CHAPTER III

EVOLUTION OF CRIME CULTURE IN CITY OF MUMBAI

The contemporary scenario of organized crime in Mumbai has been expanded to all walks of life in recent years and has created a total collapse of the law and order agencies. The severity of the problem needs to be understood in the historical perspective of the process of socio-cultural and techno-economic changes that have taken place over years in the city. These changes have occurred in the process of rapid capitalist development, which has a direct fall out in terms of increasing trend of crimes in the city. The process of development over decades has led to a rapid proliferation of industry and commerce leading to creation of large wealth and power disparities (between 'have's and 'have nots') — the two important denominations of the capitalist development of Mumbai. As a result of such development, there is emergence of an opportunist culture with the 'culture of crime' as its natural by-product.

Mumbai in the Early Phase of 19th Century of British Era and Its Crime Culture

Street gangsterism, gambling and prostitution troubled the city of Bombay (Mumbai as now known) even as far back as the early 19th century. S.M. Edward, in his book, the Bombay City Police Records (1844, p: 36) had mentioned successful daring robberies carried out in the harbor by the gangs and criminals who sailed boats from the Backbay. The frequency of their attacks had led to the formation of a special floating police force under the control of a Deputy Superintendent of Police.

Mumbai, being a prosperous port city even in those days, attracted European sailors who came to drink, gamble and make merry. It attracted a number of European prostitutes at that time who were a further menace in the city. But anti-social activities and deviancies were confined to a few foreigners and a few natives. Also, Pathans who came from Afganistan, seeking jobs as watchmen
in big houses or factories, engaged themselves in money lending business at exceedingly high rates of interest and used muscle power to recover the money if such chances occurred. To prevent these people from brewing illegal activities in Mumbai, Sir Patrick Kelly, the then Commissioner of Mumbai, in the year 1922, carried out a determined drive to push out such tough businessmen from the city. Also, the then Commissioners of Police, W. H. Wilson (1888-1893) and Hartley Kennedy (1899-1901) took similar action against white prostitutes and their pimps, but only partially succeeded.

During the tenure of the first full time Police Commissioner, Sir Frank Souter (1864-88), a detective branch was opened which was renamed as CID by S.M. Edward (1906-16). Its main objectives were to curb prostitution and crimes in the city (Crime Branch, 1994). Till the British rule, only occasional crimes surfaced in the city mainly due to strong moral cultural values practised by people and also due to fear of severe punishment from the British administrators. Also, the circulation of money was very limited and confined to a very small section of rich people in the city. The growth of money power and the dominance of a newly emerged organized gang culture in Mumbai, revolving around the "chittis" (money) and bloodshed, began in the form of predatory crimes or street crimes only after Independence (the 50's).

**Evolution of Street Gangs during 50's**

Like other old metropolises in the country, Mumbai also grew under the influence of pre-Independence British colonization. As a port city, as mentioned earlier, since decades Mumbai has been considered as one of the important commercial centers. Its locational advantage made the city convenient for importing and exporting goods and materials. The manifestation of Mumbai gangs also began from the port areas.

Initially, during 40's and 50's, these gangs in the city were more known as 'street hoodlums' or 'street gangs'. The modern law and order agency in policing Mumbai, was initially created to tackle these "street gangs" who used to rob the
sailors in the bay shore and the people in the lonely streets of Mumbai. Mr. Aungier, the then governor of Mumbai, in 1969, established a militia of six hundred people of ‘bhandari’ community in order to combat such types of predatory crimes committed by these ‘street hoodlums’ (Crime Branch, 1970, Mumbai).

However, street gangs remained street gangs till 50’s under the leadership of certain ‘dadas’ (the group leaders). The main weapon they used was popularly known as ‘Rampuri Chaku’ (the native made knives). The activities used to be confined to certain areas led by leader of the gang. Besides robbing sailors or people on the streets or the bay-shore, they used to collect ‘haftas’ (as protection money) from the prostitutes, small businessmen or a few petty hawkers on the streets in certain localities of the city.

But, over a period, such “street gangs” became subsided or started disintegrating because either their leaders died or were incarcerated for a long period. A few of them diverted to some legitimate business, after amassing wealth through illegitimate means (Crime Branch, Mumbai, 1960).

**Implementation of New Policies and Formation of Organized Gangs in Mumbai during 60’s and 70’s**

The above low profile of criminal activities changed its course due to certain policies of state or central governments which were meant for betterment of people but, as their after effect, created favourable ground for new kind of crimes, which, in due course of time, were to take the shape of well organized crimes more related to properties and wealth. The imposition of a ban on alcohol and gambling by the Maharasthra Government gave rise to the clandestine illicit liquor in the form of ‘bootlegging’. The scenario of the criminal world in the city suddenly changed due to the Prohibition Act (1949). In a city like Mumbai, where the cost of alcohol was understandably high, bootlegging became a booming business in the black-market. It not only attracted street hoodlums of the city but also gave rise to another illegal activity of gambling, popularly known as the “matka”. As a result,
the gangs who gained success in bootlegging and ‘matka’ playing became more powerful and influential by expanding their illegal activities, networks and manpower. This was a stepping stone to organized crime in Mumbai city during the 60’s in the true sense of the term.

Emergence of Vardha Rajan, Hazi Mastan, Yusuf Patel and A few Pathans as Heroes of Underworld

One of such organised gangs, which gained fame for its multifarious criminal activities, was that of Vardharajan Mudliar, popularly known as the Vardhabahi in the underworld. Vardharajan who started his career as an unlicensed porter at the V. T Railway Station, took to petty thefts in the dock area where pilfering of imported materials was a tradition of the 60’s underworld business. The big name emerged of Hazi Mastan who specialized in smuggling of gold, silver and electronic goods and gave tutelage to Vardharajan. In a few years time, Vardharajan came in contact with Lambu Muttu, a bootlegger from the Rawli Camp and soon joined hands with him in the business of illicit distillation and sale of liquor. Within a few years, Muttu was killed by Vardha’s associates and Vardha multiplied his clout manifold by expanding his world of crime (Crime Branch, 1960, Mumbai). Soon he became a protective umbrella for other small bootleggers and ‘matka’ (gambling) dens. Once they accepted Vardha’s leadership, they would carry on their illicit trade with impunity. Vardha could provide such a protection to other bootleggers by being in touch and with the co-operation of a few police officers. His cordiality was equally effective with other law enforcement agencies and organizations in the city, like Mumbai Municipal Corporation, Customs & Excise and Income Tax Departments (Crime Branch, 1994 Mumbai). Vardharajan later expanded his business to “khandani” (extortion), “supari” (hired killing), passport racketing, etc. He predominantly ruled the underworld of Bombay during 60s - 80’s. He became so powerful that he started holding ‘darbar’ (the session for trial and justice) for instant justice. He gained popularity also because he brought hundreds of poor Tamil youths from Tamil Nadu State and provided them employment in his gang and liberally helped the poor Tamil
residents of Dharavi slum area which subsequently took shape as the largest slum in Asia, and also a shelter for the criminals.

To neutralize the law, he expanded his influence in politics also, contributing money generously to political parties and providing them volunteers during election campaigns, etc. He also showed political intelligence by not entering into the gang wars. On the contrary, he trapped many opponent gangsters in legal dragnet and later helped to earn their loyalty for his gang. At the end of the 80’s when the Mumbai Police Department became tough on him, Vardha gradually withdrew himself from the crime world and later died due to illness in his own village. But his death was not the end of organized crime, not even the 'matka' business, as it still brought fortunes to small gangs in the seventies, like Prashant Bhai, Balu Thane, and subsequently to Dilip Kulkarni, an associate of Gawli (Crime Branch, 2001, Mumbai).

