INDIAN GANGSTERISM IN KUALA LUMPUR

MY PARENTS... BROTHERS & SISTERS

Thevendran S Sivanantham
No Matrik 042283

INDIES, SHAH, KISHEN, THEEGAN & PUNITA...
and co,

ALL MY FRIENDS..... for your SUCCESS.

"Do the right, think the right,
Till the breath of death,
Shun the wrong, although the right,
Leads to death of breath."

Graduation Exercise
As Partial Requirement for
the Degree of Bachelor of Arts

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In completing this work, I came across numerous obstacles, which at times discouraged me from working on this thesis. Among them were locating the respondents and financial constraints. However, with the help and encouragement from my friends and by the Grace of God, this work is now complete. I take this opportunity to thank my supervisor, En Abdul Hadi Zakaria, for his invaluable assistance. I also thank all my friends, especially the few SLIB members and also Dewa and Omar, for their never-ending encouragement. I also thank Ganeas for all his trouble in editing this work. Last, but not least, I thank all those who helped me finish this work but whose names I could not state here for specific reasons.

THEVENDRAN
Matric No 042283
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter I</th>
<th>Page No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1 Organized Crime, Secret Societies and Gangs</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.11 Gangs</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12 Secret Societies</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.13 Indians In Organized Crime</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.14 Formation of Indian Gangs</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.2 Social Change and Organized Crime</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.3 Research Problem</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.4 Research Methodology</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter II</th>
<th>Page No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ORIGIN OF INDIAN GANGS</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.1 Introduction</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.2 The Origin</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.3 Gangs and Their Areas of Operation</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.4 Organization of Indian Gangs</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.5 Rites and Ceremonies</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.51 Types of Ceremonies</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.6 Conclusion</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter III</th>
<th>Page No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVITIES OF THE GANG</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.1 Introduction</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.2 Fights</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3 Protection Service</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Extortion, Prostitution and Drugs</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter IV</td>
<td>Other Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>Interaction Between Gangs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>Interaction Between Gangs and The Public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>Weapons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter IV</th>
<th>POLICE AND THE UNDERWORLD</th>
<th>Page No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Police and Their Interpretation of Secret Societies</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>Prevention of Crime Ordinance and Emergency Ordinance</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>Identifying Gangsters</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4.1</td>
<td>Identifying Process of Police</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>Problems Faced By The Police</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter V</th>
<th>INDIAN GANGS: A WORKING CLASS PHENOMENON?</th>
<th>Page No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Features of The Gang</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>What Lures Youths to Join Gangs?</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Social Environment</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter VI</th>
<th>CONCLUSION</th>
<th>Page No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF TABLES

1.1 Selected Violent Crime Reported to Police, Federal Territory 2
1.2 Rape and Assault Cases for Peninsular Malaysia, 1975-1979 2
2.1 Gangs and their Areas of Origin 20
2.2 Gangs and their Areas of Operation 21
2.3 Presence of Role Stratification and Ceremonies 28
5.1 Age when First Involved with Gangs 76

DIAGRAMS

Thrasher's Natural History of the Gang 97
SYNOPSIS

Indian gangsterism in Kuala Lumpur is a twentieth century phenomenon. Started in the 1950s as an institution to provide protection service to lower caste members, it has gone through numerous changes till this day, where it is scorned upon as a criminal gang. The Indian gang sprouted throughout the city in the late 1950s and early 60s but it does not have a single line of origin. Thus, we find that the various gangs differ in their rites and initiation ceremonies.

These gangs are not well organized units and as such we find them constantly emerging and then dying-off. As a criminal gang, the activities of these gangs include gang fights and "table-talks", vice rings, drug pushing, extortion and "protection service". For these purposes, the gangs use a wide range of weapons, from meat choppers to revolvers.

The role of the police in curbing the increasing menace of these gangs has also increased lately. The fear that these gangs create and the atrocious activities that they involve in has brought about tighter legislation against them.

The emergence of "gangster-type" individuals is linked closely to the social environment of an individual. It is found that these gangsters who come from lower class communities go through defective socialization processes that create a delinquent. Various factors contribute towards this cause, namely, broken homes,
lack of parental love and control, bad neighbourhood and influence of friends.

Indian gangs although have not adapted themselves well to the social changes, they still pose a threat to the safety of the general public and as such it is very necessary to check their growth. While legislation is important in this aspect, of more importance is to help children and youths to go through normal and proper socialization process to avoid the emergence of delinquent features in the first place.
SINOPSIS

Kegiatan geng-geng India diKuala Lumpur merupakan fenomena abad kedua puluh. Dimulakan pada tahun-tahun 50an sebagai institusi untuk memberi perlindungan kepada anggota-anggota kasta bawahan, geng-geng ini telah banyak mengalami perubahan hingga kehari ini dimana ianya dianggap sebagai institusi jenayah. Meskipun geng-geng ini mula muncul pada tahun-tahun 50an dan 60an ianya tidak mempunyai satu corak permulaan yang sama, keadaan ini menyebabkan terdapatnya perbezaan-perbezaan dalam amalan dan upacara inisiasi geng-geng ini.

Geng-geng ini tidak mempunyai organisasi yang baik dan ini menyebabkan geng-geng ini sering muncul dan lumpah. Sebagai satu geng "criminal" aktiviti-aktivitinya meliputi peperangan geng dan "table-talk", pelacuran, mengedar dadah, merugai dan "perkhidmatan perlindungan". Untuk tujuan-tujuan ini, berbagai jenis senjata, dari pisau pencincang daging hingga kepistol, digunakan oleh ahli-ahlinya.

Peranan polis dalam mengawal kegiatan geng-geng ini, juga telah bertambah besar. Ketakutan yang ditimbulkan oleh geng ini dan kegiatan jenayah yang mereka terlibat telah menyebabkan penggubalan undang-undang yang lebih keras terhadap mereka.

Kemunculan individu-individu yang bercorak "gangster" adalah berkait rapat dengan persekutuan sosial individu tersebut. Adalah didapati bahawa "gangster" ini yang datang dari kalangan kelas pekerja seringkali melalui proses sosialisasi yang kurang
memuaskan. Terdapat berbagai unsur dalam sosialisasi yang lemah seperti perpecahan rumah tangga, kekurangan kasih sayang dan kawalan ibu bapa, tempat kediaman yang kurang baik dan juga pengaruh kawan.

Meskipun geng-geng India belum menyesuaikan diri sepenuhnya kepada perubahan-perubahan yang berlaku, ianya tetap merupakan satu ancaman kepada keselamatan umum. Untuk menyekat perkembangan ini, undang-undang yang lebih ketat perlu digubal. Bagaimanapun, faktor yang lebih penting lagi ialah untuk membolehkan kanak-kanak dan remaja melalui proses sosialisasi yang sebaik-baiknya supaya menghindarkan kemunculan ciri-ciri "delinquent".

In Malaysia, secret societies and criminal gangs are the nucleus for organized crime. Their activities include

"Extortion; forcing young girls into prostitution; association with drug pushers; collection of protection money from prostitutes; shop owners and gamblers; gang clashes over control of specific areas; commission of serious crimes such as robberies and murders; manufacture and concealment of dangerous weapons such as bearing scrapers, spears and samurai swords for use during gang clashes; and holding table-talks (negotiations) to settle disputes." (1)

1 - Polis DiRaja Malaysia, Panduan Cegah Jenayah, Kuala Lumpur, 1964, P 50-51
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 ORGANIZED CRIME, SECRET SOCIETIES AND GANGS

Of late organized crime is becoming more significant. This can be seen by the ever increasing number of violent crimes in the country in general and in Kuala Lumpur in particular (See Charts 1 & 2). One of the main characteristics of organized crime is that it uses violence and intimidation to gain and consolidate its powers. The presence of such organizations has instilled fear in the general public, for they are also the victims of gangland activities. The freedom of the general public is diminished by the presence of these organizations in the sense that the existence of such organizations is a constant threat to their lives and property.

In Malaysia, secret societies and criminal gangs are the nucleus for organized crime. Their activities include "Extortion; forcing young girls into prostitution; association with dadah pushers; collection of protection money from prostitutes, shop owners and gamblers; gang clashes over control of specific areas; commission of serious crimes such as robberies and murders; manufacture and concealment of dangerous weapons such as bearing scrapers, spears and samurai swords for use during gang clashes; and holding table-talks (negotiations) to settle disputes." (1)

1 - Polis Diraja Malaysia, Panduan Cegah Jenayah, Kuala Lumpur, 1984, P 50-51
### Table 1.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Murder</th>
<th>Attempted Murder</th>
<th>Gang Robbery</th>
<th>Robbery</th>
<th>(1) Assault*</th>
<th>(2) Rape</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>Breakdown by State in Peninsular Malaysia is not available.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>957</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes cases causing serious and slight injury with or without weapon.


(1) and (2) - the number of rape and assault cases for Peninsular Malaysia from 1975 - 1979 are as follows in Chart 2.

### Table 1.2

<table>
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<tr>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Assault*</td>
<td>1232</td>
<td>1323</td>
<td>1546</td>
<td>1467</td>
<td>1713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>343</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Includes cases causing serious and slight injury with or without weapon.

Gangs

Gangs are an universal phenomenon and as such they are omnipresent. The mere mention of the word gang strikes fear in the layman, the reason being that gangs are noteworthy for their criminal activities and violent nature with which they operate. However, the existence of non-criminal gangs must not be overlooked. This will be discussed in detail later. In Malaysia, gangs are prevalent among all the major communities. The Chinese have their secret societies, the Malays had (or still have) their own version of secret societies (Flag Gangs) and the Indians also have their own gangs. One striking feature of these gangs is that they are all racialistic organizations and operate along racial lines. However, at the present day situation, these gangs also consist of members from other races. For example, the Chinese secret societies have a handful of Indian members. (Proof of this statement is the arrest of an Indian member during Triad initiation ceremony in Ulu Choh, Pontian on 24.8.1981).

