris.

4. And lastly, the present work attempts to examine the previous studies in the light of present circumstances and to what extent the previous scholar made rationale conclusions about the problem.
5. What are the regional peculiarities of Doab and Bundelkhand and what are the antecedents of the problem of dacoity in these regions with the relevant background information on both the regions. Thus, this study covers the whole belt of dacoity in fested area in Uttar Pradesh.

**DEFINING THE CONCEPTS**

**Dacoity:** Sociologically, the term dacoity is nearer to brigandage. Brigadage is an antisocial activity carried on by a group of armed outlaws usually under the leadership of locally formed chieftain. Brigand bands restore to holdups, train attacks, plunder, blackmail and holding for ransom. The essence of all the methods that the brigand utilizes to gain his ends is terrorism and violence.

Dacoity is derived from the Hindi word 'daka' which means to plunder. Although it carries more weight than extortion, theft, burglary, plundering or robbery it is not altogether different from them. Roughly, if force or threat of force is added to theft or extortion, it is robbery. And when robbery is undertaken by a considerable number of offenders, it becomes dacoity. In India Penal Code, dacoity is defined under section 391 as such:

"When five or more persons conjointly commit or attempt to commit robbery, and persons present and aiding such commission or attempt, amount to five or more, every person so
committing, attempting or aiding is said to commit dacoity.

In dacoity, robbery and violence go together. Thus, in legal term dacoity is a conspiracy of five or more persons to engage in an act of violent robbery. Although the legal definition of dacoity has been used for the practical purpose of crime statistics, it is of limited Sociological Significance. A big gang may employ three or four persons for such a crime which may taken than he legally regarded as robbery and not dacoity. Similarly with change in circumstances they may occur correspondingly changes in the modus operandi, say them theft or extortion to subscription of levy or kidnapping for ransom.

Dacoitization: Dacoitization is a process where individual belonging to a given socio-cultural tradition resort to outlawry and violence, neutralize social constrains, join a gang, adopts its criminal values and norms and reinforce them. It begins very early in adolescence, with the socialization of the individuals concerned towards a violent and rebellious attitude and lack of respect for the law.

Murder: Under section 302 of India Penal Code murder is defined basically as causing the death of another person with the intention of killing. Exception is made when the act is committed under provocation or in self defence.

Abduction & Kidnapping: Section 362 of IPC reads, whoever by force compels, or by any deceitful means includes, any person to go from any place, is said to abduct that person "By kidnapping
is generally meant child stealing (Section 361 IPC). However, the word 'Kidnapping' may be used here for taking any male or female away without his/her or guardian's consent for the purpose of ransom or ravishment.

Surrender: When an offender consciously hands over him-self, along with his arms to law, it is termed surrender. According to motive behind it, surrender can broadly be grouped into two categories:

(a) Voluntary surrender is one in which an offender surrenders himself unconditionally without any physical pressure or threat of such pressure.

(b) A conditional surrender is one which is done under some conditions, physical pressure or in return for certain concessions.

THEORETICAL FRAME OF REFERENCE

As discussed in this chapter, from the later half of twentieth century the social scientists have been exploring the problem of dacoity in context of numerous different angles, but the outcome is very meagre regarding the establishment of theoretical frame of dacoity problem. Various explanation viz. ecological, psychological and socio-economic etc. have been sought regarding the factors which are associated with delinquency and crime. But their explorations have not reached to the extent of a satisfactory theoretical formulation of the
subject. Though in the past certain theories of crime and
deviation have been propounded by certain theorist to explain
the etiology of crime, but these theories were not focussed
to deal with dacoity.

The complexities of the crime phenomenon have attrac-
ted the attention of specialists from many fields - each of
them interpreting it from a particular disciplinary perspective.
Serious thinking over the phenomenon, however started only a
little over two centuries ago. Influenced by the philosophy
of hedonism and the concept of 'Freedom of will', Beccaria
speculated that criminal behaviour represents the algebraic
sum of pleasure and pain, the balance of pleasure in a given
criminal act exceeding the pain. 1 Guetlet concluded that
certain cartographic factors affect human behaviour including
crime. Since then criminological theory has covered much
ground. In contemporary times, much emphasis has been laid
on sociological reasoning and empirical analysis. The theories
which are based on these approaches may be discussed in three
broad groups:

1. Typological Theories:– The focus in these is on the indi-
vidual his biology and psychology. The nexus between heredity
and crime is as engaging as it is intriguing. Darwin, postu-
lated the theory of pangenesis; Weismann, the theory of germ-

1. Beccaria, C., 1767: An Essay on Crimes and Punishments,
Almon, London, quoted from, Khan, M.Z.,
Encyclopaedia of Social Work in India.
plasma; Galton, the arithmetical transfer of hereditary traits
and Mendel, the concept of 'recessive' and 'dominant' traits
and the laws governing their transmission from one generation
to another. Nevertheless, none of these theories is able to
establish the criminal tendency is inherited. A few studies
on criminal families as well as on monosynotic twins, show
that criminal tendency is neither a biotype nor a phenotype
trait; in contrast, it is a phenotype trait which comes about
due to environmental influence.