As stated above, while Vardha was ruling the northern part of the city through large scale bootlegging, dock theft, smuggling during sixties and seventies, Hazi Mastan and Yusuf Patel of Dongri and Pydhoni areas from South Bombay opened a new front of smuggling activities. Although united for the cause of crime, Hazi Mastan and Yusuf Patel (another king pin of the underworld) were divided by personal and monetary interests. Hazi Mastan even hired two Pakistani nationals to murder Yusuf Patel and left him seriously injured. The incident established the supremacy of Hazi Mastan in south Mumbai during the seventies. When Mastan and Patel were dexterously ruling the field of 'smuggling', Karim Lala, a "Pathan" from Afganistan ran the business of drug trafficking and 'supari' rackets in Mumbai. It was the Pathan gang mainly which had introduced Bombay to the violent organized crimes. Karim Lala also became the leader of Jirag-e-hind, an association of Pakhtun nationals hired henchmen who helped Lala to run the drug peddling, extortion and 'supari killings'. Alamjeb and Amirjada were prominent among them.
The huge uncounted money acquired by these criminals waslavishly spent on holding ‘muzras’ (the dance and music sessions mostly performed by prostitutes), cocktail parties and high stake gambling, which attracted unemployed youth. Like Vardharajan exploiting the Tamilian youths by pushing them into crime, Haji Mastan, Yusuf Patel and Karim Lala used young Muslim migrants as carriers or escorts for smuggled goods and for collecting the "hafta". During the mid-seventies, the imposition of Emergency gave these youth an opportunity to force their way to the control of smuggling activities because Hazi Mastan and Yusuf Patel’s detention under the NASA created a vacuum in the smuggling market.

The activities of the underworld in the sixties and seventies in Mumbai were predominantly centered around activities of smuggling, bootlegging, gambling and prostitution (though Yusuf Patel, sought interest in building construction activity inNagpada and Dongri areas). "Rampuri chaku" and sword were the predominant weapons that were used in those days. It was Karim Lala’s “Pathan gang” that was more prone to violence while operating criminal activities. It finally led to the emergence of "gang war" which gave birth to another notorious gangster, Dawood Ibrahim (a Muslim youth from the coastal belt of Maharashtra), who was to virtually rule the crime world of Mumbai in decades to come.

**Emergence of Dawood Gang in late 70’s**

In the year 1972, general elections saw the birth of a party called “young party” which comprised of a few fanatic Muslim youths and formed by Maulana Ziauddin Bukhari, mainly with an objective to eliminate his rivals from the religious power. Dawood Ibrahim, along with his brother Shabir Ibrahim, took a leading role in the “young party”. Due to an election petition Bukhari was summoned to Bombay High Court, and much later when he failed to strengthen the youth party’, he withdrew his patronage from it. Dawood brothers took the responsibility to run the party and to meet its expenses, he committed a decoity of Rs4 lakhs in 1974. Slowly he raised his cadre in the criminal world.
It would be important to mention here that during late seventies, the state judiciary adopted a liberal bail policy even for serious criminals because there were a large number of criminals languishing in several jails of Mumbai. The policy got further reinforced by Justice Krishna Iyer's historic judgement in 1977, stressing on "bail but not jail". Corrupt police officials, lawyers with unethical practices and liberal judiciary added to the situation. As reported by the press (Times of India, 10.10.1983): "....While police complain about the "bail not jail" permissiveness of the Cr. P.C, the fact is that powerful gangsters also "arrange" for police officers and prosecutors not to oppose their bail application by not appearing in court at all or not producing the required papers at right time. These gangsters are also able to subsequently "arrange" for the cases to be tried by a judge of their choice. Police, legal and government circles are humming with stories of Rs.200,000 paid to a judge trying a notorious criminal". Taking full advantage of such corrupt and vulnerable situations, Dawood Ibrahim was bailed out in 1978, and soon formed his own gang as the main rival of the Pathan gangs. He began with smuggling goods, transporting and protection money but, within few years time, made entry in all possible illegitimate means of making black money and spread his clout in the criminal world.

Mumbai as a Commercial Capital of the Country and Changing Crime Culture of Organized Gangs during the 80's

By the early eighties, Mumbai showed all signs of becoming the key centre of India in creating private wealth - through fair and foul means. Till then, the non-agricultural economy mainly consisted of peripheral industrialisation and active trade & commerce. In fact, Indian businessmen preferred quick returns on their investment and therefore trade & commerce flourished in cities like Mumbai, Surat and Ahmedabad from where the Gujarati and Marwari businessmen (the key capital owners in the country) actively operated. Trade in textiles, chemicals, diamonds, gold, sugar, building materials and such other items was mainly controlled by them. Their activity was not confined to trade but slowly extended to other activities like financial, real estate and even illegal activities like "havala" (the money laundering). Building (and construction) and real estate provided
immense opportunities for profiteering and speculation. Thus, the rich of Mumbai rapidly amassed huge wealth, and in doing so, did not hesitate in extending their activities to business crime. Corruption and decay of political values facilitated such a process which also brought fortunes to the politicians and corrupt government officials. Such a business environment created an 'opportunistic culture' in the city. It also opened a new lucrative business for the criminal world - the extortion of money from the rich. The nexus between the politicians, businessmen and criminals became more and more evident and took extreme shapes in activities like the 'mafia' turned builders turned politicians encroaching the whole Vasai-Virar region and developing it by violating all norms and rules & regulations (Sharma, R. N. 2000). Film industry created and attracted the black money. During the 80's there was economic recession in the country but Mumbai continued to grow commercially and industrially. But the major setback was the prolonged textile strike of 1981-82 which rendered nearly 1.5 lakhs mill workers jobless causing untold hardships to their families. The strike forced a few mill hands and their children to join the ranks of 'goondas' to make the two ends meet (Crime Branch, 1994). This theory of the police department of Mumbai is not accepted by many trade union leaders and social activists. However, a few reportings in the press (Times of India, 28.11.98) indicate such a possibility: "...whittling past the gaily purple and yet strangely decongested Lower Parel Station on Mumbai's Western Railway line, "Fauji"— for that is how he will describe himself — once a mill worker and now a "mathadi" leader, talks about the breakdown of the textile mills, of organized working life in Mumbai, of theory of diminishing returns .....is now a senior member of Gawli Gang". Looking back in eighties, he narrates "...underworld taps young sons of redundant mill workers, industrial laborers, .....says "Fauji" .....a 20 years veteran in the textile mills. It began innocuously enough. The boy may be asked to keep a watch on the movement of a particular person or policeman. Or just count the number of times a patrol van comes to a particular gully. For this he is paid upto 2,000, a handsome bonus for a family with a monthly income between Rs. 800 to Rs. 1,000"
Today the vast areas under the textile mills and the "chawls" around them in Central Mumbai have become ideal hide-outs of gangsters. The likes of Arun Gawli gang and Amar Naik are the products of mill workers strike (Crime Branch, Mumbai, 2001). From here, the emergence of the gangsters of Hindu community began its spiral journey upwards.

The press (Times of India: 28.11.98) reported a disturbing trend in Mumbai's textile world: "...where there is no exact statistics to quantify the unemployed or redundant workers who stray into crimes, a study of Mumbai's economic development in the last two decades could serve as an indication. In 1976, as much as 27.5% of the city's population was employed in the textile mills. This figure plummeted to 12.5% by 1991 and has dipped to a single digit in 1998. Between 1976 and 1991, 1.33 lakh workers in the cotton textile industry were retrenched....". As economic pressures increase, there could be a gradual breakdown of socio-economic structure pushing the family into uncertainty of future. "...As long as the mills functioned, the social life of the workers remained organized, says an economist in the city, the breakdown of such mills since early 80s shattered the pattern, especially in the Parel, Lalburgh and Worli areas".... According to a criminologist, "...for these second generation of migrants there is no village to go back to. Mumbai is the only home they have known. So, what we have is a class of people that feels deprived, existing in an urban climate of expressiveness that encourage to let it hang out — its a lethal combination" The fluctuations in the unorganized sector — 2,500 units shut down in Thane- Belapur belt alone in the last couple of years, sluggish real estate market and a virtual halt in the manufacturing industry has broken the backbone of the city's labor pool leading a large population into the organized underworld as parallel employment body (Times of India, ibid). These observations at the most can be taken as speculative. However, the fact remains that though a large majority of the retrenched textile workers entered into the informal sector for their survival through hawking, auto-rickshaw driving, and so on (Bhawmik, undated), a small section of them — more so their youth - might have taken to the above stated illegal criminal activities.
It is also important to mention here that since the late seventies, the land prices started rising rapidly in certain pockets of Mumbai, especially in northwestern suburbs and South Mumbai area, and later on, all over the city. In the beginning of eighties, the Crime in India (1980, 10th August) recorded the "...harsh reality of housing in extended suburbs of Bombay ... a modest 500 square feet flat - costed nothing less than Rs. 1 lakh at today’s price" (P: 4).