Before proceeding further, it is best to define what is meant by a gang. According to Frederic M Thrasher, who has done extensive research on 1313 American gangs during a span of seven years, "The gang is an interstitial group originally formed spontaneously, and then integrated through conflict. It is characterized by the following types of behaviour: meeting face to face, milling, movement through space as a unit, conflict and planning. The result of this collective behaviour is the development of tradition, unreflective internal structure, esprit de corps, solidarity,
Based on this definition, Thrasher goes on to explain the types of gang that prevail:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Gang</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Diffuse</td>
<td>Solidarity is not lasting, the loyalties perform a real function in its life, or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of their members to each other and to the gang cannot be counted on too far.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Solidified</td>
<td>Result of a longer development and a more intense or more extended conflict.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A high degree of morale and loyalty and a minimum of internal friction contributes to a well integrated fighting machine, by means of which the gang presents a solid front against its foes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Conventionalized</td>
<td>Takes form of athletic clubs, dancing, social or pleasure groups.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Criminal</td>
<td>If the gang does not become conventionalized or incorporated in some way into the structures of the community as its members grow older, it often drifts into habitual crime and becomes completely delinquent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Secret Society</td>
<td>These gang may develop the features of a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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3 - Ibid, p 46-47

12 **SECRET SOCIETIES**

Secret societies can be termed as criminal gangs which carry out certain activities for their own nefarious purposes. Although we know that criminal activities are the crux of the secret societies' functions, how do we define these secret societies? Simmel defines secret society as "A group whose existence may be open, but its goals, ritual and structure are concealed from the public." (4) W Blythe defines them as "A group whose existence may be open, but whose activities and the identities of its leader and members remain unknown to the public." (5) In the book *TRIAD SOCIETIES IN HONG KONG*, W P Morgan defines them as "Societies, whose members, bound by oaths of blood brotherhood, are pledged to assist one another and further the particular aims of their societies irrespective of the moral attempts to escape from social reality without victimizing anyone. (6)

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3 - Ibid, p 46-47
4 - Mak Lau Fong, *The Sociology of Chinese Secret Society*, p 7
5 - Wilfred Blythe, *The Impact of Chinese Secret Societies in Malaysia* - a historical study, p 9
and civil laws of the country wherein they operate." (6) Finally, Mak Lau Fong defines secret societies as "A group which has a set of well defined norms, secret rituals and an oath that are intended subjectively to bind the members to secrecy regarding the groups' affairs." (7)

Secret societies can be classified under five categories based on their function, means of goal attainment, social orientation of the groups and modes of adaptation of the group.

The five (5) categories are:

1) Confirmist like Freemasonry which is charitable in nature and work against social evils in society.

2) Ritualist like KGE, CIA and SIS which work for political establishment in combating those who work against establishment.

3) Rebellious like Ku Klux Klan and Triad Society which work against the political establishment.

4) Criminal like Mafia, Casa Nostra and local Chinese secret societies which work for economic gain and victimizes the civilian.

5) Retreatist like the early White Lotus Society which attempts to escape from social reality without victimizing anyone. (8)

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6 - W P Morgan, Triad Societies in Hong Kong, p 13
7 - Mak Lau Fong, op cit, p 8
8 - Ibid, p 11
Existing criminal secret societies in Malaysia are the Chinese secret societies whose historical roots can be traced to 17th century China. Then, it was well known as the Triad Society. "In its earlier phases, the Triad was a society whose members, bound by oaths of blood brotherhood, were pledged to overthrow the foreign conquerors of their country and restore the ancient ruling house of China to the throne." (9) Thus, the Triad was formed with the purpose of overthrowing the Manchus, who were looked upon as a foreign power. However, later the Triad was outlawed by the government and the Shaolin monks were killed. Out of 108 monks in the monastery, only 5 managed to escape the onslaught of the government army. Each monk went to a different province and gathered support and rallied against the Manchu government. Thus, the beginning of the Triad Society was merely for political reasons.

In Malaysia, the influx of Chinese immigrants brought about the formation of "kongsis" (10) which later came to be termed as secret societies. These secret societies served the Chinese immigrants by securing employment and accommodation for them, and functioned as a social group, that is, "It is an organized, cohesive collection of persons interacting around shared function and goals for some period of time." (11) Later,

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9 - C T Dohree, Federation of Malaya Police - Notes On Secret Societies, p 3
10 - "Kongsis" is a clan association which provided services, such as seeking employment and providing security for its members.
11 - C T Dohree, op cit, p 17
these secret societies were illegalized as the fighting between rival societies became hazardous to the economic development of the Federated Malay States. This can be seen in the extensive fights during the Larut Wars and Penang Riots, 1867, when the tin fields had to be closed down. With the introduction of greater police control for security purposes, these societies started to function illegally and became more violent in nature. So much for their changes, now the secret societies can be described as criminal gangs, each of which practises certain illegal acts for their own nefarious purposes.

**INDIANS IN ORGANIZED CRIME**

Unlike the Chinese who had secret societies, the Indians do not seem to have had any proper organization which carried out criminal activities, in the years after the influx of Indian immigrants to Malaysia. The earliest record which shows the presence of Indian criminals was during the founding of Penang by Captain Francis Light. These criminals who were serving their conviction, were Indian subjects, who were brought over here for the purpose of clearing the jungles and serving the colonialists as housekeepers and so forth. There is, however, no indication that these convicts formed any specific organizations in Malaya then. In fact, most of them on completion of their term returned to India, while some managed to make it good here and managed to accumulate wealth. Thus, the presence of Indian gangs in Malaysia today, is a totally modern 20th century phenomenon. Although the
exact history of these are not known, and it remains a myth, but it can be postulated that these gangs were formed during the 1950's. Now their activities are carried out like Mafia-style. (See page 11)

**FORMATION OF INDIAN GANGS**

Indians were believed to have been members of Chinese secret societies during the middle of the present century. Having been involved in these societies for some time, they had some knowledge of organizational work. Later, they decided to break away from the Chinese secret societies to form their own Indian secret society (if at all it can be termed as such) for the purpose of 'serving' the Indian community. This theme of keeping up with the Joneses seems a common feature of the Indian community. Then, they started recruiting new members and carried out their activities which was, more often than not, bloody gang clashes. Learning from the Chinese secret societies, these Indian gangs also started their own code, hand signs, tattoo marks and "territories", so to say, All these features have a resemblance to the Chinese secret societies and this further strengthens the hypothesis of how the Indian gang came to exist. This then was the beginning of the Indian gang. (Respondents view/story of how the Indian gang emerged will be discussed in Chapter 2).

**SOCIAL CHANGE AND ORGANIZED CRIME**

In the face of social changes, the role of organized crime is also changing or it would be more apt to say that organized crime is adapting itself to the social changes around it.
This can be seen clearly in the case of the Chinese secret societies. During the beginning stages, they were merely clan association but now their activities are carried out like Mafia-style. (See page 11) The ability to adapt itself to social changes has enabled the Chinese secret societies to continue existing, apart from strengthening its interest in criminal activities. The changes that took place among Chinese secret societies is shown below in sequence:

1) clan associations
2) protection of vested position (economic)
3) protection of territories
4) taking control of other territories
5) involvement in crime (gambling, vice ring, extortion, etc).

The reason for the Chinese secret societies to adapt well to social changes lies mainly in their motive − which is purely economic. They are willing to commit anything, whether legal or illegal, to protect their financial stature and sources of income. This can be seen from the shooting incidence in Kuala Lumpur on 13.9.1984, where a painter was shot dead and a car repossession seriously injured. These societies have their own network of influential people who "put a word to the relevant authorities" when these mobsters land in trouble.

So much for the Chinese secret societies, the Indian gangs have been more or less static and have not adapted themselves well to changes around them. If, at the beginning stages, they were involved in gang clashes, now the situation is still the same. Moreover, these gangs and their leaders are easily detected and arrested by the police. This is because the gang members are
Feud at race course could have sparked the killing of painter

Sources said Chan Toon allegedly told police soon after being picked up about two kilometres from the scene of the shooting, that the shooting was in retaliation over a feud with a rival group of bookies.

The shooting occurred just four hours after talks with a rival group of bookies turned sour.

The talks, at a nightclub in the Campbell shopping complex, to discuss settlement of a quarrel at the race course on Sunday.

In that incident, painter Soon Huiat punched another man, believed to be a bookie, with a rival group.

The man later turned up with two others and swore to "get even" with the painter.

Both groups left after agreeing to talk over the matter at the Campbell complexes the following day.

About 8pm yesterday, the two rival groups held talks at a nightclub in the complex.

The talks ended in deadlock.

About 8pm three men drove up to a food stall in Jalan Pasar Indan where Soon Huiat and Chan Toon were having some drinks.

Two men, identified by police as members of a rival Indian gang, opened fire and killed Soon Huiat who died of cover under the table as others diners watched in astonishment.

One of the gunmen shot the painter in the back of his head before opening fire at Chan Toon, who fled across the road. The assailants then got into the car and sped off towards Jalan Gombak.

Three times

Soon Huiat's brother, Soon Wah, 18, was near the scene when the shooting took place. He heard the shots and went to have a look.

Soon Wah, a construction worker, got a shock when he saw his brother was the one who was shot.

He ran home, which was nearby, and informed his father, Terry driver Lee Huiat.

They went back to the scene, carried Soon Huiat into their car and rushed him to hospital.

Chan Toon, who was shot three times, was picked up by a patrol car crew about two kilometres away at the Jalan Pahang and taken to hospital.

City OCC ACP T过户

Natalie Dun was at the scene to supervise police investigations.

CHANGING PATTERNS OF CHINESE
SECRET SOCIETIES

Malay Mail 19th September 1984
not bound by any oath of secrecy and once they are caught and interrogated by the police, they reveal everything they know about the gang and its leaders. Thus, we see Indian gangs emerge and then fade away very regularly. This phenomenon of emergence and extinction of the gangs can be understood if we base these gangs on the definition given by Thrasher, that they are spontaneously formed and their solidarity, morale and loyalty are not very high.

RESEARCH PROBLEM

Existence of organized crime in Malaysia is an accepted fact. Many academic studies have been done on crime in Malaysia, namely delinquency, drugs, and secret societies. However, there has not been any sociological study on Indian gangs and their implications. Most of the work on secret societies are on Chinese secret societies. Thus, the aim of this study is to give a brief outline of the Indian gangs around Kuala Lumpur. As a brief study, it is not the aim here to concentrate on the evolvement of the Indian gang alone, but it encompasses such issues as the differences of the various Indian gangs, the threat of these gangs to the society and also the reasons for members to join these criminal gangs. Emphasis is also given on the effects of environment and socialization process on individuals who become gang members. Included here is also a chapter on the police authorities and some crime preventive laws, which are meant to show the success of the police in battling with these gangs and the efficiency of the laws in combating this menace.
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Two main methods were used for the purpose of this study that is library research and interviews. However, the number of books written on the subject of gangs are rather few let alone the subject of Indian gangs which is nearly nil. A majority of the text touch on juvenile gangs and juvenile delinquency. These books on gangs are written by American and other western educationists, based on their findings in their respective countries. Although a majority of these books are irrelevant to this study, some of their findings, assumptions and theories are also applicable to the local Indian gangs.