That the body-build may be a correlative of criminal
tendency has been a subject of study for long. Physical handicaps have often been linked with anti-social behaviour. Kretschmer developed a classification of somatotypes in relation to psychosis and general personality. Using Kretschmer's classification, Sheldon has developed the typologies of endo-
morphs, mesomorphs and ectomorphs, delineating their criminal
propensities.

Many have attempted to connect criminal tendency with
anthropological characteristics. Among the most known in this
area is, of course, Lombraso. His hypothesis was that the
typical criminal can be identified on the basis of 'certain

1. Kretschmer, E., 1925: Physique and Character, Harcourt
   Brace Janovich, New York.
2. Sheldon, W.H., 1949: Varieties of Delinquent Youth, Harpers,
   New York.
   Brown, Boston.
definite physical features like slanting forehead, long earlobes, thick and excessive hairiness non-sensitive skin and asymmetrical face. The influence of these ideas, however, greatly declined with the publication of the 'English Convict' by Charles Goring.¹ Likewise, researchers have attempted to relate endocrine malfunctioning to behaviour. Hoskins has studied glands and their functioning.² Notwithstanding the scientific restraints which have gone into the constitutional, anthropological and endocrinological studies, few have been able to provide conclusive evidence that criminal tendency is influenced by any of these factors.

Attention may now be turned to mental make up. Goddard asserts that almost all criminals are feebleminded.³ Similarly, many psychiatrists attribute it to epilepsy, neurosis, psychosis or moral insanity. Many psychoanalytical concepts propounded by Sigmund Freud connect up with crime causation. Also instincts, according to Freud, are relevant to criminal tendency.⁴ The criminal tendency has often been interpreted in terms of low intelligence quotient. Nonetheless, it is difficult to accept the proposition that those who violate law are mentally sick or dim-witted.

1. Sociological Theories: In criminological thought the most diverse are sociological theories. While typological theories focus on the individual, sociological theories concern themselves with the social environment.

(i) Anomie Theory: To Durkheim, crime was a fact of life. He argued, "A society without criminality would necessitate standardization of the moral conceptions of all the individuals which is neither possible nor desirable... on the other hand, if there were no system of moral repression, a system of moral heterogeneity would exist which is irreconcilable with the very existence of society." 1 If crime is inevitable, the punishment also is a social necessity because it is the only instrument which strengthens the value system and supports the structural stability. Durkheim visualised a break down of social stability when aspirations are pitched too high and associated with the industrial societies, which are in a chronic state of anomie. 2 Durkheim applied the concept of anomie to the division of labour and suicide. He did not try to develop its implications for a general theory of deviant behaviour.

Merton's concept of anomie has been very influential. While Durkheim ascribed social disorganization to economic crises, Merton's refinement perceived the intrinsic pressures


in any social order which demand adjustment between aspirations and legitimate opportunities and determined the various levels and points in the social structure at which anti-social conduct is activated due to maladjustment. The gap between aspirations and the means compels an otherwise law abiding person to opt for illegal means, means. "It is only when a system of cultural values extolls, virtually above all else certain common success goals for the population at large, while the social structure rigorously restricts or completely closes access to approved modes of reaching these goals for a considerable part of the same population, that deviant behaviour ensues on a large scale."

This disjunction between goals and means, and the consequent strain, leads to a weakening of man's commitment to the culturally prescribed goals, that is, to a state of anomic, which create the problem of adjustment. Cloward and Ohlin, 1960 comments - "When a social system generates severe problems of adjustment for the occupants of a particular social status, it is likely that a collective challenge to the legitimacy of the established rules of conduct will emerge. This is especially likely where a democratic ideology exists, espousing equately of opportunity and universally high aspirations for success".


It is overwhelming sense of social injustice which weakens legitimacy of a social order or the social institutions. When feeling is widespread, it leads to revolt. On lower scale it is diffused as traditional criminality.

(ii) Culture Conflict Theory:— Thorsten Sellin has put forward the theory of culture conflict. According to this, when the cultural norms of contiguous cultural areas collide, when legal codes of one group are extended over the territory of another, or when migration takes place, culture conflict occurs resulting in the violation of norms.

