CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background

The influence of prosperous and ‘developed’ societies on the less privileged and ‘underdeveloped’ societies has been a historic fact across the globe. Development of Third World nations was conditioned (rather imposed) by the capitalist mode of development through a historical process of expansion of power and extraction of resources by the powerful nations since the 18th century. During the periods of colonisation of Latin America, Africa and Asia, urban development was imposed by the imperialist regimes of Britain and France on societies which were essentially rural. In Peru, Mexico, India, Middle East and China where indigenous urban civilizations had already developed, urban forms were radically changed by the capitalist development. Several researchers (Gilbert and Joseph, 1981; Frank, 1967; Berry, 1976; Strasser, 1981) have argued that the beneficiaries or adversities of contemporary development in Third World need an understanding of such processes in history that had exerted a coercive hegemony of colonizers in their capitalist and mercantile adventure. Hoselitz (1957) aptly puts it: "... throughout the traditional world, Europeans destroyed, transformed or distorted indigenous civilization and created there new cities, the generations of new urban forms and at same time the destruction of existing urban culture".

Such interpretation would hold true in almost all the cities of Third World countries. As Hoselitz (1957) further stated: "... the cities of contemporary underdeveloped countries are hybrid institutions, formed in part, as a response to the indigenously developed division of labour and in part as a response to the inputs made upon less under-developed countries by their integration into the world economy". Today when the essential decisions about technology, employment and economic growth are made in the metropolitan centers of Europe
or United States, Third World urban characteristics and forms have come to reflect their provincial status, and do not reflect equal access to world resources.

In the last few decades, within the periphery of Third World nations, a growing number of cities under the regime of liberalization, have become the hub of economic activity and attracted productive capital, trade and commerce and also migrants from less-developed regions. In India, for example, a few large cities have been the centres of creation of wealth - mostly private wealth. The process was facilitated by a committed middle-class, the pro-rich bureaucracy and political leaders, and the hard toiling masses who formed the chunk of cheap labour in these cities.

The process of uneven development or underdevelopment includes a wide gamut of uneven distribution of wealth in progress, the changing dynamics of population, imbalanced regional growth, and pace of industrialization and urbanization. Individualization and automization, domination of one group in society over others by virtue of wealth and power, frustration of disadvantaged sections of society, staggering dimensions of social, economic and political marginality of groups — are the essential components of the changing dynamics of development. The sociology of such changes and processes of development demand an understanding of the specific socio-cultural context in a developing country like India, particularly in the context of the city of Mumbai.

Multi-faceted Growth of Mumbai

Mumbai, formerly known as Greater Bombay, is today the third largest city in Asia and the largest metropolis in the country, with a population of 11.9 millions (Census of India, 2001). The city, historically, a combination of seven islands was formed by the colonisers by reclaiming 4000 acres of land in central parts of the city, to form a composite island about 11 miles in length and 3 to 4 miles in breadth. Today the Brihan Mumbai consists of 438 sq.kms. in area mainly through reclamation of wet lands, which even now is an on-going process. The Mumbai Metropolitan Region which includes 4 metropolitan cities, 16
municipal towns, seven other urban centres and some approximately 1000 villages, has a population of 16.37 millions (Census of India, 2001).

Urbanisation and population growth are so closely linked that the size of population has become a crucial factor in determining the relative importance of urban settlements. This holds true in case of Mumbai city. At the beginning of this century, in 1901, its population was less than eight lakhs. Since the sixties, the population started growing rapidly mainly due to in-migration to the city from all over India. Its decennial growth rate in the seventies and eighties was as high as 44 per cent and 38 per cent respectively. The trend in last two decades, however, shows that the net in-take of population in the main city, Greater Mumbai, is on decline with around 20 per cent growth rate during the last two decades. On the other hand, the entry of migrants is now witnessed in extended suburbs and adjoining metropolitan areas like Vasai-Virar, Ulhas Nagar, Kalyan and Thane. The 1981-91 Census decade saw the migrants' contribution to city's growth falling from 47% in 1971-81 to 18% in 1981-91. This decline, however, is debated by the experts who consider such a steep decline more due to under-reporting of the migration data.