Interviews were carried out with former and present gang leaders. Altogether 12 gang leaders were interviewed, each interview lasting about half an hour. In some cases, the interviews would go on for an hour or more, especially interviews with former leaders (who are now leading a normal married life) who were willing to tell about their numerous experiences in gang clashes, collection of protection money, table-talks and also their confrontations and escapades from police harassment. Present gang leaders were not that willing to part with information for fear of adverse effects. They were very brief in stating their gang activities and the exact reasons for this study had to be explained to them every now and then to gain their confidence.

The interviews were carried out in an informal way. Questionnaires were not used for the interviews and even notes were not taken during the conversation. Only after having finished an
interview, the facts were compiled and this relied heavily on memory. However, for the first three interviews, notes were taken down, making it slightly formal. The reason for not using questionnaires is because Mak Lau Fong, in his research on Chinese secret societies, suggested that the presence of questionnaires would apprehend the interviewees from giving correct answers. Their apprehension is that I might be working for the police and as such whatever secret they mention might later be used against them.

The interviews were held in different places. Some were held at coffee-shops, others were held at the interviewee's home. One interview was even held at a police station. During the first three interviews, I proceeded direct to the topic and this created some sort of uneasiness among the respondents, as though they were being insulted and accused of malaise. In later interviews, a direct approach was not used. Instead, I started the conversation by inquiring about the respondent's views about current national issues and the changes happening within the society. This indirect approach helped to ease the psychological barrier which prevented the respondents from expressing freely their opinions in earlier interviews. Only after establishing a better rapport with the respondents, relevant questions pertaining to this study was directed to them.

Apart from gang members, interviews were also held with some police officers and crime reporters from some local newspapers. In the discussions with the police officers, police actions against these gangs, the acts that are used to arrest gang members and their
success in curbing the gang activities were discussed. In addition, the vast experience of some of our local news reporters gave some insight as to why individuals become gang members and the normal activities of these gangs.

Being the pioneer study on Indian gangs in Kuala Lumpur, this work is not devoid of its weaknesses. The weaknesses are mainly due to the lack of relevant literature and also because it depends heavily on what the gang leaders had to say. One of the major weaknesses is that the number of respondents, 12 of them, is minimal. This was so, because being illegal gangs, it is difficult to locate the respondents. They were mostly introduced to me through a third party and at times fourth party. In fact, fixing appointments with the third or fourth party themselves was a taxing problem. At times it even took up to 2 months to interview a respondent after knowing the third person and asking him to fix an appointment with the respondent. With some respondents, the appointments were always postponed to a further date. Even then, some of the respondents were not very willing to give their cooperation. One former leader even advised me to think about the future and not to dig about the past history, which he says is not going to help us very much. Moreover, the respondents were very suspicious of my motives for the study even after official letters were produced to them.

Secondly, it should be stressed that this study is, to a great extent, based on the assumption that the respondents gave the true picture of what had happened or what is happening within
the gang. (12) However, I have tried to present a fair and meaningful analysis from the facts and figures provided so as to reduce (as far as possible) any ambiguity or misinterpretation.

Thirdly, this study is not backed with much data, for example on the membership of a particular gang. The reason for this is that the respondents themselves are not sure or are not willing to give the data. (13) However, I have tried to insert some data wherever possible and available. The absence of some data, for example the number of gang members, makes it impossible to judge the extensiveness of the gang phenomenon. As such, to a great extent, this study depends on the frankness with which the respondents, both gang leaders and police officers, gave the answers to the questions put forward to them.

Fourthly, this study is twofold. On the one hand, it gives a description about the Indian gangs, the ceremonies and their activities. On the other hand, it gives a brief account of what lures individuals to join these gangs. This makes the study more complicated as there are two aims. However, more emphasis is given to the origin of the Indian gangs, their ceremonies and activities.

12 - Topics like the origin of Indian gangs, their organization, rites and ceremonies and gang activities are mainly based on what the respondents said.

13 - For example, the number of gang members they have and the total income from their protection service is not mentioned by them.
CHAPTER 2

ORIGIN OF INDIAN GANGS

INTRODUCTION

The origin of Indian gangs in Malaysia is still largely under speculation. The gang leaders themselves are unsure of the origin of their gangs. Apart from being the successors of the previous leader, little else about the gang are known by them.

The police authorities believe that the Indian gangs were started in the 1950's as this was when they first encountered problems of Indian gangsterism. The origin of Indian gangs was related by one of the respondents in a similar way to the police hypothesis.

THE ORIGIN

One of the first gang was Gang 3 which operated in the San Peng area in Kuala Lumpur. This gang was, however, more of an "in-group", which was formed by some rich individuals to protect their vested business interests. They shared some group money and did not wish any outflow of money from their circle of friends.

However, a few years later (during the late 1950s) due to some internal friction, they broke off and formed Gang 36 which still did not have any criminal features. At this time, there was some caste problems in this area. Some individuals from the higher caste used to harass the lower caste community, who were constantly beaten up and some were said to have died from such attacks. So
as to provide protection to the lower caste community, the Gang 36 started to attack higher caste members who were responsible for the attacks on the lower caste community. From this moment of time onwards, they were said to have started asking for protection fees and looking for new means of income, which was mainly through extortion. This turn of events also brought changes to the gang itself. Having started off as Gang 3, it was later known as Gang 36 in some area a different individual or a group of individuals from 1960 till 1966. After 1966, it was called Gang 360 and is also the start of criminal identity for the gang.

Another respondent gave a different picture about the origins of his gang - Gang 24. This gang operated at a local theatre in the city centre. All this while, the Indians were members in the Malay Gang 24 which operated around the said theatre. During the 1960s, the Indian members were discriminated and were unsatisfied with this treatment by the leaders. As such the respondent with some other Indian friends decided to hold a table-talk to resolve the problem. They then came to a settlement, which was, when Tamil movies were screened at the theatre the Indians will be active i.e. to say they will be the blackmarket ticket spivs. And when Malay or Hindi movies are screened the Malays would operate the blackmarket ring. Hence the Gang 24 came into operation during the mid 1960s at the said theatre. (1) However, another respondent who was a leader of Gang 24 in Batu Caves said that he took over the gang leadership from his brother during the early 1960s. As such, it can be accepted that the Gang 24 was already existing in the 1950s.

(1) - This is an "area gang" which was started in the late 60s. In another area, Batu Caves, Gang 24 was already existing in the early 60s. As such, the origin of the "area gang" cannot be used to describe the origin of the pioneer Gang 24.
Based on the 12 interviews conducted with past and present gang leaders, it is a difficult task to state the exact date or year of origin of the Indian gang. Moreover, gangs are prevalent throughout the city and its outskirts and most of them have the same gang name although they do not come under one leader. In each area a different individual or a group of individuals start a new gang but name their gang with the same name as that which exist in another area. For instance, the Gang 24 in the theatre area was a newly formed gang during the mid 1960s by breaking away from the Malay Gang 24. At the same time a Gang 24 was already existing in the Batu Caves area since the 50s.

It can be deduced that the origins of the Indian gang in the city was in the late 1950s, having branched out from existing Chinese secret societies. Due to their former link with the Chinese secret societies, the Indian gangs used to identify themselves with numerical codes, just like the Chinese secret societies.

**GANGS AND THEIR AREAS OF OPERATION**

All in there are about 112 Indian gangs operating in Kuala Lumpur and its outskirts. They are Gangs 360, 303, 04, 08, 21, 24, 101, A1-81, Hati Keras, Satu Hati and Blues Gang. Even though there are only 11 gangs, it should be understood that these gangs are operational throughout the city. For instance, Gang 24 exists in the following areas:
City centre - Coliseum, Central and Hindustan theatres; Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman; Brickfield's toddy shop; Jalan Kenanga flats; Jalan Shaw flats; Sentul Pasar Dalam; Setapak and Hot Springs area.

This Gang 24 exists in 8 different parts of the city and each area has its own leader. However, some of the gangs in different areas come under the control of just one leader for example Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman and the three theatres are under one leader. Even then, those gangs of the same number consider themselves as brothers and do not fight among each other. As such a Gang 24 member is free to go to any of the areas mentioned above and he will not be harassed. The important factor is that the member should know the correct hand sign of the gang to prove that he is a true member of Gang 24.

Gangs and their areas of origin:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gang</th>
<th>Area of Origin</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>San Peng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Batu Caves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Jalan Ipoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Sentul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04</td>
<td>Cheras Municipal Quarter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satu Hati</td>
<td>Hospital Quarter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blues Gang</td>
<td>Ampang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hati Keras</td>
<td>Puchong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1-81</td>
<td>Pekeliling Flats</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gang 303 and 101 - their areas of origin are not known.

Table 2.1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GANGS</th>
<th>AREAS OF OPERATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>04 (4 Lubang)</td>
<td>Cheras Municipal Quarters; Ampang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>Sentul; Kepong-Jinjang; Selayang; Segambut; Batu Caves; Damansara; Kampung Maxwell; Scott Road (Brickfields); Bungsar; San Peng; Kampung Pandan; Ampang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Jalan Ipoh; Damansara; Brickfields; Bungsar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Batu Caves; Coliseum, Central and Hindustan theatres; Jalan Tuanku Abdul Rahman; Brickfields' toddy shop; Jalan Kenanga flats; Jalan Shaw flats; Sentul Pasar Dalam; Setapak; Hot Springs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>Sentul Pasar Dalam; Sentul Pasar Railway Quarters; Sentul toddy shop; Cheras Municipal Quarters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303</td>
<td>Kampung Siam; Setapak; Jalan Ipoh Batu 5; Bungsar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>San Peng; Loke Yew; Imbi toddy shop; Kampung Pandan; Cheras.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satu Hati</td>
<td>Hospital Quarters; Cheras 2\frac{1}{2} milestone; town centre; Brickfields; Bungsar; Hot Springs; Gurney Municipal Quarters; Kampung Loke Yew; Puchong; Serdang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blues Gang</td>
<td>Ampang; San Peng; Kampung Pandan; Cheras 2\frac{1}{2} milestone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hati Keras</td>
<td>Puchong; Serdang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1-81</td>
<td>Pekeliling flats; Kolam Air; Sentul; Sentul Selatan; Batu Caves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.2: GANGS AND THEIR AREAS OF OPERATION

Leader also known as Elder Brother
Tiger General who is the Chief fighter
White Rat the teacher
Red Staff the executioner
ORGANIZATION OF INDIAN GANGS

The Indian Gangs are not well organized and this leads to the constant arrest of its members by the police. In the words of a police officer, "These gangs are loose gangs where the leaders' control is not strong." They are said as not organized in the sense that they do not have role specification, like that of the Chinese secret societies, where the roles played by the members differ from one another. Furthermore, all members are subservient to the leader and those of higher ranks. Each member has a designated role in the organization and their roles do not overlap one another. (2)

Indian gangs do not have such role differentiation. However, there is a consent to the authority and powers of the leader and chief fighter. Below the leader is the "tiger", normally the person who is next in line to the gang leadership. Apart from these 2 persons, there are a few other strong gang members who are respected for their bravery. The members' strength in the organization lies in the fact that they attend all talks which are held by the gang.