This newly emerging situation led to the development of another form of gangland activities, the entry of underworld in the real estate business. Along with the real estate business, they also entered into the financing / constructing of housing complexes and also the older practice of evicting the tenants at a premium from the landlords. Earlier, when Mumbai was yet to be a commercial capital, real estate was a non-profitable business. Many landowners gave their spacious houses on rent through a long-term contractual lease basis, called the "pagdi" system. A fixed amount of 30-50 thousands in advance and then giving the property on a monthly fixed rent (meager amount like Rs.50 to Rs.200). That time, renting out was considered to be more profitable than selling out the house/property. With the escalation of land/property prices, the landlords desperately sought legal or illegal help to get back their properties. Thus, the muscle power became more useful and predominant in this regard, particularly in the areas of south, north and north-western Mumbai, where industry and commerce were gradually setting up their base.

The builders and other real estate businessmen kept close contacts with the criminal gangs for forceful eviction of lawful tenants. Times of India (Aug.20, 1993, p: 4) described the picture thus: "...a big spurt of the house building activity in the private sector has created a new class of building contractors and their associates each one of whom earns hundred times more than what a skilled surgeon in a government hospital or a scientist in a space laboratory gets by way of a monthly wage. The news also refers to the connivance of musclemen with the builders to clear lands for unlawful development and to evict tenants lawfully occupying their places".
It would also be important to mention here that with a price of land beyond one's access, slums started sprawling everywhere. There, the small stature muscle men and the slum lords started encroaching government or private lands and sold the plots/slum structures to the migrant poor. These slum lords created their own 'taught boys' to carry out the task (including collection of the "hafta" from petty businessmen or hawkers in their localities). These slum lords and their 'tough guys' became local leaders and volunteers of political parties active in the city. Thus the nexus between the politicians, criminals and slum lords became more obvious and stronger since the 80's. Under such circumstances, the gangs became important even in the social life of the poor and gradually erected their local empires under the patronage of hardcore criminal gangs. With more and more patronage from certain politicians, they organised a criminal culture in the city which pervaded the money, political and muscle power. The distinction between a municipal counsellor, a slum lord, a local dada and even local political leaders started getting blurred.

Much later, in late 80's, as Mumbai took the form of a metropolis in the real sense, the culture of pubs and clubs started booming to meet the demands of the rich. The film industry also amassed wealth as the black money started flowing in. The films, the hotels, the real estate and the illegal business amassed wealth which led to another aspect of organized crime —the extortion of money. Extorting ransom from the rich or entering into the real estate business by building houses, hotels, bars, offices, cinema, 'matka' dens, etc became a booming business of the underworld. The law & order agencies were either not equipped to deal with them, or became vulnerable due to the lure of huge amounts of illegal money. With the politicians openly hobnobbing with the underworld, a section of the policemen fell prey to the nefarious designs of the underworld.

Such a decay of political and moral values also had a fall out on newly emerging patterns of gangland activities and lowered the morale of people. The trend bred a new culture of crime. The mushrooming growth of restaurants, liquor bars, video parlors, nude shows and introduction of female waitress system in restaurant-cum-bars gave a spurt to related illegal activities like drugs,
gambling and prostitution. It not only attracted hardcore criminal gangs with the purpose of fun, profit and power, but also lured the youth in joining such activities. Times of India (1983, 23.08, P: 4), rightly commented on it: "these new parasitic classes invested their accumulated wealth to open new hotels with the legal facility to have permit rooms and video shows, gambling dens under the guise of "social club" and illicit liquor complexes, while their muscle men commit crimes including molestation and rapes in their "spare time".

In Mumbai many gangs, particularly those of Dawood Ibrahim and of Karim Lala invested money in real estate in the mid 80's. Many hotels, like Poonam International, Horizon, Cesar's Palace; theaterhalls like, Metro, Shalimar, Ganga-Jamuna, and Apsara had illegitimate money invested to legitimize the black money and with the purpose of earning millions in the near future (Crime Branch, Mumbai, 2002).

**Emergence of New Gangs and Gang-War of Mid Eighties**

Mumbai, during 80's, was thus growing at a rapid pace both in illegitimate and legitimate ways. The huge amount of wealth and power with the mafia led to disputes and competition among the gangs. Initially it was between the Dawood and the Pathan gang but after the Pathan gang was eliminated by Dawood, Rama Naik (an associate of Dawood) had split with him and formed his own gang.

Rama Naik could bring several existing small gangs successfully under his umbrella during the 80's. For example, gangs of Chhota Babu of Cross Galli, Sada Powle Gang of Kanjur Marg, Kiran Walalkar Gang of Sion, Paul Patrick and Newman Gang of Colaba, Ashok Joshi Gang of Kanjur marg and Vijay Tandel of Prabhadevi became subservient to him. Naik, thus, expanded his influence and activities across the city. But he was killed by the Mumbai police in an encounter in 1988. This led to the emergence of another leader of the gang: Arun Gawli. Gawli mainly operated from Agripada, (South Mumbai), whereas Dawood ruled from the Nagpada area. Soon two other significant gangs emerged in late eighties: Amar Naik in Dadar area and Babloo Srivastava. Babloo Srivastava introduced
Mumbai to a new kidnapping culture of rich businessmen, after he had considerable success in this act in northern India, especially in Delhi (Crime Branch, 2001, Mumbai). The opportunities and factionalism within the larger gangs, inevitably led to gang warfare.

The first gang war between Yusuf Patel and Karim Lala was rooted in the long-standing culture of "khallas" (killing of the opponent) which gradually appeared in a big way during mid 80's. But the Crime Company of Dawood Ibrahim continued to be the largest network in operation in Mumbai. Gawli appeared to be the main danger to Dawood, and accordingly the war between these two top kingpins of the crime world led to killings of several of their members.

From early eighties to the end of the decade, the killings of gangsters were limited predominantly to those between gangs as an outcome of their rivalry. Mumbai police did not play a significant role in the control of gangland activities till the first half of nineties, and ‘police encounters' didn't appear to be deterrent to these gangs. In the decades of 70s and 80s, in gang wars more than hundred gang members were attacked and severely injured and more than fifty were killed. The following table provides a list of attacks on gangsters by other gangs during a single decade. The information provides only a partial picture. The killings were much more than the official records.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Nature of Crime</th>
<th>Victim Gang</th>
<th>Rival Gang</th>
<th>Number of Victims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Attempt to Murder</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>Pathan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>Pathan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>Pathan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>Pathan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Pathan</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Ramanik</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>Ramanik</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Pathan</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Attempt to Murder</td>
<td>Ramanik</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>Attempt to Murder</td>
<td>Gawli</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>Gawli</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Gawli</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>Attempt to Murder</td>
<td>Amar Naik</td>
<td>Gawli</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Crime Branch, Mumbai, 1994
Among the gang warfares, Dawood’s was the main rival gang to which all other contemporary and extinguished gangs have shown their enmity. But the rivalry between Gawli and Dawood was the most prominent in the late eighties. Later on, Amar Naik also became Gawli’s major rival. The killing of hundreds in gangwars though it was due to rivalry between gangs, the objectives were of keeping a hold on the city for making fast “chittis” (bucks) in terms of millions and millions through extortion, hafta, forceful eviction, capturing real estate business in certain areas, kidnapping, and by committing more serious crimes like I smuggling of drugs, arms and other contraband goods, and contract killings.

Thus, bloodshed was inevitable in such a crime scenario and became a common phenomenon of the underworld. Once the sophisticated arms and ammunition also made an entry into the underworld, the gun culture became the most popular and useful instrument for the underworld. As stated by the press (Times of India, 1983:10): “…Gone are the days when men who became Bombay’s smuggler kings in the 70’s used to smuggle land goods at night and flee at a single shot from the customs. Gone are the days when a policeman carrying only a stick could control armed criminals. Today even ordinary henchmen are well armed and exchange bullets with customs and police”.

Thus, gangland activities in the early nineties made a deep impact on the city by creating widespread lawlessness that became a major concern for the law and order agencies, and a nightmare to the public.

Economic Resurgence and Explosion of Gangland Activities in Illegal Trades and Commerce during the 90’s

During the early 90’s the recession in the economy of the country led to an influx of thousands of people every day towards the most prosperous city, Mumbai. The population pressure was mounting from all over the country, especially from backward states like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Thousands of migrants, particularly a large number of youth, seeking better means of life flocked to the city. Such a trend has changed the demographic composition of the
city over the last two decades. A few migrant youth from U. P and Bihar belong to the 'rising castes' which have been challenging the age old supremacy of the higher castes. These youth have already tasted the fruits of defiance at their place of origin, by involving themselves in unlawful activities, like violet quarrels, property crimes and even kidnapping. They could be potential recruits of the criminal gangs.