In economic terms, Mumbai is still the main contributor to national economy. It pays one-third of the country's income tax, 60% of the customs duties and 20% of the Central Excise. It generates 10% of the country's industrial jobs. Mumbai ports handle almost a half of the country's maritime trade. The Airports handle 58% and 41% of India's international and national air passenger traffic respectively. The off-shore oil and gas fields of Bombay-High produce almost 61% and 48% respectively of the country's total petroleum products, most of which is handled and served from Mumbai. The city's oil refining output is 23% of India's total output (Patankar 1996, 116-17).

In spite of such a significant contribution of Mumbai to India's economy, disturbing trends are emerging in the industrial sector of the city. The employment in manufacturing has been declining steadily from 35% in the
seventies to 27% in recent years (Govt, of Maharashtra, 1997). Factors like, the sharp decay of textile industry, switching over to high tech and capital intensive manufacturing units, the flight of capital to other states, particularly Gujarat, and the rising labour and infrastructural costs in Mumbai industry are mainly responsible for its decline. The textile mills which used to employ more than 70,000 workers are fast disappearing from the scene. This has brought misery to the displaced workers from the textiles, who are now struggling for their survival in the informal sector. The recent decline of about 3 per cent per annum in employment in the manufacturing sector has compelled the Maharashtra Government to reverse its earlier policy of not allowing large industrial units to be set up in Thane-Kalyan industrial belt (ibid.). The recent “20 year plan” for Mumbai Metropolitan Region now permits the growth of non-polluting industrial units within the region. The plan, under the influence of liberalisation of economy, offers incentives for setting up corporate offices and business centres in the central part of the city for turning Mumbai into an International Centre for Business and Finance (Draft Regional Plan for MMRDA, 1995). Given the steep rise in real estate prices, one finds little hope of Mumbai achieving such a distinction.

The decline in manufacturing sector can be sharply contrasted with the growing role of the tertiary sector in the city’s economy. The tertiary sector employment already accounted for 64 per cent during 1971 to 81, and it is expected to grow further to 72% in recent years. According to the latest figures of UNDP, the informal sector now accounts for 68% of the total employment in non-manufacturing sector in the city. This is easily visible to the naked eye through the swelling number of hawkers doing their business on footpaths, roads and railway lands. Though the self or wage employment in informal sector brings 40 per cent lesser earnings as compared to the jobs in industrial sector, for the low skilled migrants to the city, this is a quick solution to their survival struggle. There is a popular notion that more than 300 migrants, mostly the uneducated villagers, enter the city every day seeking their source of survival. Many come with high hopes of trying their luck in this city of “gold and silver”. Nobody knows
how many of them succeed to their expectations and how many return back with their dreams shattered. Among those who achieve some source of survival, there are several migrants - particularly, the youth - who take to any kind of job, lawful or unlawful, for improving their life situations.

This swelling number of people in the city affects its quality of life. The growing pressure on infrastructure is the most obvious consequence. Today, water supply to the city is as high as 650 million gallons per day, and still it falls short by 40 per cent of its demand. The collection and disposal of more than 1000 tons of refuse daily not only poses a challenge but adds to the pollution of natural resources: air, land and water. Traveling in the city by any mode of transport is turning into a nightmare. There used to be peak hours for traffic movement in the city, now every hour is a peak hour, with more than 11 lakh vehicles on the city roads. For creating a fast and efficient traffic system in the city, government needs a mind-boggling amount of more than 6000 crore rupees. Its aftereffects are equally revealing. The daily emission of pollutant gases from the vehicles is estimated to be 548 tons, and 50 to 60% air pollution in the city is caused due to them (Rasal, 1996; Kulkarni, 1996).