Apart from these few persons, there is the official treasurer. Normally, the gangs appoint a shopkeeper (normally between the shopkeeper and the gang. From time to time, the shopkeeper will be asked to show the gang's account. It is very unlikely that the shopkeeper will cheat the gang of their money as the consequences of being known to the shop-keeper will be severe.

2 - Among the roles in the Chinese secret societies are:

- Leader also known as Elder Brother
- Tiger General who is the Chief fighter
- White Fan the teacher
- Red Staff the executioner
sundry or coffee shops) as their treasurer. They keep any money that they derive from their activities with him, although he is not an active gang member. The shopowner then deposits the gang money in his savings account. Apart from the gangs' income, the shopowner also deposits his own. This is done to prevent police detection. The logic for this can be understood by the following explanation. Gang A, which collects protection money amounting to $24.40 per month, gives it to the shopowner for saving. The gang, as an illegal society, cannot have a bank account of its own. As such, the shopowner's name is used to bank in their income. If the shopowner was to bank in $24.40 every month, this gives rise to suspicion as to the means the shopowner derives his monthly income as the denomination is known to be the amount collected by Gang A as protection money. As such, the police will intervene and the shopowner will be questioned which, in turn, might lead to the gang being crippled by the police. To avoid all this, Gang A will give their money to the shopkeeper who deposits it in his savings account together with his own personal savings. By this way, the amount deposited varies from time to time depending on the shopkeeper's business turnover and as such there is nothing to be suspicious about. This process is done on a basis of mutual trust between the shopkeeper and the gang. From time to time, the shopkeeper will be asked to show the gang's account. It is very unlikely that the shopkeeper will cheat the gang of their money as the consequences of such a deed will be tragic and is known to the shopkeeper.
Apart from the treasurer role played by the shopkeeper, his shop (if it is a coffee shop) is frequently used for holding table-talks. Moreover, the gang members often drink and eat at the shop for "free". The shopkeeper however deducts the amount to be paid for the meal or drink from the gang account. For all these services provided by the shopkeeper, the gang provides protection service for him at no cost. The shopkeeper is also seldom questioned regarding the amount of money he is holding. Everything is taken for granted and with good faith.

The leader plays the most important role in the organization of the gang. Frequently the leader is a strong and brave personality who starts off in the organization as an ordinary member. By virtue of his fighting ability he is appointed or proclaims himself as a leader. Appointment of an individual as a leader is done by a "bapak" or a patron who was a former leader of the gang and gives support to it at times of need. The appointment is done when a present leader wishes to step down from involvement in gang activities. The reasons for ending ties with gangs are mainly due to marriage and age factors. Self-proclamation as a leader happens when an individual initiates a new gang in a territory or when he breaks away, with some strong backing, from the present gang in which he is an active member.

The leader can be considered as the brains behind the organization. He is responsible for the smooth running of the organization. He initiates ways and means by which the gang can continue its existence free of police harassment. He is also
responsible for finding means of financial security in case some of his members are arrested by police or hurt in clashes with rival gangs. He is also responsible in laying down rules and regulations which are to be adhered to strictly by his members. He also has to settle disputes, both internal and external. Finally, he is also the person to judge and punish any wrongdoers in his gang.

As such, the responsibility of a gang leader is very heavy. If he manages to carry out his responsibilities well, then he will stay at the helm of the leadership with utmost security. When the leader is weak, he loses out, not only to other stronger gang members but also to the police.

The "tiger" or the fighter is another important figure in the gang. The tiger is normally a very brave person who is willing to face even death in carrying out his duties. He is the right-hand of the leader and with his backing, a leader is very safe in terms of muscle power. At every important function of the gang, the "tiger" will be present. Supporting the "tiger" are a few strong and brave men who are responsible for executing punishments or carrying out the orders of the leader like going for a gang clash. The presence of these persons at a clash shows the gangs' strength in terms of bravery. More often than not, the "tigers" are exponents of some martial arts.

Then, there are the new members who are put on probation for at least 3 months, to confirm their allegiance to the gang and its cause. These new members are not drafted immediately into the gang. When an individual wants to be a member of the gang, he is
at first asked to perform some light duties for the gang like of carrying messages. After about 3 months, he is given a break to prove his worthiness to be drafted as a member into the gang. The break is given in the form of accompanying the gang in a raid or a gang clash. If the individual shows courage during the operation, then he will be drafted as a member or else he is not. Apart from this, the gang also gets information (through its own sources) regarding the individual like his true name (in case he is cheating his name), his aims for joining the gang, previous records and so forth.

From the above description it can be seen that the Indian gang does have role specification to a certain extent but it lacks specialization. Only the leader and the "tiger" together with a few others seem to shoulder the responsibility of running the gang. As such the Indian gang is not a well-organized institution albeit illegal. Its main flaw lies in the fact that there is not much role specialization. The leader has the greatest responsibility and power. When the leader is concerned about the future of the gang, then the smooth running of the organization is ensured. On the other hand, when the leader has a carefree and careless attitude, then the organization is doomed for destruction with internal friction at first. This was what happened to one gang in Sungei Buloh.

Gang 1 was operating in Batu Caves and its surrounding areas. The leader had a very strong personality and was respected very much by his members. Soon his territory of control spread to
neighbouring areas. At this time in Sungei Buloh, the leader of Gang 2 which was operating in that area, was behaving in a manner unbecoming of a leader. He was treating his members very badly. All the gang money was being used by the leader on entertainment for himself. He did not care much about his members' well-being. Unsatisfied with their leader, some members of Gang 2 approached the leader of Gang 1, seeking his help to form a new Gang 1 in Sungei Buloh. Following this request, the leader of Gang 1 went to Sungei Buloh and set up Gang 1 there as an opposition to Gang 2, which was by now inactive and weak. As such, Sungei Buloh area was taken over by Gang 1 from Gang 2 and a local leader was appointed.

Another reason for the weak organization of the gang is that the rules and regulations of the gang are not strictly adhered to and also the members are given much freedom to find their own means of financial support. This can be seen by the involvement of individual gang members in prostitution rings and drug pushing. Although, according to the respondents, the gang collectively does not involve in such activities, some of its members are directly involved. These members earn the money for themselves and are not compelled to give a certain portion to the gang. But if they wish, they could buy the gang members food or pay for their entertainment occasionally. However, when these gang members, who are involved with prostitutes and drugs, are caught by the police, the gang will not help him out. This might also lead to the captured gang members leaking information regarding the gang. All these clearly show that the Indian gang is a very weak organization which can be easily traced and later crippled by the police.
RITES AND CEREMONIES

Rites and ceremonies do not seem to play an important role within the gangs. Before proceeding further, it is proper to clarify the meaning of rites and ceremonies. Rites are religious ceremonies held by any sect of a community to highlight a certain phenomenon within the community. These ceremonies help to foster the integrity of the community. In this respect, the rites and ceremonies of a gang are referred solely to the ceremonial procedures held by the gang during the initiation of new members or the appointment of a member to a specific role. This is not a widely present phenomenon among the Indian gangs. More so at the present day, such ceremonies are practically nil. Not all the gangs have ceremonies to officialize enrolment of new members into the gang. Neither do they have a certain God as a patron unlike the Chinese secret societies which pray to Kuan Ping, the War God. From the fieldwork done, the chart below is derived to show the existence of role stratification and presence of ceremonies in some of the gangs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gang</th>
<th>Role Stratification</th>
<th>Ceremonies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>08</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>360</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satu Hati</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.3: Presence of Role Stratification and Ceremonies
TYPES OF CEREMONIES

Gang 24 - 3 leaders of Gang 24 were interviewed and of these, only 2 related the presence of some simple ceremonies to officiate the appointment of leaders. Mr A who was a leader of Gang 24 during the 1960s and 70s had the following to say: "There is no special ceremony for the intake of new ordinary members. However, for the heads or leaders, we have a ceremony. Normally the ceremony takes place at a cemetery during night time. There, 9 of us had to kneel down and take an oath of secrecy regarding the gang, its members and its activities. After the oath, each one of us were given a small cup (like those used to drink Chinese tea, but smaller in size) filled with a very bitter oil. We were told to gulp the oil without stopping and also warned not to say that the oil was bitter. At this time, without our knowledge, at the back of us were individuals wielding swords aimed at our neck. In case any one of us were to stop and say that they could not consume the bitter oil, the swords would have slashed their necks. However, all 9 of us managed to withstand the bitterness. The reason for this ceremony was to test our allegiance to the gang and our ability to withstand torture. The bitter oil figuratively means the treatment which will be given by the police when we are arrested and also the wounds that we might sustain in a gang clash. If we could not drink the bitter oil, it goes to show that our dedication and loyalty to the gang is suspect at times of torture and when caught by the police, we will release whatever knowledge we have about the gang to safeguard our own skin."
Mr B, also a Gang 24 leader had a different sort of ceremony when he was made the leader. It is not so much of a ceremony but more of an oath of loyalty. Mr B was taken to a cemetery at night, where he made an oath to keep the gang's identity secret and to run the organization in a fair manner. Here, he was briefed on the rules and regulations that must be adhered to at all times by him and his members. Among the rules were:

1) no drug addicts can be part of their gang
2) no pimps can be members of the gang
3) rape is prohibited
4) extortion from under-aged boys is prohibited
5) if an enemy has his wife, girlfriend or a child besides him, he should never be attacked. He can only be attacked when he is alone or with the company of adult males.

Gang 360 - 2 leaders from this gang were interviewed. Both of them gave an almost identical picture of the ceremony held by their gang for the initiation of their leaders. Mr X was a Gang 360 leader in the 60s and 70s. His picture of the ceremony which he underwent is as follows.

"In Gang 360, our tradition is to change the leader once in every five years. The appointment of a new leader will be done by the "bapak". When I was to be appointed the leader, 13 of us went to a nearby cemetery (for any ceremony held by this gang at the cemetery, only 13 persons will be present - not more and not less as this has been the tradition). There we had prayers and a medium was also present to conduct the prayers. The prayer
is held to obtain the blessing of the spirits for the new leader. After the prayer, a few chickens and a goat were slaughtered and a feast was held for the 13 of us there."