**Police and Gang Nexus in Crime Culture**

The growth of slums, encroachment of government lands, poverty and unemployment have become the darker side of growth of the city over past few decades. The city has expanded upto 437 square kms. and is still expanding. It has a stable population of 14 million and another floating two lakhs due to seasonal migration. The annual rate of population growth of Mumbai Metropolitan Region even reached 5.2% as against the country's growth rate of 2% with a population density of 3236 per square kms, in past two and half decades (Crime Branch, 2001, Mumbai). Much of this growing population is being channelized into the vast slums in the eastern and western suburbs which are becoming increasingly difficult to manage by the police for obvious reasons. Gambling and bootlegging have become common in these ghettoes (Times, of India, 1983, July, 25th). In no way one can ignore the property crimes, gambling / betting and money laundering activities which are also widespread among the rich sections of the city population.

In these expanded slums another source of strength emerges which is shocking to even accept. It is the defiant youth of police personnel. The propensity to take to "goondaism" among the children of policemen is quite high on account of widespread unemployment among them and the ghetto mentality that prevails in such residential pockets. About 50% of the grassroot police personnel live in slum areas where it is virtually impossible to enforce the rule of law. The uncertainty of jobs, adversity of basic necessary entitlements, anonymity, defiant behaviour and active role of slum lords and 'political volunteers' have adversely affected even the youth of police constables.
It would be foolhardy, if one assumes that the poverty alone leads to crimes; instead the paucity of an environment for a healthy quality of life should be considered as an important factor inducing crime. The same applies to the children of a few policemen or the policemen themselves who are lured by the quick money and get involved in several criminal acts. For example, Dawood Ibrahim who once ruled the crime world of Mumbai was the son of a policeman. Ravindra Sawant, who made an attempt on the gangster, Aswin Naik in the court premises in 1994, was also the son of a policeman. Recently, when the extortion racket has become a widespread activity of criminal gangs, a few policemen were caught in such cases.

According to the Mumbai Crime Branch Report (2001), the most disturbing trend which comes into focus through the police investigations is that a few police personnel have direct involvement in gang activities. Poor salaries and stagnation in the post also make these personnel vulnerable to such acts. As also reported in the press (Times of India, 1980, Aug 11th): "...the morale of police force depends on proper salary and motivation. Today both are lacking", when "...the backbone of the force is the constabulary, motivation is a big factor in keeping a constable straight". Such vulnerability has been noticed, felt and capitalized upon by the gang in the city to keep them in their favor by bribing them with a good package of chittis (money).

For example, the police station at Tilaknagar, has always maintained a cordial relation with the Rajan gang which operates mainly from that area. Till the mid-nineties no strict action could be taken against the gang. It is also found that in quite a few areas of Mumbai, the police officers are regularly paid the protection money which runs into thousands of rupees, by those gangs which operate liquor - bars, gambling (including the Matka playing), dance clubs, bootlegging, and so on (Crime Branch, 1994, Mumbai). Besides the financial gains, there are a few lower grade police personnel, mainly constables, who show moral sympathy (on ethnic grounds) to a few gang leaders, mainly the Hindus. For example, Amar Naik had sympathizers from the lower rank of the police force,
and some of them even actively worked for such criminal lords especially in the
raid-nineties. Amar Naik's personal diary, that came into the hands of the police
department, contained many names from the civil front and the law and order
department.

One of the senior gang members who turned into a political leader in recent
years, narrated his job "in the gang hierarchy, his designation was a "social
worker". The job description was less ambiguous: he was to bribe lawyers, lower
court magistrates and police to ensure if not quick discharge, at least judicial
rather than police custody for the boys — so they were not bashed up by the
cops"(Times of India, 1998, Nov., 28th). It is also true that the contacts of a few
police personnel with the underworld helped the Department in nabbing several
criminals and even executing the 'police encounters'.

Influence of Gang Leaders in Prisons

The influence and dominance of the gang leaders prevails even when they
are incarcerated and kept in jails. Sometimes rather they consider it safer to be in
jail and operate their business from there. They influence the prison personnel to
allow them to communicate freely and even plan extortions and killings. Within
the jail premises, they are safer as there are less or no chances for counter attack
from the rival gangs (Crime Branch, 1994). As informed by the Mumbai police,
most of the killings carried out at the behest of Arun Gawli, were ordered by the
gangster while he was lodged in the jail. For instance, the assassination of Jayant
Jadhav, a close associate of Shiv Sena Chief, at Dadar in 1995, was carried out at
the orders of Arun Gawli who then was in Amaravati Jail. Apart from Gawli,
Babloo Srivastava and Amar Naik’s gangs are also known to operate from the
prison. As reported in the press (Times of India, 16.11.2000), "...the gangsters are
constantly in touch with their aides through mobile phones, which they manage to
sneak into the prison. Acting on one such information, former home minister, in
1999, had raided the Thane and Arthur Road Prisons and seized a number of
phones from the under trials. This gives a clear indication of liaison between the
prison personnel and underworld leading to lack of supervision, insecurity and
increasing corruption within the correctional system”. (For more detail, see a press note on the next page).

**Politician - Criminal Nexus and Criminalisation of Politics**

Politician - criminal nexus has also become an important dimension in the growth of “mafia raj” in the city. As India rates higher on the corruption index in all walks of life, white-collar crimes are not a new phenomena. In the context of Mumbai, it always remained true that politicians at times needed muscle power to capitalize on certain areas or collected black money to support elections or built their own personal fortunes. Politician getting kickbacks from the builders, contractors and businessmen, is not a new thing. What is surprising is the growing nexus between politicians and criminals and also criminalisation of politics through the entry of criminals into politics. Thus, politicians become privy to the crimes that the gangs, to which these politicians are aligned, perform. As the police record shows (Crime Branch, 1994, Mumbai), during early nineties, even a councillor allowed his office to be used for Makadwala Gang to assemble before the errand killings. Infact, it's a popular notion that one of the (existing) leading politicians from Maharashtra offered patronage to Dawood Ibrahim, and used the later to increase his political clout in the State.

An ex-MLA from the 'Young Party", during early nineties, was shot dead by Gawli to send message to Dawood Ibrahim, with whom the victim was closely associated, that it was in retaliation of Dawood’s executing bomb-blast in the Dagdi Chawl, the locality ruled by Gawli. This is not a solitary event. During late 80s, when Babu Rashim of Rama Naik gang and later Rama Naik himself were killed, several politicians and even MLAs and municipal corporators belonging to the then ruling party in Maharashta attended their funerals and eulogized them as ‘social workers, excellent leaders and good Samaritans who cared for the poor, and so on’. Obviously this was done not only to discharge past debts of gratitude but to ingratiate themselves with the associates of the deceased whose help they would be needing in future.
Jail No Bar for Dons

Times of India 16/11/2000

Gawil, another gangster, Babloo Shrivastava was also known to operate from prison. In 1994, he had organised the abduction of industrialist Vishwanath Mittal in Mumbai. Mittal was abducted from Nanman Point, but he was rescued by the police at Bandra after a dramatic chase. Shrivastava was then lodged in Naini jail in Allahabad.

Sources reveal that the gangsters are constantly in touch with their aides through mobile phones, which they manage to sneak into prison. Acting on such information, former home minister Gopinath Munde had raided the Thane and Arthur Road prisons last year and seized a number of phones from the undertrials.

Speaking to Bombay Times, Police Commissioner M N Singh said that it was easy to pass messages from prison as the undertrials are allowed to meet their relatives and friends. Singh added that the undertrials also managed to talk to their aides while being taken to the court or hospital. “This happens due to security lapses,” he admitted.

Also, the undertrials are allowed to write letters to their relatives from prison, which can be used to send messages. “Though the letters should be checked before dispatching, they usually go unchecked, again due to negligence,” Singh added.

Another Affair, Another Death

This time Neeta Naik paid with her life. According to sources, a previous affair of Neeta’s had resulted in another killing. A marble slab had been killed in 1993 by the Amar Naik gang, for allegedly having a relationship with Neeta.