**Development of Mumbai: Creation of Wealth and Social Abrasion**

By 1951 itself, Mumbai had become the second largest city in the country, with its population touching the three million mark. It has emerged as a key industrial and commercial city. Textile and chemical units constituted its main manufacturing activity, while transport of cargo and trade in cotton, sugar textiles and chemicals gave it a high growth impetus. Such a impressive growth of Mumbai City would remain half untold if one overlooks the contribution made to its growth by the migrants. They, of course, constituted several visionaries, enterprising businessmen and professionals, but mostly the ordinary people originating from rural areas, with hardly any educational or job skills. They became the backbone of textile mills, shipyard work and dock labour, which brought fortunes to city’s businessmen. "Tendils", "morpatiyas", "toliwalas", "badli" workers, "julahas", "mathadis" and "dahari" workers are a few well known
terms among the industrial and commercial labourers, whose cheap labour created Mumbai's economy. Today they appear to be lost in the huge crowd of various skilled and service sector workers and also due to decline in opportunities of the above mentioned leading industrial/commercial sectors.

On the eve of Independence, Mumbai showed the signs of 'shrinking' its space — more so for the poor migrants. Meanwhile, the influx of poor migrants continued unabated, resulting in rapid growth of slum localities, with degraded living conditions. Slowly, the lower and even middle class started feeling the pinch of shortage of housing. This created a breed of 'pathans' who used to offer loans to the poor workers at exorbitant interest rates, and brokers who would charge commission for arranging rental or ownership accommodation to the swelling migrant population. In addition to the usual housebreakers, pickpockets or robbers, there emerged a breed of 'small stature' criminals who would exploit the housing shortage to their advantage by offering their 'services' to forcibly vacate the tenant or encroach illegally on public or private lands. They, perhaps, became the first symbol of business - oriented crime.

Yet, many positive factors kept Mumbai a relatively safe city. Political values still retained their moral base. Bureaucracy was confined to low corrupt activities. Small profile criminals feared Mumbai Police which emerged as one of the best-organized police forces in the country. And above all, the first generation migrants brought with them traditional socio-cultural values which controlled their behaviour as law-abiding citizens.

This situation was first disturbed in the mid-sixties when Indian industry, closed from outside competition, could not satisfy the rich urban consumer who could afford better living styles and paved the way for the 'smuggled' goods which found a ready market in a few large Indian cities. The one time small gangsters of Mumbai saw a new fortune in smuggling foreign made items like gold, electronic appliances, cosmetics, liquor etc. Mumbai, due to its strategic location and ready
market for the smuggled goods, emerged as one of the main centers for marketing such goods.

The mid sixties thus gave birth to the organized crime in Mumbai city which was bound to flourish in following decades due to rapid economic development in the city. With the rapid economic growth — with peripheral manufacturing activity and large commercial activity — Mumbai’s development took new strides since the seventies. The white collar crime entered in a big way in public and private sector organizations. New trends of corporate malfeasance - swindling of currency, tax evasion by manipulating company accounts, money laundering and many such other criminal acts - entered the business world.

The organized ‘underworld’ along with the smuggling of goods, increased its activities to other forms of crime which brought quick fortunes: ‘matka’ gambling (betting), flesh trade, illegal liquor bars and hotels, ransom, contract killing and the drug trade. With the increasing fortunes in drug and smuggled goods trade, the ‘underworld’ kingpins’ clout increased manifold. They penetrated the citadels of a few influential politicians, police officers, greedy lawyers and a few ‘film-personalities’ (Mumbai being the main city for making popular Hindi movies, with their annual turnover running into hundreds of crores of rupees). A detailed discussion on evolution of ‘Crime Culture in the City of Mumbai’ is dealt with in a subsequent chapter.