CONCLUSION

It can be seen from these descriptions of the ceremonies held by Indian gangs that there are a lot of differences between the ceremonies of one gang compared to another. Furthermore, some gangs do not have any ceremony at all. However, there are a few interesting features about these gang ceremonies. Firstly, there is no one standard ceremony which is followed by these gangs. The same gang but operating in different areas under different leaders seem to have totally different ceremonies, like in the case of Gang 24. Secondly, although their ceremonies are different the venue always seem to be a cemetery. Thirdly, the presence of magico-religious ceremonies. It should be noted that initiation ceremonies being held at cemeteries mean that these gangs are also magico-religious societies. What's more with the presence of mediums who pray to the spirit for the blessing of the newly appointed leader? However, it can be argued that the reason why these gangs chose the cemetery is to prevent any detection from the public and the police as during the night time the cemetery is an uninhibited area. Another interesting feature is that these initiation ceremonies are held only for leaders and occasionally other top hats. This, in a way, signifies the importance of the leader in the organization above the others. On the other hand, by not having
initiation ceremonies for the ordinary members, it does not help to create a sense of belonging to the gang among its members.

Although they are dedicated members, it is the belief here that having initiation ceremonies would help the leader have a better control of its members. This is because, during such ceremonies, fear which is instilled in everyone acts as a deterrence for the members to stick to the gang rules and regulations. Firstly, having a ceremony at night at a cemetery is by itself frightening. Then, the presence of sword wielding individuals create further fear. This will ween the truly loyal members from the rest.

One important inference that can be made based on these ceremonies is that Indian gangs did not branch out from one main gang. If it had, then the traditions of the gang would have been followed by all the new gangs. But the direct opposite is true here. Every gang has its own version of ceremony with modifications according to the leader. Thus the springing up of Indian gangs can be attributed to the "keeping up with the Joneses" slogan.

FIGHTS

Gang fights are brought about by any or all of the several means below:

1) gang rivalry

2) public intoxication

3) pride.

Normally when a member is attacked by some rival gang members, then the gang as a whole is involved to vindicate the rival gangs' attack. This kind of rivalries are continued indefi-
CHAPTER 3

ACTIVITIES OF THE GANG

INTRODUCTION

Basically, all the Indian gangs in Kuala Lumpur are criminal gangs and as such their activities are of criminal nature. It includes gang fights, extortion, prostitution and drug traffic-engaging gang A, Mr A has to pay the gang a certain amount of money, apart from the "protection service" which they provide for a fee. However, it should also be noted that these activities vary from one gang to another due to the differences of the leaders' ideas and principles. Some gangs offer mainly protection service, whereas others play the role of arbitrators of disputes between people in their territory and also between other gangs (e.g. Satu Hati gang).

FIGHTS

Gang fights are brought about by any or all of the means below:

i) gang rivalry

ii) public

iii) intoxication

iv) pride.

Normally when a member is attacked by some rival gang members, then the gang as a whole is involved to vindicate the rival gang's attack. This kind of rivalries are continued indefi-
necessarily and over a long period of time.

Then there are situations where the public propagate gang fights. The following description will show how this comes about. When an individual, Mr A, has some grudge and hatred towards a certain person, Mr B, and wants to hurt him physically, he engages Gang X to do the job. Mr A himself could not possibly do the job because of factors like timidity, small physique compared to Mr B or not wanting to land in trouble with the police later. On engaging Gang X, Mr A has to pay the gang a certain amount of money which depends on whether Mr B is to be killed or his limbs slashed off. Another criterion which the gang uses to ascertain the amount to be paid is the wealth of Mr A i.e. he has to pay more if he is wealthy and vice versa. When Gang X attacks or slashes Mr B, the latter might seek the assistance of Gang Y to take revenge over Mr A. But then, since Mr A has paid Gang X for the job, he is also eligible for protection from them. As such when Gang Y assaults him, Gang X will help Mr A and this leads to direct confrontation between Gangs X and Y.

Another factor which brings about gang fights are the "boozing" (drinking) sessions that the gang members have quite frequently. Normally, the members have a certain "hang-out" where they gather for these sessions. As such they become accustomed to the place and feel proud about it. Very often they drink to a high level of intoxication which makes them irrational thinkers and of course noise-makers. If other clients at the coffee shop or restaurant ignore the din made by these gangsters, then everything goes on fine. However, if someone were to look, which the gangsters
consider as a stare, at them and start whispering among themselves, the gangsters will be waiting to create trouble out of it. If, they start a fight, and end it there, everything will be fine. But, if the others feel that they have been pushed around and want to get even with the gangsters, then they will call their gang or, if they are not members of any gang, hire a gang to fight the gangsters. Fights during drinking sessions seem to be a normal affair among these people (for that matter even between persons who are not gang members). Sometimes after drinks, these members try to have fun by means of causing hurt or damage to the general public or to an individual person.

One other factor which brings about fights is "pride". Generally, these gang members are very proud of themselves and their gang and also carry themselves in an arrogant manner. This is especially true with the young gang members. This being the case, when they are involved in a small misunderstanding or accident, they do not or are not willing to settle the trivial issue there and then itself but create a bigger issue out of it, which ultimately results in violence.

**PROTECTION SERVICE**

Most of the gangs' major source of income is from this service. This protection service is similar to the legal security services provided by private firms. The only difference between them is that the gang's service is illegal although its rates are very much lower. In this service, the gang covers all or most of
the businessmen and shopowners in their "territory" with something similar to an insurance policy. These shopowners have to pay a monthly (weekly at times) subscription to the gang which in return guarantees that the shopowners' business will not be disrupted by any outsiders or people residing in that area. If at all the business is disrupted, then the gang has to pay indemnities to the shopowners for the loss incurred. The amount paid as protection fees depends on the gang which collects it and also on the scale or prosperity of the business. For instance, Gang 24 collects $240.00 as the first payment from a restaurant and $12.40 per week thereon. However, from a stall owner, the gang collected $24.40 every month. Gang 360 on the other hand collects $13.60 from a news stand; $136.00 per month from a restaurant and $3,600.00 from a contractor who was putting up a building in their area of operation.

In this protection service, the gangs have to ensure that these people who are subscribing to them are free from any harassment that might hinder their business or work progress. In Batu Caves, during the 1960s, Gang 24 was collecting $2,400.00 from a contractor who was constructing a building there. The gang had to pay for some damages caused to the building by some unknown parties. The windows in the building were broken and as such Gang 24 had to pay for it.

Most of the subscribers to the gang seem to be willing to pay to the gang as the amount is nominal compared to their business turnover. Moreover, the operation of this service is
beneficial to them in the sense that they might be extorted by some others if they did not subscribe to the gang.

Gangs are not the only ones to be collecting such protection money. Even some legal bodies (uniformed bodies) are known to have done this. I personally remember some police personnel who did this during the late 60s and early 70s. (1) At that time 2 or 3 police constables who are on patrol duty come by to some stalls and the stallholders would chip in some money to be given to the constables. Depending on the number of police constables, the amount paid by one stallholder varies from 30 cents to 50 cents. One of the stallholders would go around collecting the money from about 8-10 stalls and gave the money collected to the constables. (2)

A few years later, when City Hall set up its Enforcement Unit who were empowered to serve summons to all non-licensed and errand stallowners, the same procedure used to be done. The only change being that now a larger amount was being collected, which was a dollar a stallholder. This collection happens once or twice a week. (3)

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1 - I was about 9 years old at this time.

2 - I have personally collected the money from the stallholders and handed it to the police constables a couple of times. Among the stalls were news stands, drinks stall, food stalls and coffee stalls. The area is the old taxi stand beside the Government Dental Clinic in Jalan Tun Perak.

3 - I have also personally collected and handed the money to the enforcement unit people a couple of times.
Activity of Indian Gang

TERROR GANG

By M. VEERA PANDIYAN and SIVA KUMAR G

KUALA LUMPUR, Sun. — Residents, schoolchildren and shopkeepers in Kampung Kolam Ayer off Jalan Ipoh here are being terrorised by armed rowdy mobsters who have openly identified themselves as "Gang 300."

About half the members are made up of 15-to-17-year-old youths, including several schoolboys who have become the terror of schoolchildren in the area. These youths carry penknives and an ingenious weapon — bottle openers, with one end sharpened.

The National Echo understands that the gang became active early this year. Of late they have become "very daring" and are going on a large-scale "recruitment" of youths in the Kampung and of schoolboys from nearby secondary schools.

One of the residents said the "schoolboy gang members" were the ones who gave the most problems to residents.

"They beat up children and even adults at the slightest provocation. It is difficult to fight them because they are usually in a group of about 15. And most of them carry modified bottle openers as weapons," the residents said.

Schoolchildren get beaten up if they do not pay a "subscription fee" of $3.00 or if they enter the gang's territory — a corner of the Sri Dhan-
dayal National School field.

Adults are intimidated into a fight if they just stare at the gang members.

Shopkeepers are also forced to pay "subscription money" — $3.00 — which is probably why the gang got its name.

The modified bottle openers, besides being used by the schoolboy gangsters to threaten people, also come in handy when soft drinks are delivered to shops. The gang carts away the crates and help themselves to the drinks.

Residents said since early this year, there have been a number of fights in the school field, the most recent one last Sunday.

One of the residents picked up a wallet believed to belong to one of the schoolboy gangsters. In it was a photostatied identity card and bottle opener with one end sharpened.

The "senior" gang members are present only during fights. They also come to collect protection money from shopkeepers.

It is understood that so far only one report has been lodged against the gangsters — by a father of a schoolboy who was a victim. The caretaker of the school has, however,
Activities of Indian Gangs

HOUSEWIFE BEATEN UP AND HOUSE FURNITURE SMASHED

KUALA LUMPUR, Wed. — A 31-year-old housewife, who did not allow her two sons to join some gangsters, was severely beaten by six men with a rock in Kampung Kuantan here last night.

Mdm. Kanniamma, who sustained a fractured arm and received bruises on her face and body, was saved from further injury by her four daughters who pulled her to safety.

The men, however, smashed everything in the house, including furniture, glassware and a TV set.

They also smashed two bicycles parked outside.

Mdm. Kanniamma, who sought treatment at the General Hospital today, said the men broke down the front door at about 11 p.m. after she had refused to open it.

"My two sons had gone to the cinema and I asked a neighbour to come over."