An officer involved in the investigation said that the victim had been involved in the renovation of the Naik residence at Thane’s building on N M Joshi Marg. During his period of work, he became close to Neeta. The duo had reportedly visited each other together. After the affair came to light, Neeta’s brother-in-law Amar ordered the killing. The cops initially worked on a mistaken identity theory. But when the city crime branch solved the case in 1994, the motive behind the murder was revealed.
Bhai Thakur, presently active in Vasai-Virar area of Mumbai especially in the real estate business, once was caught in the early 90’s. He confessed candidly before the CBI about the involvement of an MP of then leading party, which gave shelter to Dawood Gang for a meeting to be held at his own residence, for the J J hospital killing in 1992 (CBI, Report, 1994). Infact, while Bhai Thakur actively ran the smuggling business (in partnership with Dawood Ibrahim) from the Arnala Port of Vasai, his brother Hitendra Thakur provided the political support as he himself was an MLA belonging to the Congress Party. Later on both were arrested, and are now free to continue their criminal activities. All the mentioned cases clearly indicate criminal complicity with politicians and are a sinister implication to the growth of gangs and the security of common citizens.

Changing Spatial Direction of Gangland Activities in Mumbai

"If there is any gangland shootout, an extortion bid, or a police encounter, the chances are that they take place in the eastern suburbs. From Agripad, Dongri, Bhendi Bazar and Dagdi Chawl, Mumbai's crime venue is shifting to the western suburbs but more crucially to the eastern ones" (The Asian Age, 2000, Dec., 15th). The activities of organized crime, in recent years are gradually shifting from notorious Agripada in South Mumbai to greener pastures like Chembur and Tilak Nagar in eastern suburbs or Jogeshwari and Goregaon in western suburbs.

The city Mafia has undergone a change in their activity by observing the dimensions of the developing areas of real estate and predominantly, the flesh trade in suburban Mumbai (Crime Branch, 2001). Asian Age (ibid.) reported about it: "...till the early mid eighties the brothels were confined to Kamathipura and a few slum pockets across the city. But in the mid eighties, with the license forthcoming for what was termed ‘folk dances’, dancing bars mushroomed all over the city and prominently in the eastern suburbs. Dancing bars were essentially ‘pick up’ joints for customers to burn their money and have their will. This led to spawning of criminals and breeding grounds for existing gangs to effect recruitment”. It is further reported (ibid.): "...however, when the flesh trade spread its tentacles, the underworlds tendency to have clutter of activities in South
Mumbai weaned. Along with the crime wave, a fresh breed of unemployed youth on the lookout for an easy life started stalking the streets in the eastern suburbs which had until then only witnessed the shift of residences from central Mumbai.

The recent incidence, Vinod Shetty and Om Prakash Kukreja’s murders were executed in eastern suburbs. The emergence of Amar Naik gang and in the previous decade of Rajan gang in Chembur area has created infrastructural facility for the gangs. Small bars or pubs growing in number have become hideouts in the suburbs of the city (Crime Branch, Mumbai, 2001).

**Effect of Globalization and Liberal Economic Policy on Crime Culture of Gangs**

Due to the recession in earlier decades, in 1991, Indian Government took a liberal policy of economic resurgence. In this era of globalization and liberalization, India also opened up the gates of a free market economy to a significant extent, where privatization got a big boost in the country. It also gave fillip to already mushrooming illegal trade as commerce.

While implementing the policies on economic reforms, all schemes introduced to boost the foreign exchange were exposed to manipulation. This could be best explained by the VBAL scheme (Value Based Advanced License Scheme). The scheme had open provision where upto 60% of the export value would be allowed at zero import duty and no income tax on the foreign exchange. This itself gave birth to 'hawala' racket, where unscrupulous exporters started obtaining export licenses through bogus export orders and made huge profits by arranging foreign remittances through 'hawala' channels, an illegal banking system popularly known for converting black money circulation into the white.

Thus, the economic liberalization introduced by the government boosted the 'hawala' operation. According to an estimation, the 'hawala' transactions went upto $302 millions in the year 1994. During the 1992-93, in serial bomb blast cases in Mumbai, the main accused Tiger Memon and Moolchand Shah (Chowksi)
channelized their illegal money worth millions of dollars through ‘hawala’ operations. In recent years, such currency flight continues to be one of the most lucrative underworld operations in the city (Crime Branch, Mumbai, 2001).

By the 90’s, the violence of gangs had spread to almost all walks of life of the city, so much so that even killing of rival gang members in the court premises became common. The lawlessness had coincided with a collapse of police force and the absence of proper direction at the top level. Both police and the government were hiding at each other’s back to tackle the gangsters. The move to bring back TADA under a new form also caused considerable concern among the minority group. In contrast to last decades (80’s) gang wars, the first phase of 90’s witnessed more heinous bloodshed and ruthless killings of gangsters in rivalry, or extortion killings.

The life of common citizens became so vulnerable that in some localities if people developed disputes on property or otherwise, they started going to these ‘dadas’ for protection and justice rather than approaching the law and order agency. The Times of India (Dec 17th, 1988) vividly described: “…other than smuggling, extortion and protection rackets, the underworld has to its credit a parallel system of summary ‘justice’ that even respectable citizens have increasingly taken recourse to get back flats from tenants or settle civic disputes that take years to come in courts…. at best police now react to the killings committed in full view of the public and in the most brutal manner”. Crime Branch of Mumbai (1994) has reported that almost in every month of the 90’s there was killing of gangsters in such gang wars (Table 3.2).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Nature of Crime</th>
<th>Victim Gang</th>
<th>Rival Gang</th>
<th>Number of Victim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Gawli</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Amarnaik</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Kanjari</td>
<td>Gawli</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Dowed</td>
<td>Gawli</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>Amarnaik</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Amarnaik</td>
<td>Gawli</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Gawli</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>Other</td>
<td>Dawood</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>39</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rapid Growth of the Extortion Business

Though the crime culture of "hafta", "supari", smuggling or drug trafficking of 70's and 80's have earned crores of rupees to the underworld, their interest for earning more attracts their entry in new avenues of crimes. Moreover, a gang has to maintain its reign of members by not only employing them but also giving them an encouraging package of salaries as they risk their lives in the trade. CBI, Mumbai reports that even a relatively small gang, like that of Amar Naik or Gawli earned in crores in a month, and for a baron like Dawood Ibrahim, earnings touched no less than Rs.25 crores in a month. This is the situation when several of these kingpins of the underworld are now operating from outside the country, (for more information on the crime world, see two collages on next page).

Thus, when their middle range members are looking after the business of 'hafta' or 'smuggling' or running small clubs and pubs in the city, the leaders target big industrialists, traders or rich esteemed citizens for a ransom of money, while threatening on phone. The major crime culture that has replaced the protection money or "hafta" in a big way recent years is the form of "extortion". The target is not only the real estate but all booming sectors of industry & commerce which have become the sole source of exploitation and extortion by the major gangs in recent years. Furthermore, the deterrence they spread is the terror of violence and death. If the demand is not met, the target is inevitably attacked where death becomes the destiny. Few of the important areas / activities where the gangs have a big entry could be mentioned below: (for more information on the crime world, see three collages on next page).

I. Travel and Tourism

With the growing amount of power and money, gangs have also entered into international travel and tourism. For example, Dawood Ibrahim is reported to have had considerable stakes in the East-West Airlines (which is now wound up). Several travel agencies are also reported to be linked with Dawood Ibrahim. The main business handled by these travel agencies is that of sending the migrant -
THE 'D' COMPANY

The 'D' company has become the most notorious of our times, politicians to fixers to petty criminals. Dawood Ibrahim has them all in his pocket. A guide to the activities of one of the most notorious criminals of our times, as really happening in the Bombay underworld.

UP contract killers city youth bought by easy money, flourishing brothels take

FROM SH/O BROTHERS TAKE
A report confirms political-criminal link

A nodal agency suggested to combat menace

The Tribune India News Service
NEW DELHI, August 1

The Vohra committee report, which was tabled in Lok Sabha today by home minister B. Chavan and his deputy, V. M. Singh, in the Rajya Sabha, has established a nexus among the criminal syndicates operating in the country, police, bureaucracy and politicians. It has recommended the setting up of a nodal agency under the Home ministry to monitor these activities and ensure stringent action against criminals and their patrons.

The report has expressed apprehensions that the "mafias' elements" with considerable political clout could endanger national security and strategically important "smooth functioning of the administration". It is necessary that an institution be established to effectively deal with the menace, says the 1995 report.

The government has not indicated what it did with this report until the intervening period.

The much-awaited report speaks of the "dangerous role" of mafias which, it says, is running "a parallel government, pushing the state apparatus into inactivity". It would be the business of any politicians, but with regard to the criminals, by way of infiltration, names of Dawood Ibrahim and T-small Mitchell find mention.