By the mid-eighties, Indian society showed a sharp decline in the moral values of its people and institutions. Population explosion resulting in large claimants for limited opportunities; overall irresponsible record of Indian businessmen, peripheral industrialization, resulting in diversified use of capital investment in black market economy; polarisation of people into haves and have nots with wide socio-economic disparities; weakening role of state due to diverse caste and regional polarizations and their movements for power sharing; and ‘rising castes’ showing their growing influence in power-politics and their clash of interest with the privileged, are a few important factors which disturbed and
challenged the prevailing privileges of traditionally dominant higher castes. Under these conditions and processes, when the development of Indian economy was mainly based on the borrowed model of economic growth from Western experience through modernization of technology, capital intensive industries and infrastructure related projects, the gains of development remained highly uneven. In fact, those with better resources and socio-economic status, gained in a large measure, leaving behind a large population in deprivation and wanting. Moreover, the concentration of development in urban areas — that too in a few economically strategic cities, like Mumbai - resulted in influx of population from rural areas to these cities. Mumbai population, due to migration influx, started growing rapidly. The real estate prices soared sky high, resulting in a large majority of the poor living in degraded slum areas. The slum population grew at an alarming rate during last three decades (see Table 1.1); so much so that presently (2002) a majority of people of Mumbai live in slum areas.

The opportunistic culture created by capitalist formations, degraded living in slum areas with multi-facet survival strategies extending even to anomic behaviour, decay of moral (more so political) values, and glamorous dreams sold by the visual media to the youth by the film world of Mumbai, provided favourable grounds to the organised criminal gangs to multiply their gains.

**Table 1.1: Population Growth of Greater Mumbai and the Share of Slum Population (in Lakhs)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population of Gr. Mumbai</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Slum Population</th>
<th>Share in Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>29.67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>41.52</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>4.98</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>59.71</td>
<td>1968</td>
<td>10.00</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>82.42</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>32.50</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>99.00</td>
<td>1981</td>
<td>42.00</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>119.14</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>62.48</td>
<td>54.33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source:* (i) Sharma and Narender, 1996  
(ii) Census 2001, Maharashtra (Provisional Figures)  
The Extortion 'Business' and the "Hafta" Culture

In such a favourable situation for anomic acts, the criminal gangs of Mumbai have taken to a well organised and widespread racket of extortions of money from the wealthy people — the businessmen, builders, film personalities, hoteliers and such other groups. According to the Mumbai police, the annual extortion money collected by the underworld may run into hundreds of crores of rupees. At the lower level of criminal operations, the ‘hafta’ collection by police, municipal employees, slum lords, small criminal gangs and every local politicians from the hawkers, land encroachers, slum residents and business groups (like liquor bars, brothels and betting) also runs into several crores of rupees. For instance, it is estimated that the hawkers alone pay more than Rs.120 crores annually to the “hafta” collectors. (Sharma, 2000).

Development, Deprivation and Anomic Indian Youth

In this "modern" urban world, young people do not have 'felt' needs as their earlier generation used to have at their age. Their aspirations are conditioned to certain forms of behavior oriented to consumer culture, with the increasing competitive structure in 'modern' society. The gap between aspirations and fulfillment is wider. In India, the typical socio-political circumstances prevailing since the advent of its independence and 'democratic' goals may provide the logical answer. The fact that the Constitution aimed at achieving socio-economic parity in a populous, nebulous and pluralistic democracy has generated processes favoring political illegitimacy, deviance and crime. Antiauthoritarianism and increased consciousness of collective power with strong belief in violence has become a means of socio-economic and political success, where Youth' are the main carriers especially in the field. The traditional egalitarian society, which legitimized structural inequalities within a caste or ethnic milieu, today stands challenged and fragmented. New social, sectarian, and ethnic movements have changed the attitude of deprived sections, particularly the youth, towards the traditional sanctions and privileges. Civic movements have erupted all around which aim at 'empowering' the deprived and exploited. Youth are their main
targets. Conscious of their 'rights' and angry against traditional injustices and exploitations, today's youth stand defiant and uncompromising. Backward caste movements, dalit movements, separatists movements in several parts of Indian states and other sectarian movements are such challenges to the privileges of traditionally advantaged communities/group.