Observing the relationship between crime and culture, Sellin said, "Among the various instrumentalities which social groups have evolved to secure conformity in the conduct of their members, the criminal law occupies an important place .... for it norms are binding upon all who live within the political boundaries of a state and are enforced through the coercive power of the state. In some states these groups may comprise the majority, in others a minority, but the social values which receive the protection of the criminal law are ultimately those which are treasured by dominant interest groups".¹

In Indian perspective Rao,(1983: 102) comments, the fact that community and castes with different cultural traits and values coexist for the most part in harmony, does not

dilute the concept, because "clashes between different cultures can occur without local change in the composition and structure of the population, and on the other hand, such changes may without causing culture conflict."

(iii) Sub-cultural Theory: In deed, there is nothing new about the use of the sub-cultural theory to explain regional differences in crime. A sub culture has been defined as "a sub division of a national culture, composed of a combination of factorable social situations such as class, status, ethnic background and regional and rural urban residence, and religious affiliation, but forming in their combination a functional unity which has an integrated impact on the participating individual."

Here, murders arising from land disputes, communal and caste outrages, personal vendetta are in intermixture of economic motivations and cultural conflicts. Dacoity, murder, loot etc. are again a projection of crystallized cultural attitudes and can be viewed in the light of those values which approved rebellion practice. In the context of dacoity how caste subculture grew and became a part of the social order in the form of criminal activities, which convert crime into an occupation especially among martial castes. As Rao, (1983:108)


observes, "Although dacoity, one of the important forms of violence has an economic base, the importance of a tradition which extolled the dacoits as Baghis - revolutionaries against an exploitative order - can not be minimized. The incidence of dacoity has shown a remarkable decline after the naxalite experiment in Madhya Pradesh, but it continues to flourish within Uttar Pradesh, where pockets of violence, supported by tradition and a blighted environment, persists. The indications are that this form of crime will gradually come down with socio-economic development of the Chambal valley ravines whose geographical inaccessibility merely serves to strengthen the deviant base."

A person born into one such group even now by force of tradition, training and association develops attitudes in conformity with those of group. His values are different and distinctly hostile to the environing culture. In strict sense of the term, criminal subculture is primary feature of Indian criminal tribes and castes which have been statutorily decriminalized now but some of whom continue to adhere to their traditional values. In the present context, however, we are thinking in terms of the vast number of people who do not belong to a subculture ethos as a member of declassed tribes did, but a host of delinquents who emerge at different points of time and at different social levels though structural process.

1. Ibid. .... p. 103.

2. Ibid. .... p. 104.
(iv) Differential Association Theory: In general the differential association theory deals with the role of a group in deviance amplification. It looks upon the problem of deviance from the following viewpoints:

(a) Opportunity differential on a regional basis: scholars of the ecological, or the Chicago school, come under this category. They utilize regional considerations in the study of crime and characterise a part of a city, area, or region as one with a criminal tradition. They believed that those who live within its periphery are more likely to resort to outlawry than those who live without.¹

(b) Opportunity differential for association and learning: The proponents of this school emphasise the learning aspect of criminal behaviour. Sutherland (1939: 70), for example, while defining his principle of differential association, mentions that a man becomes a criminal because of his contacts with criminal patterns and also because of his isolation from anti-criminal patterns.²

(c) Opportunity differential for means of satisfying goals: Theorists of this tradition seek to interpret deviance in terms of deprivation or lack of opportunity for fulfilment of the goals through legitimate means, as also in terms of the availability of illegitimate means to achieve them.


Taken together, while sociological theories have
done much by drawing the attention towards the role played by
sociocultural factors in the rise of criminal tendency, they
have been very diverse.

3. Radical Perspectives:— In the recent decades, it has been
argued that the psychological and sociological theories, and
conceptual frames lack historical perspective and ignore the
fact and the impact of the 'ban' (laws) which results in ordi-
nary man being labelled as deviants or criminals.¹ The main
assumptions in this have been:

(a) criminal law does not represent the professed shared morality;
it is merely an embodiment of the particular interest of the
ruling few in a stratified society;

(b) crime is not a quality of an act the person commits but rather
a consequence of rules and sanctions;

(c) the criminal justice system has been regarded as the criminal
processing system which functions to maintain the status quo
to protect the interest of the elite or to promote 'careerism'
of the functionaries;

(d) the poor do not break the legal codes more often than others,
although they are arrested more often and treated more harshly
in order to prevent more extensive nonconformity and it is they
on whom the label of criminal is more successfully applied.²

New York.

² Backer, op.cit., p. 8.
Becker, Turk, Mairney, Matza, Ericson, Chambliss, and Mankoff and many others have further extended these perspectives. The radical perspectives have done much to provoke thinking and to induce a reexamination of the functioning of different criminal justice sectors. However, it is difficult to subscribe to them without reservations. There is seen in them a certain lack of logical reasoning—not to mention the non-availability of empirical evidence.

It is apparent that no single theory is applicable to explain the institution of dacoity fairly and fully. The basic limitation of uni-causal theories is that they are unable to account for all factors responsible for dacoity. It might be more relevant here to say that the theory of anomia, theory of subcultural and the theory of differential association are applicable to some extent.