The report recommends that, in addition to the Union home secretary, should be assured by one or more officials of the home ministry. The report, without naming any, recommends that the Union home secretary, who seems to have been selected on whom the home minister would be more receptive, should be pipped to the report of the nodal agency.

Although parliamentary affairs minister V.C. Khanna had told the Lok Sabha yesterday that it had about 100 pages, the document tabled today is of 178 pages and a half dozen pages plucked from the 1995 report. It appears to be a summary of the views expressed by its members and the final conclusions drawn and recommendations made by Mr Vohra himself. The report has expressed apprehensions that the nature of the issues involved, he did not think it was desirable to burden the members of the committee with any further involvement beyond the views expressed by them.

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A very sensible report comes from the IB chief who says: I in Black. Happens and IB in particular, these gangsters enjoy the patronage of local politicians, coming across party lines and conducting an effective campaign for political offices. Some political leaders become the leaders of these gangs and are involved in very few elections, taking part in elections,}

The committee considered how various intelligence and law enforcement agencies "work within their own restraints" and do not have any mandate to share information. The information should not be immediately passed on to one or more agencies.

The report secretary, another member of the committee, has commented on the "interagency" relationship between the criminal justice system and the pressures on the field officers. "In most cases, the police officers are not interested in the political leaders and the politicians are not interested in the police officers. The truth is that the politicians and the police officers are not interested in the other's work."

As an effective way out, this report, which has been a rapid spread of corruption, says in the report that "there is a need for a nodal agency to monitor various political activities, including those of state secretaries, who are engaged in other activities. The report says that the information should be shared with the leaders of the state secretaries, who are engaged in other activities."
Shabana’s plan may be

By Nuzer Shanbho

Mumbai: The state government is likely to formally announce its approval to Shabana Arzum’s proposal to reuse 20,000 squat

ter families of the slum land in Chandivali near Powai with the help of a developer, Sumer Corporation.

government sources said.

The slum dwellers, who were living illegally in the Sanjay Gandhi national park in Borivali,

erected a scuffle with the help of the developer, Sumer Corporation, government sources said.

Meanwhile, the news of resettlement of 20,000 slum dwellers in Chandivali has created a storm in the area, which is a sensitive N

The Chandivali area has 14 blocks, as many places and not so neat. Trails coming to end from the quarters are further complicated

It is understood that the builder undertaking the project will erect pustling, running into hundreds of crores. The developer will build five

Fig. VI

Salem stashed away

money in UAE banks

Some accounts traced, biggest yet is a

Rs 176.67-crore one in a Sharjah bank

Investigations by the police show that Salem and Belli invest-

ed in real estate in the U.S. and in the United States

and had the equivalent of Rs 3.95 crore in their union bank accounts.

In fact, it was their effort to sell off the property in the US at throwaway prices af-

er 9/11 that alerted the FBI. But, the biggest account that

has been traced yet is with the Union Na-

tional Bank in Sharjah, where Salem had a balance of

Rs 176.67 crore as of October 2002.

The transaction trail shows that Salem and Belli in their various

accounts sold stocks for one corner of the world to another.

As of now, Belli even sent two

accounts worth Rs 95,000 to an Italian

from Canara Bank to her father in

Norway and one Brj Bask in

CONTINUED ON PAG...2

How matka turned the

now mafia’s wheel of fortune

VEN as the mafia

shattered its forces in

the area around the

location, ‘matka’ remains

a menace to the people

of the state. Matka (chance

game) is an estimated Rs

5,000 crore business

monthly with as many as

R. Pratap, V. Narasimha

Rao, B. Nagath, B. S. B. N.

and others. Members of

the cartels, M. Harish, Chaitanya, B. S. B. V. N. and

Santosh Singh

have

been arrested in the past few months.

The game of matka is

played via telephone in

different parts of the

state. The police have

arrested many players

in recent times.

The game is played via

telephone in different

parts of the state. The

police have arrested

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times.

Fig. VI

Take shares worth Rs 2,000 cr under scrutiny

The problem of fake or duplicate

shares by certain investors during the

public share sale process has resur-

rected a case. According to the initial

report, the Securities and

Exchange Board of India (SEBI),

has been asked to

look into the matter.

To prevent the issue of such
duplicate shares, the SEBI has

been advised to take steps to

prevent the issuance of such
shares.

Investigations by the police show that Salem and Belli invest-

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times.
workers from India to the Middle East. These agencies collect hefty amounts from the migrants for getting them jobs in the Gulf-countries and arranging visas and the other travel documents for the purpose. Some of them are stated to indulge in preparing fake passports and other related documents and have their influence in the Passport Offices.

II. Drug Trafficking

Mumbai is the capital for drug trafficking. Since decades Mumbai criminals have taken advantage of Mumbai’s geographical location of being a port city. All the drugs going out of India pass through Mumbai. Heroin comes to Mumbai from Pakistan and Afghanistan after crossing Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Rajasthan borders. The port of Okha in Gujarat is also being used as a landing point for the drugs coming from Pakistan which ultimately finds its way to Mumbai. Of late, mandrux trafficking from India to South Africa has come to notice in a big way.

Dawood Ibrahim and Iqbal Mirchi are the top most drug traffickers of Mumbai. Smuggled drug travels via Mumbai to half of the world’s destinations, such as U.S.A, Canada, UAE, U.K, South Africa, Nigeria, Mauritius. Drug trafficking brings earnings of crores of rupees to these gangsters (Crime Branch, 1994, Mumbai). According to the official records, illegal drug trade is estimated in the year of 1994, in Mumbai to the tune of 500 crores and has increased to triple the amount in recent years (Crime Branch, 2001, Mumbai). Involvement of foreigners, particularly Pakistanis, Afghans, Srilankans, Nigerians, Tanzanians and Somalis in a big way is also evident.

According to the official records, between 1990 to 1994, more than 60 foreigners were arrested covering almost all the nationals in the world (Crime Branch). Several of them are found to have links with the Mumbai gangs. After the Serial Bomb Blast case in Mumbai (1992-93), Dawood Ibrahim, has shifted his attention more to drugs, extortions and arms smuggling (CBI Records).
III. Arms Trafficking

Much of the roots used for drugs trafficking also make way for the Arms trade in Mumbai. Within the country there is a ritualistic tradition of making hand made guns, popularly known as the "katta" especially in eastern Uttar Pradesh and Gaya district of Bihar. These country revolvers have a national market especially for the middle range gangsters in the city. Arms trade at the international level is operated in a big way by the major gangs in Mumbai, and it shows on alarming trend of rising (Crime Branch, Mumbai, 2001). In the bygone days of Hazi Mastan and Karim Lala's, local weapons, such as "rampurichaku" or dragger which were used are now obsolete weapons and a part of the history of Mumbai gangs. The technological advancement has made Mumbai gangsters fully equipped with modern weapons, fax machines, automobiles and sophisticated cars. All these accessories provide a glamorous picture which attracts the new generation of youth who are mesmerized with the consumer world. Today we find underworld using AK-series rifles, carbines, 9mm pistols, hand grenades, automatic machine guns and explosives. The Serial Bomb Blast Case in Mumbai, for example, led to the recovery of such arms and ammunitions from the criminal hide-outs (Table 3.3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Type of Weapons</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>RDX</td>
<td>3.5 tones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hand Grenade(Austria) Argies</td>
<td>459</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>AK 56 rifles</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>9mm Pistols</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Detonators</td>
<td>1150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Delay Switch No. 10</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ammunitions</td>
<td>49,000 rounds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Crime Branch, Mumbai, 2001
Other significant recoveries of the weapons are stated, as follows:

- In 1992, the recovery of arms and ammunitions of Rs. 2 crores from the Abdul Latif gang.
- In 1998, the recovery of Ak-56 rifles, 51 magazines, 110 hand grenades and 3300 cartridges from Dawood Ibrahim gang.
- In 1999, (April), 126 rounds of ammunitions from Chhota Rajan gang.
- In 1999, October, two Ak-56 rifles, 173 rounds of ammunitions, revolver with 171 rounds, star pistols of 9mm caliber, along with 205 rounds of ammunitions from Hanif Hazi Iamali Sumania, a resident of Bandra.
- In 1999, December, Ak-56 rifles, 5 hand grenades, 4 anti tank TNT shells, huge quantity of ammunitions and improvised explosive devices (Crime Branch, 2001, Mumbai).