A section of such defiant youth is exposed to metropolitan cities where they experience another contradiction — the affluent and privileged classes, who have had the advantage of tasting the fruits of 'modern development'. The 'consumer culture' exposes them to a different world but they have no means to adopt it. The modern media brings them many dreams and illusions which add to the frustrations and feeling of deprivation. The binding of their behavior by traditional social values loses its relevance. The high tech and high job profile development hardly opens opportunities to these youth, many of whom are the migrants from impoverished rural societies, with limited skills and education.

In contrast to the above situation, the growing economic activity and creation of wealth have triggered off another process — the multiplying fortunes of organized crime — the mafia/criminal syndicates and the underworld. The crime in cities like Mumbai and Delhi can pay rich dividends if it clicks. The expansion of such organized crime recently in Mumbai City has baffled everybody. The decay of political institutions with the unholy alliance emerging among the politicians and hardcore criminals (and their gangs) has aggravated the situation. It is therefore not surprising that large Indian cities, like Mumbai and Delhi, are confronted with a situation where the youth, in a significant way, have taken to crime. In Mumbai among the growing 'police encounters' with the underworld, a majority of the criminals shot belong to the youth group. They are the easy recruits of the slumlords, criminal gangs and the underworld.
Entry of Youth in Hardcore Crime in Mumbai City

The entry of a section of youth to the underworld of Mumbai was made possible in recent years when the large extortion cases resulted in gunning down by the underworld those a few victims (of extortions) who defied the payment of the money. This created tremendous pressure on the politicians and the law and order agencies to crack down on the criminal gangs. Police took to a ‘down to earth’ strategy and started killing the professional criminals who indulged in widespread extortion rackets. This caused the underworld to change its strategy by pushing the ‘daring’ and small time criminal youth into the hardcore crime of extortion. Many such youth had no previous criminal records. They were scrutinised by the underworld and trained for hardcore crimes including killings. Methods were adopted to pick them up from jails or slum areas through small gangs and slumlords. Instances are reported by Police (through the news media) where a few daring youth, without any previous criminal records, killed the target - victims for a few thousand rupees and quietly slipped away from the city. Some of them took a few months gap and repeated the acts. A few news-paper ‘headlines’ on the hardcore youth criminals are reproduced here for bringing out the sensational involvement of the youth in such heinous crimes (Figs. I & II). The organised data from the police department on their shoot-outs with the hardcore criminals, shootouts by such criminals and the gangsters arrested (see Tables 1.2 & 1.3) amply bring out the very disturbing trend of the entry of youth in the hardcore criminal world, and the growing cases of ‘police encounters’ with the killer-criminals and the criminals themselves killing the extortion — victims. In a five year period of (1996 to 2000), only the Mumbai police have killed more than 300 hardcore criminals. Over two-thirds of them were below 30 years of age (Crime Branch, 2001). The criminals themselves killed more than 150 citizens during the same period. Another 100 citizens were killed by the petty criminals. The arrests of members of criminal gangs increased manifold during the same period with more than 1800 arrests in the five-year period (Table 1.2 and 1.3). More and more youth are getting involved in such hardcore crimes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Other Gang</th>
<th>Game</th>
<th>Choro, Fagan</th>
<th>Amor, Jelani</th>
<th>Armed Gang</th>
<th>Bawoode Gang</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>1017</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>801</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>907</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1239</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1411</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1.3: Gangsters Arrested by Mombasa Police (1999 - 2001)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>No. of Children Kidnapped</th>
<th>No. of Children Kidnapped by Police</th>
<th>No. of Children Kidnapped by Police from the Targeted Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>840</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(a) Police Shootouts with Gangsters/Kidnappers in a few years
(b) Shootouts by Choros/Fagans
Abu Salem wants ‘clean guys’

Dubai-based gangster employs youths from North Indian villages

Lost world of poetry, new world of crime

Supari killer Abu Salem new role model for Azamgarh youth

Influx of criminals from UP, Bihar into Punjab worries police

Enter Mumbai’s new gangsters

Shakeel gang separates the boys from men

Chowk, Shakeel has started recruiting boys, who are languishing in jails, by arranging bail for them. These boys, under obligation, are then given a stash of arms and are trained to use them, before assigning them targets.