"A few days earlier some gangsters in the area had approached my sons to join them but I refused persuasion."

"The men then demanded that I pay $50 protection money which I also refused."

"Since then I had kept my doors locked so I asked my neighbour to keep an eye on my compound whenever my sons were out," she said.

"SCREAMED.

She said they started butting her as soon as they had broken in. Her daughters, aged from nine to 16, pulled her to safety through the rear door.

"My daughters were screaming and when my neighbour told the men to stop they threatened to assault her if she did not mind her own business," said Mdm. Kanniamma.

They then began smashing my TV set, furniture, glassware and other articles."

"They also took about $300 from Mdm. Kanniamma, who estimated the damage at $150,"

Police who rushed to the scene picked up two suspects. A third suspect, a relative of Mdm. Kanniamma, was arrested later.

Girl gang-raped, father slashed by 4

KUALA LUMPUR, Tues. — A 14-year-old girl was abducted from her house and gang-raped after her father was slashed by four men in Puchong yesterday.

She was found by police with her dress torn and blood stained in a kampung house.

Her father, a 45-year-old factory worker, was earlier slashed twice on the head by the four men in his house in Kampung Besi, 1km Jalan Puchong.

He was admitted to the University Hospital but his condition was not serious.

Police have detained four suspects.

City CID chief ACP Yahaya said four men, one armed with a parang and the others with sticks, entered the house of the 16-year-old girl yesterday and forced open the front door.

They confronted him and demanded to see his son, a factory caretaker.

When he told them that his son was not in, they left. However, they returned about 30 minutes later and attacked him.

They then grabbed his daughter and rode off on motor-cycles.

N.S.

Teenager

Acting on information, Tog Nyee Fong and Ng Seng, rushed to an unoccupied kampung house near the Seri Raja Kuala Lumpur Highway about 11am and found the girl abandoned there.

Eight hours later, Brinchin police picked up two suspects, one of them a teenager, in Kampung Teqi Sungai, 1km Jalan Kelang Lama.

The other two suspects were detained at the 1km Jalan Puchong by the Jalan-Sagard Anti-Crime Society Branch.

1) The Star, 12.8.1982

2) Straits Times, 30.5.1984
Activities of Indian Gangs

WORKER DIES IN ATTACK BY GANG OF 10

Kuala Lumpur, 21 AUG 1984

Kuala Lumpur. A construction worker was casualties to his death and his friend was injured when they were attacked by 10 armed men at Kampung Sungai Buloh, Ulu Sungai Buloh, this morning.

Ravi Ramachandran, 19, was shot several times in the chest and died. His body was taken from the house of his parents near a lama at 7:30am.

His friend, identified only as Ramachandran, 21, was taken to hospital in a critical condition and was taken to hospital for surgery. The police found a parang and a gun at the scene of the incident.

It is believed that the killing is connected to a gang war.

Labourer killed, two hurt in clash among 30

Petaling Jaya. A clash among 30 people has left one dead and two injured. The police are investigating the incident.

Two others were injured in the clash and police are seeking more information to clarify the situation.

The police said that the incident occurred in a house where the victims were gathered for a party.

Two groups of people were allegedly involved in the clash, and police are trying to ascertain the exact details.

The police have appealed to the public to come forward with any information that may help in the investigation.

The incident took place on 24 June 1984.

2) The Star, 24.6.1984
Giving money to the corrupt police and enforcement officers was done with the understanding that business would not be affected by these authorities, that is the latter would not issue summons to the stallowners.

The same concept applies to the gangs' protection service. If the municipality authorities warn the stallholders of forthcoming crackdowns on unlicensed stallholders, the gang helps to finance a stall when the business is bad or they reimburse the shopowner with cash if his shop is burglarised or burnt down.

**EXTORTION, PROSTITUTION AND DRUGS**

Previously, during the 1960s and early 1970s gangsters were feared by the general public because the gangsters frequently went on extortion rampage. The members have a certain strategic spot where they can "look out" for any new faces around their territory. If at all, someone from elsewhere were to pass that area, the gangsters are bound to relieve that person of his or her money and jewellerys. Another place where these gangsters carry out this activity is at the local theatres. When a Tamil movie is being screened at these theatres, the gangsters will be present, normally to sell tickets on the black market. This is especially so when the movie is a hit. While some of the members will be handling the black market tickets, others (3 or 4 of them) will go out to "cari makan", a term they use to refer to extortion. Whatever amount of money they get, is used for food and drinks, and if the amount is large, then they share the money among...
themselves.

Not all the Indian gangs as an organization utilize prostitution as a means to earn money. However, in every gang, there are individuals who play the role of Godfather to a few prostitutes. The income that the girls earn are received by these members alone and are not paid to the gang's coffers. These girls are also not protected by the whole gang. The gang is not obliged to help members who live on the prostitutes' earnings. The member involved has to solve whatever problems he faces on his own. The girls too have no obligation towards the gang. However, it is the practice of these girls to provide food and free entertainment to the rest of the gang, once in a while.

Although some gangs deny involvement in prostitution rackets, others however confirm their involvement. These gangs have forced girls into prostitution. The methods they use are brutal and terrifying. Normally, the girls are from rural areas and are brought to the city by an individual, who is also a gang member, on the pretext that he will later marry the girl. The process by which unsuspecting girls are forced into prostitution is as follows. Firstly, a good-looking guy will go to some rural areas and slowly trap an unsuspecting girl into loving him. After a few months of "courting" the boy proposes that the girl run away from home and settle down in Kuala Lumpur. If the girl agrees

4 - The proposal to run away from home is suggested when the girl's parents object to their relationship. The parents being traditional people, do not believe in the girl choosing her own husband and as such they object.
and this is normally the case, she is brought to the city and stays with the boy who then shows his true colour. The girl is taken to a red light area and held captive in a hotel room. There the girl is tied to the bed and gang raped by about 10 - 15 persons. Apart from the gang rape which is done everyday for about a week, the girl is also tortured. She is beaten up by the gang, burning wax is poured over her body and cuts are made with razor blades on her body. Worst still, the cuts are treated with salt water. They During this time minimal food and drink are given to the girl. All these are done to threaten and remind the girl of the consequences she will face, if at all she attempts to run away. After about a week, the girl is led into the prostitution ring, slaving her body to fill the gangsters pockets. After the initial treatment at the hotel room, the girl is provided a home, but most of the time she will be at the hotel. All but 20 per cent of the daily earnings of the girl is collected by the gangsters.

Another way in which gangs are linked with this immoral act is when prostitutes themselves ask for the gangs' protection service. One gang has a few Singaporean girls who are paying protection money to them. This protection service is needed by the prostitutes when individuals, not necessarily gang members, start harassing them. The girls turn to the gang for protection.

Of all the gang leaders interviewed only 2 agreed and confirmed of the gangs' involvement with prostitution. The rest, however, said that only individual members are involved and not the gang as a collective body. It must be understood here that
the gangsters have close relationship among themselves and as such are obliged to one another at times of need. Therefore, it is the contention here that these gangs do run vice rings although it might be in a small scale.

Drug trafficking is another important activity of the gang. Here again it is an individual's effort and the gang as a collective body is not involved. Most of the respondents did not give any information regarding the role of the gang in the drug ring. They merely stated that there are individuals who make a living out of it and from its proceedings provide other gang members with food, drinks and entertainment. Just like in the vice ring, the individual members take the risk of being caught and if caught could not expect the gang's help in any way. (5) One leader stated that during the 1960s when the smoking of ganja was increasing, their gang had a drug wing which solely dealt with drug trafficking. This wing consists of gang members to whom the gang was obliged to help at times of difficulty. Their gang, apart from the drug wing also had a fighting wing which boasted of not a single drug addict among them.

One thing that needs to be pondered is what the gang leaders said about the drug ring, "The gang as a whole is not involved in the drug ring. Only individual members are involved and when these members are caught by the police, the gang need not necessarily help them out." However, it is worthy to note that drug pushing members often provide food, drinks and entertain-

5 - This is the leader's contention.
ment for the other gang members with their earnings from the drug ring. As such, a sense of obligation to the individuals is created amongst gang members. Hence, if an individual is caught for drug pushing, the problem is not just the individuals' but also the gangs'. Thus, it can be deduced that the respondents have not given the true picture regarding the drug ring for fear that such secret activities might be revealed and pose a danger to them.

**OTHER ACTIVITIES**

Another activity of the gang is social service to its members and their family. Every gang have their own treasury in which all the gangs' income are kept. When any gang member is injured during gang activities, then the gang will pay for his medical treatment. If the gang member has been sentenced to jail, then his family will be given financial aid. The amount to be given however, depends on his role in his family. If he is the sole breadwinner of the family, then a generous amount is given to the family on a monthly basis. If he is not the sole supporter then a smaller amount is given. For example, gang 08 gives a married members' family $600.00 per month and to a bachelor's parents $300.00 a month. Apart from this if a member has been arrested by the police under a charge, then the gang will try to work out something to get the member released. Here the amount spent is normally a large figure and whether the gang will work out the release or not depends on who has been arrested by the police. If it is a top man of the gang, then the amount spent is not given
much thought. For example, Gang 08 whose 4 members were arrested on a charge of murder, spent about $7,000.00 within 3 days to get them out.

Then, there are funerals and marriages. During such occasions, the gang will contribute some cash to their member’s family to help them. At times when a gang member is killed, the gang even buys a coffin for him.

These are the main activities of the Indian gangs in Kuala Lumpur. Apart from this, there are also armed robberies, burglary and theft but all these are isolated cases and are seldom committed by the Indian gang. This kind of activities are more common with the Chinese gangs and secret societies.

**INTERACTION BETWEEN GANGS**

In Kuala Lumpur, there are only 11 different gangs (i.e., 11 different gang names) but then these gangs have mushroomed throughout the city without any system. When an individual wants to start a gang, he gets a few strong, close friends and initiates the gang, with a code name of a gang which is already in existence. This is the method by which the Indian gangs have sprouted in Kuala Lumpur.

By interaction, it is meant here the relationship between the various gangs. This relationship is not something that can be bragged about because generally these gangs have a high degree of animosity between one another. For example, in the San Peng area, Gangs 360 and 08 are active and there is such great animosity to get out of the shop. If the rival gang does not leave the place
between them that the flats in that area have been divided into those under the control of Gang 360 and those under Gang 08. When a 08 member goes to the blocks controlled by Gang 360, then a fight is assured. This is more so when the gang members are youngsters and feel arrogant and do not wish to bow to anyone, more so to a member from a rival gang. Then, in Batu Caves during the 60s, the rivalry between Gang 24 and Gang 36 (now known as Gang 360) was at its height and each was trying to outwit the other for the control of the territory. As such, the relationship between different gangs is more often than not of a negative nature.