According to the Mumbai Police (2001), arms trafficking still remains a grey area for them which needs more attention from the law and order agency. The arms trafficking by the gangs not only indicates immense wealth and power but also poses a threat to public life through terrorist activities.

IV. Housing Industry and Extortions

Land, as mentioned earlier, has become precious commodity in Mumbai, since the early eighties. Over decades, it has attracted the underworld. Almost all the existing gangs in Mumbai have entered into the industry either for ransom extortions or in building/construction activity. There appears no let up in real estate for profiteering and speculation. The quick and enormous profits in the land development and building activity make it an easy target for the criminal gangs, who find it easy target of extortions. They have killed builders, agents and financiers, if they dared to refuse the demands of extortions.

Thus, “extortion” is the popular culture of the crime world today. In several cases if the extortion money was denied, the target was killed. The amount involved in this business is mind-boggling. According to the Times of India (newspaper), (Nov. 14, 1998, p:8), “…In the boom years of the early nineties, real
Real estate business in Bombay alone was worth in excess of Rs.10 billion a year and growing at over 20% each year. Real estate contributed, on an average, 1 billion to the corpus of the gangland. This combined with collections from hotelier and other high-risk business, meant the "ganglords" had all the money they could ask for. In this dragnet, even the major construction companies are helplessly made alliance to give the share of the annual profit to the major gangs in the city. It is estimated that over 5000 youths are employed by various criminal gangs to collect information on the real estate and business projects involved fortunes, carry out extortions, threats and enter into killings of those who defy the dixat of the gang leaders.

Table 3.4 provides some crucial data on the extortions and killing cases in the city from 1997 to 2000, in the building industry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Incidents</th>
<th>Persons Killed</th>
<th>Person Injured</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Crime Branch, 2001, Mumbai

V. The Glamour of Film Industry & Its Crime Links

Another lucrative area of gangs' operation is extortions from the film industry. Film industry provides direct employment to nearly one million people in the city. Its annual turn over is about Rs.1250 crores. Large chunk of the transactions of money in the industry are through the black money. Gangs have entered in film industry with new culture like investing in the film (using the name of certain producers) or buying the proprietorship of films, music albums, etc. In quite a few cases, the trend is of killings if the concerned target does not meet the demand of certain gang. The following Table (3.5) provides information on the killings of film producers and personalities between 1994-2000. This activity of
criminals also attracts the youth who are lured by the overnight fortunes in the industry and dream to be part of the activity in one-way or the other. Glamorization of criminal world in Hindi films, adds to the ‘daring’ dreams of these criminal youth. The very recent arrest of Abu Salem at Lisbon in Portugal has brought into limelight his misdeeds in the crime world, which would bring shivers even to a policeman (see, ‘India Today, Oct. 7th, 2002).

Table 3.5: The number of attacks on film personalities during 1994-2000

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sr. No.</th>
<th>Year/date</th>
<th>Victim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>07/06/1994</td>
<td>Producer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>01/07/1994</td>
<td>Producer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>08/03/1997</td>
<td>Producer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>31/07/1997</td>
<td>Producer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>12/08/1997</td>
<td>Producer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>15/10/1999</td>
<td>Worker in shop of a producer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>20/11/1999</td>
<td>Watchman of producer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>15/12/1999</td>
<td>Distributor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>29/12/1999</td>
<td>Producer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>21/01/2000</td>
<td>Producer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>27/03/2000</td>
<td>Film Star</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Crime Branch, 2001, Mumbai

VI. Hotel Industry

The underworld gangs have made their entry into hotel industry since 80’s. The consumerist culture and the influence of westernization in creating a new ‘pub culture’ and ‘club culture’ in the city which have made hotel industry a very profitable and lucrative source of earnings. Before two and half decades, there were only a few hotels in places like Malad, Grant Road or Lalbagh. The first restaurant cum hotel ‘Sun Shine’ at Grant Road, is today one of the 12, 584 hotels in the city. This includes the ladies bars - 1000 in number, especially booming in suburbs of Mumbai, (Crime Branch, 2001, Mumbai). Millions of
dollars flowing in the industry have attracted the gangsters who find it another lucrative source of extortions. Presently the annual turnover of the industry is about 720 crores. Such a huge source of income has made it vulnerable towards crime, especially for the extortion. Table 3.5 provides relevant data on gangsters’ attacks on rich hoteliers in the city, for a few years.

Table 3.6: Frequency of Attacks on Hoteliers during 1995-98

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date/year</th>
<th>Victim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Crime Branch, 2001, Mumbai

VII. Crime world’s Entry into Cable Industry

As the pay channels have started in the cable industry, it has gradually gone out of the hands of middle range businessmen. In the last couple of years, the entry of a few rich businessmen in the cable industry has provided enough evidence of profits in the industry, and so it has attracted the attention of major gangs in the city. Criminal gangs are vying with each other to have control over the cable industry. In addition to extorting money from the cable operators, they are forcing cable companies to appoint their cronies as the sub-area operators. Gangs are against the use of fiber optics, as that would not require any maintenance or further investments. In Mumbai, besides a few small ones, Gawli gang has shown significant interest into this business and between 1998-99 the gang killed quite a few cable executives, as they had refused to yield to his demands.

New Trends in Gang Culture and Entry of Youth

The development that has opened up new challenges in the form of creation of tremendous wealth in trade and commerce has also strengthened the power and money nexus of the underworld syndicates in the last few decades in the city.
It has attracted a large section of youth into the gangland activities in Mumbai, since mid eighties. The reasons could be several but making a fast buck appears to be the apparent motive behind such acts.

In this regard, the Crime in India Report (1999) becomes relevant: "country's overall crime rate has remarkably reached a higher trend, especially in property crimes and other economic offences. A large number (more than 60%) of offenders fall under the age range of 20-32 years" (see table 3.7, table 3.8 and table 3.9). Such a trend of mass inclusion of the youth in the criminal world could be understood through the changing pattern of capitalist development in a city like Mumbai, which creates wealth for a few and illusions for the millions.

Table 3.7: Crimes Committed by Offenders in India in Different Years and in Different Age groups under the IPC and SLL (calculated by interpolation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>7-16 (0.55%)</th>
<th>16-21 (12.16%)</th>
<th>21-25 (28.96%)</th>
<th>25-50 (50.77%)</th>
<th>50+ (7.56%)</th>
<th>Total crimes (in lakhs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>0.24</td>
<td>5.34</td>
<td>12.71</td>
<td>22.29</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>43.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>6.08</td>
<td>14.47</td>
<td>25.36</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>49.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>6.33</td>
<td>15.08</td>
<td>26.43</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>52.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>6.54</td>
<td>15.57</td>
<td>27.30</td>
<td>4.06</td>
<td>53.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>0.27</td>
<td>5.96</td>
<td>14.18</td>
<td>24.87</td>
<td>3.70</td>
<td>48.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>0.28</td>
<td>6.14</td>
<td>14.62</td>
<td>25.63</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>50.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>0.29</td>
<td>6.38</td>
<td>15.20</td>
<td>26.64</td>
<td>3.93</td>
<td>52.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>6.61</td>
<td>15.73</td>
<td>27.58</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>54.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>6.70</td>
<td>15.96</td>
<td>27.99</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>55.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>7.29</td>
<td>17.36</td>
<td>30.43</td>
<td>4.53</td>
<td>59.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>7.66</td>
<td>18.23</td>
<td>31.97</td>
<td>4.76</td>
<td>62.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>0.35</td>
<td>7.80</td>
<td>18.57</td>
<td>32.55</td>
<td>4.84</td>
<td>64.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1998</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>7.51</td>
<td>17.90</td>
<td>31.38</td>
<td>4.67</td>
<td>61.80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Crime in India, 1998: 42.
Table 3.8: Percentage of Different Types of Crimes under the IPC Committed by Criminals of Different Age Group (including youths i.e., between 16-25 years) in India in 1998 (calculated by interpolation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>All age groups</th>
<th>% of total crime in India</th>
<th>16-21</th>
<th>21-25</th>
<th>25-50</th>
<th>50+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>2,87,792</td>
<td>16.18</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary</td>
<td>1,19,130</td>
<td>6.70</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder &amp; attempt to murder</td>
<td>69,360</td>
<td>3.90</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riots</td>
<td>91,201</td>
<td>5.12</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cheating</td>
<td>38,173</td>
<td>2.14</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>23,565</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidnapping &amp; abduction</td>
<td>23,504</td>
<td>1.32</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>15,031</td>
<td>0.84</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criminal breach of trust</td>
<td>16,186</td>
<td>0.90</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dacoity</td>
<td>8,064</td>
<td>0.45</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>10,87,105</td>
<td>61.13</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>28.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17,79,111</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>9785</td>
<td>216340</td>
<td>515231</td>
<td>9032543</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Crime in India, 1998: 44.