According to a senior police officer, the gang is run by Shakeel, who is in Thrane jail, as an agent. He recruits the boys with the help of lawyers and gets them out on bail.

According to sources, Shakeel, Gaitani and Shyamkumar Mora, both of the accused, were found guilty of murder in the killing of 66-year-old Sita Shankar Pandit. The killers were nabbed in Thane.

Both were then asked to bump off Agi on a highway, but within 45 hours, in an encounter, Ashwad was killed. The three have been in jail since then.

Shakeel gang was making a foray into the criminal world, according to police

Desperation for easy money and a desire to ape media-made crime stars like Dinesh Vishram and Anand Gaekwad are primarily responsible for attracting Mumbai’s unemployed youth into crime, many of whom are recent migrants, a section of the police and sociologist feel.

Mumbai has long been seen as the dream world for one and all. What people don’t realize is that it also requires a lot of hard work to make it big here. As their dreams get thwarted by reality, the resulting frustration takes them to the instant glamour of tip-top-happy, second-rung underworld elements, a top crime branch official says.

This is confirmed by a gang which
Shakeel gang lures youth from Punjab into world of crime

By Somit Sen

MUMBAI: The Chhotas' Shakeel gang normally recruits unemployed youths from U.P. and Bihar but those days are looking westwards. According to police sources, several jobless youths from Punjab have recently been hired by 36-year-old Kulwinder Singh—who supervised the Shakeel gang's activities in the western suburbs of Mumbai.

Down and out in Mumbai and Chennai? Try extortion

Of the 10 extortionists arrested in the past fortnight, seven had no criminal record. Joblessness or poor earnings, coupled with the desire for quick money, drove them to it. Somit Sen on the growing new breed of desperados

City 'graduates' to degree-toting crimi

By Somit Sen

MUMBAI: The home-grown version of the year-a metamorphosing into a degree-toting slick Mafia. According to the police, it's a graduation time for Criminals Inc. in Mumbai.

The growing—and disturbing—trend of the educated unemployed entering the world of crime came to light after the city police arrested 34 graduates in extortion cases over the past 11 months. The number of arrested graduate criminals stood at 30 and 24 in 1999 and 1998 respectively. Those booked include seven post-graduates, 13 commerce and four science graduates.

Growing unemployment and economic disparity drive youths to take this desperate step, feels D.R. Singh, head of the department of criminology at Tata Institute of Social Sciences.

However, psychiatrist Y.A. Mehta states that youths turning to extortion could be suffering from an antisocial personality disorder.

"They are intelligent, but crooked. They know how to satisfy their personal needs at the cost of disturbing and troubling others. For them, committing an offence could be a pleasure-seeking activity. It satisfies their ego to hear petrified voices over the phone," he says.

As most are blinded by the luxury and the money involved, they fail to see the pitfalls. They want to make a few lakhs rupee effort..."
This unprecedented happening on the criminal front, particularly in the city of Mumbai, where a section of the 'daring' youth have entered into hardcore crime and do not hesitate from killing citizens for a few thousand rupees - paid by their mentors (the underworld kingpins) — presents an unique case for a serious research study for understanding the phenomenon which involves the security of millions of citizens of a key Indian City. The organised crime in the city not only threatens the security of its citizens, but also it has given a fillip to the flight of business (and industrial) capital away from Mumbai, as the activities threaten the lives of its rich citizens. It is estimated that more than 5000 youth are active members of various criminal gangs in the city. Who are these youth? Why have they entered into the world of hardcore criminals? Why have their activities become so prominent with rapid development of Mumbai City, and how are the law and order agencies tackling this baffling behaviour of a section of the youth, are a few very relevant issues which form the main focus of the present research enquiry.