One way by which interaction among different gangs are brought about is by means of "table-talks" held to settle disputes. Normally, when a gang member is hurt or wounded by a rival gang, a "table-talk" will be held between the 2 gangs. Here both gang leaders and another 2 or 3 members from each gang will sit and thrash out their problems over a drink. If the leaders were to be rational, they will accept their mistake and the one who is in the wrong will agree to pay for the damages. However, if both start accusing each other and do not come to a settlement, then a fight will ensue the "table-talk". The fight itself can be carried out in 2 ways. The first way is that both will agree to fight at an agreed time, date and place. The other alternative is that when one gang does not agree, one of its members will turn the beer glass in an "upside down" way, which indicates that they want to fight. Then, the leader in whose territory the table-talk is being held will give the rival gang a certain time limit (normally 15 minutes) to get out of the shop. If the rival gang does not leave the place
within the stipulated time, then a fight will break out. If the rival gang moves out then it takes back with it, hatred towards the other gang and it will always wait for a chance to take revenge over the other gang.

On the other hand, gangs which have the same name are known as brother gangs. The members of these gangs are not harassed and are free to move about in another place where a similar gang operates. For example, a Gang 360 member from San Peng can safely go to the Loke Yew area where another Gang 360 operates. Here the members have certain signs to distinguish their gang from any other gang. A Gang 24 member will show a particular sign which has his index and forefinger pointing straight, his thumb upright while his other 2 fingers are bent towards the palm. With such signs alone these members will not be fully trusted by a gang in another area. He will also be asked the name of his gang leader and a few other names to confirm his genuine membership to Gang 24.

Apart from this, there were also efforts to bring about unity of the Indian gangs by merging all the gangs into one Indian gang which would operate throughout the city and, later, the country. Thus emerged Gang Satu Hati which encompassed within it Gangs 24, 03, 21, 360 and 101. The idea behind the formation of this gang was to stop feuds between these gangs and help them foster better relationship. With a bigger membership the gang was supposed to help the Indian community through protection from harassment. Human nature could not bear to see such an organization spring up and true to the spirit of "keeping up with the Joneses", some other individuals decided to form Gang Hati Keras to oppose Satu Hati,
Signs Used By Indian Gangs

Gang 08
which brings things back to square one, that is, gang rivalry, and gang activities. With the corruption and politics involved, it is the conclusion here that the respondents have very questionable rules and regulations. In the 1960s, the Indian gangs were said to have used firearms quite extensively. However, at the present
which brings things back to square one, that is, gang rivalry.

due to the heavy penalty it carries. As the contemporary Indian gangs
are not "hitmen" or "sand baggers" but genuine "gangsters" they use are also
meant for "gang wars", not for the sake of their own survival. We shall see the
relation between the ganster and the public.

INTERACTION BETWEEN GANSTERS AND THE PUBLIC

At one time, the general public used to fear gansters and
gansters for their rough and tough methods. Slowly this fear is
eroding. There are many reasons for this erosion but first we
shall see the relation between the ganster and the public.

Formerly, the public were the target or victim of gansterland
activities. It was unsafe to travel at night in certain areas well-
known for gangsterism. Among the areas are Sentul, San Peng, Cheras
2 1/2 milestone and Brickfields. The public used to shudder at having
to go to these places because they might be victims of extortions or
snatch thieves. Now, with rapid development and increasing
control by the police in the city has proved fatal for the ganster
activities.

At present, the general public is no more the target of
the ganster. Only a selected few are the targets and those selected
few have no regrets. They are mainly shopowners who pay protection
money to the ganster. Apart from these few, the general public is not
bothered by the ganster as long as they do not interfere with the ganster's
activities. Only when they interfere does the ganster start harassing
them.

WEAPONS

The Indian gansters have an assortment of weapons from
revolvers to ice picks. In the 1960s, the Indian gansters were said
to have used firearms quite extensively. However, at the present
day, these gangs do not utilize firearms anymore. This may be due to the heavy penalty it carries. As the contemporary Indian gangs are very active in gang fights, the weapons they use are also meant for such situations. Among them are samurai swords, "parangs", meat choppers, daggers, ice picks, bearing scrapers, chains and iron rods. These weapons can be grouped under two categories:

1) Those used for stabbing and

2) Those used for slashing.

The weapons in the first category have sharp pointed features like daggers, bearing scrapers and ice picks. Whereas the weapons in the second category are longer in length and are not as pointed as those weapons in the first category.

CONCLUSION

The Indian gang's basic activities are fights, extortion, prostitution, drug trafficking and protection service. These activities are carried out in varying degrees by the different gangs. Whereas some gangs are active in fights and prostitution, others might stress more on their protection service. The activities that bring in large income to the gang are protection service and drug trafficking. Even though some of the respondents have denied their gang's involvement in drug trafficking and prostitution, it is the contention here that the respondents have not given the true role of their gang in these activities. The Indian gang is now on a low key note due to the strict police control.
Another interesting feature is about the interaction between the gang members, there is both primary and secondary interaction between the various members of the gang. Normally, the interaction between the leader and his "strong men" are primary in nature. They know each other well and get together quite often. The interaction among ordinary gang members and between ordinary members and the leaders are secondary relations. In fact, some of the leaders do not know exactly who are the members, especially members from "affiliate" gangs. For instance, at a gang fight recently, Mr A who was leader of Gang X was surprised to see about seventy or so members, who had come down from various "affiliates" (some from as far as Seremban and Ipoh). He was told by his close friends that all those present were their men and only after that he knew how big his gang really was.
Among Some of the Weapons Used by Indian Gangs

Weapons used for stabbing

Above weapons with cover
Weapons used for slashing

Iron rod
CHAPTER 4

POLICE AND THE "UNDERWORLD" (1)

INTRODUCTION

During the earlier part in the history of secret societies, the authorities concerned with the maintenance of law and public order did not face much of a problem. This was mainly attributed to the essence of the operation of such societies. With the influx of the Chinese immigrants during the 19th and 20th century, "kongsis" (2) were set up. The kongsis were aimed at securing employment and to help the new immigrants adapt themselves to local conditions. Thus, the kongsis were peaceful societies which were run on a clan and province of origin, from Mainland China, basis. However, during later stages, when the activities of these societies tended to threaten the peace and order of the state, intervention of the authorities concerned was unavoidable.

The earliest of such intervention was in 1890. "During the Penang Riot 1867, the Ghee Hin and Toh Peh Kong societies clashed for more than 10 days, with reinforcements coming in from..."

1 - "Underworld" refers to all kind of illegal secret societies and gangs which threaten the peace of the state, and who run illegal activities like gambling dens, prostitution rings, extortion, etc.

2 - These "kongsis" were clan groups which brought together members of a similar clan and helped them in seeking employment and payment of their fares from China. When a misunderstanding between members arised, the head or "kapitan" used arbitration to settle the disputes.

3 - Leon F Cober, Chinese Secret Society in Malaya, p. 16.
the mainland. During the riots, buildings were burnt down and hundreds were killed or injured. Such riots threatened to over-whelm the administration and such, in 1890 were required by law to dissolve." (3) When these societies were not sanctioned legally, they went into hiding and operated unlawfully. Such the emergence of the term "secret" which designates their method of operation.

The 20th century saw some gigantic growth in the powers of the Police Force, in their aim to eradicate the activities of these illegal societies. At this time the activities of these societies covered a wide range, "Their activities in Malaya, as in China proper, have included the organization of opposition to the government; the stirring up of anti-foreign feeling; the formation of self-protection units against robber gangs; the "protection" and extortion of money from hawkers; shopkeepers, hotelkeepers, prostitutes, labourers, opium and gambling dens; kidnapping for ransom; and the operation of criminal rings and rackets." (4)

With this wide range of criminal activities, these societies caused terror among the inhabitants of the state. Thus, the public were more frightened of the actions of these society members than the sense of security created by the presence of the police force. The public, namely the Chinese, preferred to support a particular society than to cooperate with the police. This was based on the reasoning that the police are not present forever in a particular society.

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4 - Leon F Comber, Chinese Secret Society in Malaya, p 16.
area to offer support to the public from the secret society's harassment. If at all, anyone were to collaborate with the police, his family's and his life will be endangered.

Stringent moves were made towards abolishing the secret societies, their members and their activities, in the middle of the 20th century, especially after World War II. This can be seen by the formation of a section in the Criminal Investigation Department (CID) of the police force, with responsibilities solely to oppose and curb secret society activities. This branch which is known as S S or anti-secret society, is duty-bound to fight crime in general and secret society activities in particular. Furthermore, the Prevention of Crime Ordinance and Emergency Ordinance, strengthened the powers of the police to this end.

POLICE AND THEIR INTERPRETATION OF SECRET SOCIETIES

After having spoken to some police officers, it is generally found that, the police do not deny the presence of secret society activities. But, neither do they confirm the extensiveness of these societies' activities. Police classify secret societies based on two aspects:

1) From the legal aspect, these are unlawful societies.

According to the Societies Act 1966, Section 52 states:

Society using a Triad ritual is to be deemed an unlawful society.

1) Every society, whether it is registered or not;

which uses a Triad ritual shall be deemed to be
CID CHIEF:
SECRET SOCIETIES ARE DEAD

BY NG KEE SENG

KUALA LUMPUR, Fri - There is no secret society in the city. They only exist in name, says City CID Chief Ass Comm Syed Olhami bin Syed Ali.

"The days when the fearless and well known leaders of society in this country were celebrated, the days when they could keep society under control are gone. Now, there are no more such days."

Kuala Lumpur, 20 Jan 1984

City cops cripple two notorious secret societies

KUALA LUMPUR, Thu - City police have stopped the year-long reign of terror of two notorious secret societies, the 'Hinoks' and 'Gang At 84', in the Cheras and Pekeling areas.

This follows the arrest of nine suspected members and the seizure of an assortment of weapons, including pangas, knives and iron pipes.

Sources said today that the suspected leader of Gang At 84 was among those detained.

The two other groups were picked up at the Jalan Pekeling flats in October.

The Hinoks gang was crippled in November when police raided the Municipal offices at Jalan Cheras and detained five members, including the leader.

The suspects, mainly schooldropouts, aged between 18 and 21, are helping the Anti-Secret Society Squad in Jalan Bandar in investigations.

Police said both gangs, nicknamed the "Indian Gangs", were noted for their gangland clashes with rival secret society groups, resulting in damage to property and injuries to bystanders.