Table 3.9: Percentage of Different Crimes Under the Local and Special Laws Committed by Criminals in All Age Groups (including Youths, i.e., between 16-25 years) in India in 1998 (Calculated by interpolation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime</th>
<th>Total L&amp;L Crime in India in 1998</th>
<th>Percentage of Crimes by Youth (16-25 years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prohibition Act</td>
<td>5,40,157</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gambling Act</td>
<td>1,12,311</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excise Act</td>
<td>1,11,625</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arms Act</td>
<td>63,518</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railway Act</td>
<td>40,123</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Narcotic Drugs and Substances Act</td>
<td>18,273</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immoral Traffic Act</td>
<td>3,695</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC/ST Atrocities Act</td>
<td>14,578</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>34,97,605</td>
<td>79.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44,01,885</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The 'city life' that has experienced development in a unique way has opened up several challenges before the young generation. They witness stark contrasts in life situations: power and umpteen amount of wealth on one hand, and scarcity, unemployment, underemployment, ill-employment, anxiety, frustrations and desperation, on the other. The typical socio-economic circumstances prevailing since the advent of Independence have led to a wide socio-economic
disparity among the people, causing frustrations and anger, particularly amongst youth. The failure of government to perform the role of a welfare state has left a large number of youth disillusioned with the prevailing system and values. Sections of such disillusioned youth become easy target of the criminal world who use them as 'carriers' for their heinous crimes.

Furthermore, in an increasingly fragmented material world, which appears to offer more opportunities to more people, many are blocked by the limitations of sources and provide a bleak future for these youth. The desire they hold today is about a consumer life introduced to them through the media that gives a hope to a viable future, which is prized but the lack of accessibility is predominant. Thus, the outcome leads to the non-conformity of behaviour. The trend to defy the imperatives of the courts and other institutions and get things done through non-normative means has become the rule of success. In the opportunistic culture of Mumbai, which only provides degraded and anonymous life to a majority of its youth, the latter are bound to choose a defiant path if it brings some rewards to their dream world.

The gangs have created a parallel source of employment, which offers adventurous (though dangerous) living to the disillusioned youth. Once they are recruited by a gang, they are given cellophones, sophisticated weapons (with a few days training) and vehicles to move around. This makes the youth feels important, with a hope of become a "bhai". Thus, the lure of "fast bucks", adventure and craving for self-identity may push the youth to the underworld. The organized gangs operating in the city mostly recruit these youth who are fresh migrants from the backward regions of the country and are desperate to seek an identity and means of livelihood.

According to the Crime Branch Mumbai, (1994), in the city, more than 60% of the extortionists who are arrested by the Department, are the migrants coming from Bihar or Uttar pradesh. These youth with no earlier record of crimes are the biggest problem for the law and order agency, as the gangs are clever enough to
capitalize on the anonymity of these migrant youth. As stated in Indian Express (1997, Aug., 16th), "...these hitmen are new to the city and know very little about Mumbai police's operation; they are recruited for their clean record. After the job is done, they can go back to their native places and of course they come cheap". Furthermore, if they stay back in the city even after the commission of crime, they mingle with the crowd, and it is virtually impossible for the police, to track the youth leading to future potential of committing more heinous and dangerous crimes.

When they are recruited, they are first given task like settling small property disputes and other local problems in the neighborhood. Once they prove 'tough' guys, tougher tasks like extortion are assigned to them. This could lead to their extreme journey in crime world - killing some body. This fetches them praise and money. As Times of India (1998, Nov., 9th), states "... each stage fetches 'fees' in cash of minimum Rs. 5,000 to 7, 000, but that is money they earn in just one day' of a successful operation. The shootouts witnessed in Mumbai during the last couple of years have also seen the trend where the underworld hired shooters for a meager sum. Even for a few major killings, during 1997-2000, shooters were hired for as low as 2,500-5,000" (Times of India, 2001, Jan 18th). Most of the poverty stricken boys picked up by the gangs are ...for a hit job. They are not formally trained, and are unable to even cock a pistol and release the safety trigger.....The shooters always fire at point blank range, and none of them can shoot straight" (ibid.). Earlier where the sharp shooters used to be one or two especially trained for the gangs, the present trend hires such daring youth shooters in hundreds void of skilled training but convinced about the intention of a desperate attempt to make an entry in a gang in the city.

The Police Encounters

Taking into consideration the severity and gravity of the situation in the city in recent years, Mumbai police also seems to have adopted an unofficial technique of killing these hardcore criminal in encounters: In last three years (1998-2000), the police has killed more than 200 criminals in 'encounters' and arrested over
1200 hardcore criminals during the period. The citizens killed by gangs, during the same period were about 160. Such has been the frustration of people of Mumbai City, including the politicians and even the judiciary, that no one raises an eye-brow on such 'encounters'. In fact, government carries a fear that if the criminal gangs - which are involved in extortions - are not eliminated from the scene, the city would lose its glory as commercial and industrial city of India.

**Conclusion**

The present Chapter aimed at sequencing the evolution of crime culture in City of Mumbai over decades. It emerges that prior to the sixties, activities of criminals were confined to thefts of goods from the seaport or other conventional crimes, without much severity. It was during the mid-sixties that with the low profile of Indian economy and produced goods of low quality, smuggling of foreign goods attracted the organised crime. Low time criminals took to bootlegging (due to the ban on liquor that time) and smuggling of goods. Once commercial activities in the city grew, they brought with them the property crimes. Since the seventies, Mumbai witnessed the creation of huge wealth by businessmen by fair and foul means. The period also coincides with the growth of real estate for profiteering and speculation. As another aspect of its growth, the city experienced a flood of migrants (from within the state and from U.P and Bihar) which led to proliferation of slums all around, and division of people in the city into two groups -a few privileged and a majority of the poor struggling for survival and living in degraded slums.

The organised crime flourished in activities like smuggling of foreign goods, bootlegging, drug trafficking, betting ("matka" playing) prostitution, property related crimes (eviction of tenants, etc). Meanwhile, Indian society, in general, and Mumbai City in particular, passed through a phase of decline in moral and political values, wide spread corruption in public sector, irresponsible business ethics, criminalisation of politics and criminals turning politicians. All these created a very favourable ground for organised crime to spread its clout in the city. With economic development, the city witnessed the emergence of several
gangs of hardcore criminals who amassed wealth through a variety of crimes. They became so powerful that they extended their influence to police and government departments and even (to some extent) to the judiciary. Among the respected Citizens, the neo-rich class emerged which was as irresponsible in violating the law as the organised criminals. Such an opportunistic culture gave full birth to a series of criminal gangs which not only established a deep rooted crime culture in the city, but also attracted the disillusioned youth to join their ranks, more so in the rackets of collecting “hafta” (protection money) and the extortions. The Chapter describes the succession of heinous acts of earlier mafia-kings like Vardharajan, Jusuf Patel, Haji Mastan to the previous decades (80’s & 90’s), ‘heroes’, like Karim Lala, Amar Naik, Arun Gawli, Abu Salim, Chhota Rajan, Chhota Shakeil and, perhaps the most influential one, Dawood Ibrahim. The crime world threatened the very fabric of Mumbai life, with the result that the police was given ‘free hand’ in eliminating the hardcore criminals. In last four to five years, Mumbai Police has killed more than 300 such criminals in ‘encounters’. Over 200 criminals also died in inter-gang warfare.

One very disturbing recent trend of the evolution of crime culture in City of Mumbai is more and more involvement of the youth in hardcore crimes. Lured by making the fast-buck through joining the underworld, disillusioned with their poor life situations, mesmerized by the glamorous consumer culture in the city, anonymity of life, degraded living in slum areas, defiant & daring personality and such other factors are identified by the Police Department, the Press and experts in the field as the factors for taking youth to such acts. Are these sufficient causes for understanding criminal behaviour of such youth? Or, is there much more to be attributed to their acts? These are crucial issues which need to be understood. The next two Chapters focus on a few case studies carried out by the researcher on a few hardcore youth criminals who were interviewed intensively while they were in the police custody or in jail or on bail. Though the case studies are not meant to generalise on the possible causes for their criminal behaviour, they would be useful in gaining further insights into the phenomenon.