Reportings and interpretations of criminal acts are either through the secret documents prepared by the law and order agencies and the press reporters, or through occasional studies by scholars of criminology. The scope of the present research study is extended to an inter-disciplinary approach, with the main contention that a meaningful study of the entry of youth into hardcore crime involves both a developmental perspective (of growth of Mumbai City) and a criminological approach to study the phenomenon. Thus, a socio-criminological approach to the criminal phenomenon forms the scope of the present research study. There are hardly any such studies in the Indian situation, and therefore, the approach is more exploratory than an empirical study for validation of the existing conceptions of the reality under focus.
Statement of the Problem

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that the process of development as an important phase of social change in human history has had its negative impact on human behaviour and social life. Urbanisation, industrialization and modernization - various components of development - have also sown seeds of youth crime and deviance, where large cities record major percentage of such crimes. It is also visible that the youth crimes in urbanized societies are no more isolated phenomena. They stem from and spread within the society. They are interwoven with the political economy of development in key cities, like Mumbai. There is a paucity of data on urban youth crime, especially in the Indian Context. There is a need to carry out a research study about why and how the youth anomie and crime emerge, spread and operate in rapidly developing cities.

Objectives of Study

The present study mainly focuses on the growing trend of hardcore crime among a section of youth in the City of Mumbai. The above objective is spread among the following sub-objectives:

(a) To understand the growing trend of organised crime culture in the city of Mumbai;

(b) To focus on the rising trend of a section of the youth in the city in hardcore crime;

(c) To understand various perspectives on 'youth crime' and their relevance for interpretation of the above anomic behaviour of the youth;

(d) To explore the reasons and circumstances which take the youth to such criminal acts; and

(e) To explore whether the present form of development under broad 'capitalist formations', resulting in creation of an 'opportunistic culture' in City of Mumbai, is conducive to such criminal behaviour among the youth.
Research Design

Basically, the purpose of research enquiry should evolve a suitable research design. The present study is a highly sensitive one which aims at probing the deviant and criminal behavior of today’s youth in an urban setting - more specifically in a cosmopolitan social milieu. The present study of hardcore youth crime adopts mainly a sociological approach. It is assumed that many criminological perspectives, as discussed in the following chapter, directly or indirectly have their tradition in sociological enquiry. It does not undermine the role of personality factors (with psychological attributes) in inducing youth deviance and crime.

Problems emerged while choosing a suitable research design for the present study. There are hardly any authentic and in-depth studies on youth crime in the Indian context, which could prove useful in carving out a suitable research design. A few descriptive studies on ‘juvenile delinquency’ or ‘youth deviance’ tend to attribute everything to the phenomenon, thus losing their qualitative rigour.

In contrast, there are studies on youth deviance and crime in the Western context but their approaches do not provide authentic methodological tools, mainly because of the widely different socio-cultural milieus which Western youth experience. Equally absent are the formal mechanisms in Indian situation (unlike their Western counterparts) which make it possible to identify the youth in a metropolis who may be indulging in hardcore criminal acts, and more difficult to have access to them for an extensive research investigation.

Given these constraints, it was considered relevant to go for an exploratory research based on a qualitative approach. Though a combination of social survey associated with intensive interviews for qualitative data would have been a better research design, the limited identification (and access) to the kind of respondents under focus did not permit it.
Therefore, intensive interviews for deep probing of a limited number of the youth, associated with the hardcore crime, was considered more practical and relevant. The criminal youth were identified as those youth convicted by a court of law or under the police custody or imprisonment for the court-trials. Their charges mainly consisted of suspected contract killings or extortion-kilings in Mumbai.