The theory of caste sub-culture, which is based on the assumption that certain elements like norms, values, choices, or expressions of criminal orientation—are common to a particular caste and those elements differ significantly from caste to caste, also provides a clue for understanding the causetic factors of the problem. However, while we may use the concept of caste sub-culture we should not use it as a categorical imperative. Although, culture emerges violence or predatory activity in a person, it does not necessarily determine his course of action.

Therefore, assumption of this study for enhancing theoretical formulation, it is realized that theories of sociological perspective may give us thorough insight and provide due explanation in understanding the problem.
The Area of Study

Before going into the depth of the problem, it would be rather good to highlight the area of study. Although, there are other regions where the incidence of dacoity is very high, specially the Chambal and Bundelkhand regions of Madhya Pradesh are crime prone and have been known historically for violence and loot. They have produced the most feared dacoits of this century who have carried on the tradition of loot, murder, pillage and kidnapping.

But in recent time, the southern west part of Uttar Pradesh which is linked with the border of Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, is gaining new dimension in the history of dacoity. Hence we have concentrated upon this newly dacoits infested area of Uttar Pradesh including the region of Bundelkhand for study purpose. It has a coverage of twelve districts which were declared dacoits infested by Uttar Pradesh Government. The total given area of study comprises over 52928 sq. kms. and the population, according to census 1981, is 21359186.

Table No. 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Area (Sq. Km.)</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>No. of Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Agra</td>
<td>4305</td>
<td>1854476</td>
<td>1192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Etah</td>
<td>4436</td>
<td>1837973</td>
<td>1524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mainpuri</td>
<td>4343</td>
<td>1744057</td>
<td>1386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Etawah</td>
<td>4326</td>
<td>1748737</td>
<td>1477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Farrukhabad</td>
<td>4275</td>
<td>2002513</td>
<td>1626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Ramgarh</td>
<td>6176</td>
<td>3790549</td>
<td>1398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Budhan</td>
<td>5169</td>
<td>1964094</td>
<td>1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Jhansi</td>
<td>5024</td>
<td>1116002</td>
<td>1450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Lalitpur</td>
<td>5039</td>
<td>587290</td>
<td>1207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Banda</td>
<td>7624</td>
<td>1536349</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Hamirpur</td>
<td>7166</td>
<td>1194114</td>
<td>957</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Jalaun</td>
<td>4365</td>
<td>987432</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>52928</strong></td>
<td><strong>21359186</strong></td>
<td><strong>15451</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The reasons for limiting the area of study and selection of above districts are many. First of all these were the scenes where the most notorious of the dacoit gangs since Man Singh to bandit queen Phoolan Devi and others operated and secondly, there were scores of incidence of mass murder took place during a very short period. Kanpur, Etah, Bastawa and Manipuri are most problematic districts where a number of people shot dead by the notorious dacoit gangs. If we take a close look at the incidence of dacoities and murder and yearly data of crimes of these districts, not only the gravity of crime but the law and order position could be realised.

### TABLE II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Dacoity</th>
<th>Robbery</th>
<th>Murder</th>
<th>Burglary</th>
<th>Total IPC Cong. Offences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>4192</td>
<td>7510</td>
<td>3424</td>
<td>43394</td>
<td>234000</td>
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<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>4637</td>
<td>7631</td>
<td>3505</td>
<td>48894</td>
<td>236712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>3650</td>
<td>6248</td>
<td>3441</td>
<td>44976</td>
<td>219326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>3487</td>
<td>6359</td>
<td>3927</td>
<td>41483</td>
<td>224984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>4541</td>
<td>8437</td>
<td>4313</td>
<td>46598</td>
<td>252305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>4084</td>
<td>7736</td>
<td>4416</td>
<td>40925</td>
<td>242024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>3315</td>
<td>6338</td>
<td>4286</td>
<td>33124</td>
<td>200167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>4187</td>
<td>7843</td>
<td>4796</td>
<td>37300</td>
<td>222600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>3644</td>
<td>6919</td>
<td>5202</td>
<td>32484</td>
<td>213471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>3650</td>
<td>7003</td>
<td>5329</td>
<td>29223</td>
<td>205644</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>3653</td>
<td>6624</td>
<td>5422</td>
<td>70050</td>
<td>196715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>2858</td>
<td>5306</td>
<td>5568</td>
<td>21915</td>
<td>189963</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Uttar Pradesh I.G. Police Headquarters, Lucknow.

The observation of above crime figures has a direct
Relevance to the law and order situation in the state where the Uttar Pradesh Police showed a falling trend in dacoity. The above statistic do not fully reflect the crime situation because there are many reasons for not reporting the crime.

The above reasons lend a special importance from the point of view of research since the problem could be found in these regions of Uttar Pradesh in an accentuated form.