The intensive interviews mainly aimed at preparing case studies on the youth-respondents. Case studies have effectively been used in such kind of exploratory studies. Use of personal documents, probing many facets of respondents' life, adjusting the wording of questions to fit particular experiences of respondents, sharing experiences (knowledge in the area) with the youth under focus, collecting life histories (prison records, police reports, notes by NGOs) and gathering other relevant data on the respondents formed the base of these case studies. The advantage of this approach, as stated by Goode and Hatt (1952:pp.331), would be to present the unitary character of the social actors under focus.

The case histories thus prepared are decoded for their meaningful interpretation. Though no generalizations are possible through the case studies, their emerging trends should form the basis for future hypotheses on the issue.

**Identification and Access to Respondents:**

As stated earlier, the study area under present focus was highly sensitive. It involved contacting the hardcore criminals within a specified age group, spread in various parts of Mumbai City. To identify such persons, help was taken of the police department, NGOs involved in reforming the criminals, 'Mohalla Peace Committees' and influential/knowledgeable persons in the field.

It was considered relevant to choose Mumbai City for the study. In recent years, the city has experienced unprecedented involvement of a section of the youth in hardcore crimes - mainly contract and extortion-related murders. Four
ways were followed for identifying the respondents and preparing case studies of about 20 hardcore (youth) criminals. Those under the policy custody on strong suspicion of several cases of murder and extortions were contacted for interviews within the police lockups. Some of them were feared even by the police officers, and special security arrangements were made by them for the researcher's own security. However, the interviews were held in private without any influence of the police officers or NGO-activists related to the cases.

Other respondent - youths were contacted in the prison — Arthur Road — through the cooperation of its jail-authorities. There also the researcher was allowed the freedom to interview the convicts / under-trials in seclusion.

The third category was even more difficult — those identified criminal youth living in slum localities. They were either on bail or so-far not formally caught by the police, but were well-known for their criminal acts among the 'criminal fraternity'. Police officers deputed at police stations within the sensitive localities helped in making contacts with the slum-lords or aged (convicted) criminals ,who then persuaded the youth indulging in crimes to be interviewed by the researcher.

Finally, a section of young gangsters is considered as the fourth category. These are the 'Structuration' Cases (Giddens, 1986) of those youth who under certain circumstances entered into the criminal world, punished or unpunished by law, and now trying to mould themselves to live a normal life.

It would be important to mention here that predominantly, "the structuration" cases were identified by the local police station (from their official record). The resistance was felt by the researcher in convincing and reaching out both the police personnel and the identified "youth" in this regard.

It was even more difficult to convince the youth to share "their" earlier life with the researcher. The fear of - confirming "their Crime" and thus make his own life vulnerable before police, was found to be the main factor for 'resistance'. 
The interviews of respondents in most cases, did not finish in a single sitting, and were spread to two or more sittings. It became more difficult to convince the respondents for more contacts, as they suspected the researcher to be a friend or even an ‘informer’ of the police. These were the difficult situations which were confronted by the researcher in ‘daring’ to conduct such a study. It was highly gratifying that due to cooperation from all the above mentioned actors on the scene, the researcher succeeded in completing the fieldwork without any untoward incident.

Organising the Chapters

The dissertation is presented in Six Chapters. The first Chapter introduces the theme and the context within which the enquiry into the youth crime is located. The second Chapter presents the review of literature on criminology in general and on youth crime in particular. Chapter III gives a detailed account of the evolution of crime culture in City of Mumbai.

Chapter IV and V present Case Studies on the youth charged with hardcore crime in the city. Finally, Chapter VI decodes the case studies for identifying relevant factors and circumstances, which induced the youth to commit such heinous crimes. This Chapter concludes the study and presents the problem under focus within the developmental perspective. That is, the growing trend of youth crime in the city is interwoven with the creation of an ‘opportunistic culture’ within the broad capitalist formations.