"The sources said the gangs were formed about the same time early last year in the Jalan Pekeling and Cheras areas."

Another source said: "The slightest provocation they would get involved in fights with rival gang members."

Kuala Lumpur, 3 Sep 1980

Police action against gangs

City cops cripple two notorious secret societies

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This follows the arrest of nine suspected members and the seizure of an assortment of weapons, including pangas, knives and iron pipes.

Sources said today that the suspected leader of Gang At 84 was among those detained.

The two other groups were picked up at the Jalan Pekeling flats in October.

The Hinoks gang was crippled in November when police raided the Municipal offices at Jalan Cheras and detained five members, including the leader.

The suspects, mainly schooldropouts, aged between 18 and 21, are helping the Anti-Secret Society Squad in Jalan Bandar in investigations.

Police said both gangs, nicknamed the "Indian Gangs", were noted for their gangland clashes with rival secret society groups, resulting in damage to property and injuries to bystanders.

The sources said the gangs were formed about the same time early last year in the Jalan Pekeling and Cheras areas.

Another source said: "The slightest provocation they would get involved in fights with rival gang members."

Kuala Lumpur, 3 Sep 1980

Police action against gangs

1) The Star, 13.9.80
2) New Straits Times 20.1.84
an unlawful society.

ii) ...., a Triad ritual means any ritual commonly used by Triad societies, any ritual closely resembling any such ritual and any part of such ritual.

2) From the concepts and definitions made by scholars in this field like Blythe, Comber, Mak Lau Fong, etc. The police unanimously deny the existence of secret societies among the Indians in Malaysia. Indians in this field are classified as gangsters because of the absence of initiation ceremonies unlike those in Chinese secret societies. Moreover, the Indian gangs are not well-organized and do not have a set of well-defined norms. This does not mean that the Indian gangs do not have any rules or regulations with regard to their activities and membership enrolment. Although they do have, it is merely arbitrary and depends entirely on the leader to enforce it. Since Indian gangs are "loose gangs" (5) and do not have specific Triad rituals, it is very wrong to term them as secret societies. Hence, they will be termed as "gangs" and their members "gangsters".

Even though the exact date of start of these Indian gangs and their activities is not known, as has been stated in Chapter 2, these gangs emerged during the 1950s and were very active until the late 60s, after which legislation was tightened and the powers of

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5 - Indian gangs are termed as "loose gangs" because there is no proper stratification and the leader does not have much control over the activities and actions of his members.
the police increased.

PREVENTION OF CRIME ORDINANCE AND EMERGENCY ORDINANCE

These are the two Acts which have empowered the police in their struggle against combating the menace of these unscrupulous elements of the society. Out of this two, at present, the Emergency Ordinance (E.O) is more constantly used as its powers delegated to the police are higher.

Under the Prevention of Crime Ordinance (P.C.O), a person suspected of involving in gangland activities is put under restricted movement and his movements are monitored closely by the police. The duration of restriction varies from 2 to 4 years, with the police having discretionary powers. However, within the span of 2 years, a review is held to ascertain the detainee's progress in turning over a new leaf. During the period of restriction, the suspect is compelled to submit a weekly report to the district OCPD regarding his movements for the week.

When a person is detained by police on charges of suspicion of being involved in gangland activities, he is held under police custody for 71 days. During this time, investigations are carried out to prove the suspect's involvement. After the initial investigations, an inquiry will be held by an inquiring officer appointed by the Minister of Home Affairs. During the inquiry, it is decided whether to restrict the detainee or to let him free, depending on the strength of evidence against him. However, the inquiry board's decision and later the review of progress is based on the OCPD's report which is submitted to the Inquiry board. As such, the

6 - Restricted movement means that a suspect is confined to a particular area under the watchful eyes of the police. When he wants to visit his parents or family, he has to get prior approval from the OCPD.
decision and later the review of progress is based on the OCPD's report which is submitted to the inquiry board. As such, the powers of restriction more or less lies with the strength of the accusation as given by the police.

At present, the Emergency Ordinance 5/69 (P0PC - Public Order and Prevention of Crime) is much used by the police. The enactment of this Ordinance came about as a result of the riots in May 1969. The riot had created uneasiness and social unrest throughout the country and fights were very extensive, resulting in death and loss of property. The enactment of the Emergency Ordinance (E0) further empowered the police in their fight against unwanted social elements. Among others, its aim was also to cut down red tape.

Under this ordinance, the police were allowed to detain a suspected gangster for 60 days for the purpose of investigation. For the purpose of investigation, an Inspector is empowered to detain a suspect for 48 hours, and ASP for 28 days, and a DSP for 30 days, making up a total of 60 days. During this period, for the first 14 days, no one (not even parents or other family members) is allowed to visit the detainee. After the third week, the detainee is allowed to meet visitors once a week.

By the 60th day, an order is issued by the Minister of Home Affairs. The range of the order is to free the suspect to restrict his movements under PCO or to put him under detention at Pulau Jerejak. Before the sentencing, a Board of Appeal under the Home Ministry processes the inquiry. A detainee can appeal to the

7 - The exact figures could not be given as police data was not available officially. These figures were given by some relevant persons.
board for leniency. During detention at Pulau Jerejak (or "Pulau" as is commonly used), he is taught some common trades like cobblering, carpentry and others, as the detention is meant to rehabilitate those sent there. An offender stays in "Pulau" for 2 years, after which he is released but his movements restricted to a certain area or district. The restriction period lasts another 2 years during which time the offender has to submit weekly reports to the OCPD regarding his whereabouts and activities. Furthermore, the offender should not be seen in public after 7.00 pm. Meanwhile, the offender can approach the OCPD to help him secure employment. After the restriction period, a person is free again. Even then, this depends on the progress report of the OCPD. If a person is believed to have not shown much progress, the police can further lengthen the restriction period by one year. Once an offender is free, his identity card is changed to that of a brown colour. This is to signify that such a person was/is an incorrigible person and had served sentence for criminal activities. Hand signs and wearing shirts with The important factor under the EO is that even when the police could not get sufficient proof to charge a suspect in court, they are still empowered to detain the suspect and send him to "Pulau". As such, when a suspect under EO wants to hire an advocate to defend himself, it is futile.

From the year 1978 - 1984, there have been about 150 cases involving Indian gangsters. Out of this, a quarter of them were brought under restriction while the rest were sent to "Pulau". However, the big data came to be more calls and gentelmanly so as

7 - The exact figures could not be given as police data was not available officially. These figures were given by some relevant persons.
Overall, it is said that the E O is a very useful weapon in the fight against gangsterism. It has been successfully implemented and since then the rate of gangland activities has decreased and a number of suspected gang leaders and members have been brought to the book.

**IDENTIFYING GANGSTERS**

Generally, identifying gangsters is not a major problem. This is because of the presence of certain marks, signs and the overall behaviour of this group. Normally, a particular gang has its own tattoo mark which is normally some living creatures which signifies strength and strikes terror like an eagle or dragon. One gang leader whom I interviewed uses an eagle tattoo as their sign. However, not all gangs have tattoos and the usage of tattoos is in fact decreasing. This is because those who have such tattoo marks on their body are the prime suspects of police as being gang members and as such are constantly harassed. Hand signs and wearing shirts with a number of unbuttoned buttons are another frequent method of identifying a gang. Hand signs used by the Indian gang are the same as those used by the Chinese secret societies. One other way of identifying gangsters is the way in which one carries himself, especially when in a group. More often than not, these gangsters behave in an arrogant manner so as to prove that they are not afraid of anyone or to show off their affiliation to a gang. This is normally the case with an ordinary, young member of a gang. However, the big hats seem to be more calm and gentlemanly so as
not to attract uncalled-for detection especially by the police.

To help the police identify gangs and gangsters, there are three major sources. Firstly is the report of victims. When a member of the public is assaulted, asked to pay "protection money" or extorted, asked to join a gang as a member and so on, the police will investigate the matter, if a report is made by the individual. If there is a gang operating in the area as stated in the report and if the police have its record of the gangsters, raids will be organized to harass and arrest them. In the case where the existence of the gang is not known or it is a newly formed gang, then the police will start an operation to identify the gang and its members before taking appropriate action against them. This process of identifying new gangs and gangsters will be discussed below. However, the rapidity of police action against these gangsters depends on the number of reports made and the assistance from the public which is the second source of identifying gangsters.

Witnesses or the public in general can play an important role in identifying these gangs and eventually curbing their activities. When there is an incidence of gang clash or gangsters operating in a particular area, the public can supply the police with necessary information like who were the gangsters present, the weapons they were using and any other relevant information. In this way, the police gets tip-offs when there is about to be a clash or any other gang activities and the informer remains anonymous.

The third source is the police's own investigations and its informers, who are registered with the police as such and
commonly known as "hantu". Police investigation means the duties of police detectives who are assigned to a particular area where they are well informed about any criminal activities. Here, the detectives are normally helped by the informers, who are mostly ex-convicts or ex-gang members. These informers supply the police with any information that they get to know about the gang and its activities. For example, when a clash between 2 gangs is suspected, the informer passes the word to the police who then organize raids to prevent the clash and arrest the gang members.

IDENTIFYING PROCESS OF POLICE

The police have a specific process to detect the emergence of new gangs and gangsters. This process spans from the time a report is lodged till the gangster is punished. The police have an index system where the photographs of all suspected gangsters are kept. In the case where a gangster has no record, a new file is opened when he is arrested for the first time and his photograph is also indexed.

When an official police report is made regarding gangland activities, the police will start collecting statements regarding these activities. The statements are made by the victims, witnesses and the police personnels who are involved. There is no time limit given for the collection of these statements. The police will gather more details regarding the involvement of the gangsters and when there is enough proof to pursue the matter, they will detain the suspects under Police Preventive Laws like the E.O and P.C.O.
Police Actions Against Gangs

29 held, weapons seized in swoop

KUALA LUMPUR, Fri. — Cheras police have arrested 29 people and seized an assortment of gangland weapons in an operation here last night, said Insp. Supt. Mogar Abidul Hamid of the Cheras police station.

The weapons included four pistols, two revolvers, a steel band, a dagger, a knife, a pickaxe, a bat, a iron pipe, and a stick.

He said the operation was carried out in two phases last night and was aimed at flushing out gangsters in the area.

During the operations, 19 traffic offenders were arrested for violating traffic rules.

19 secret society suspects held

KUALA LUMPUR, Sat. — Police have arrested 19 suspects and seized weapons and ammunition from two rival gangs who were preparing for a showdown in Cheras last night.

The police also recovered guns, ammunition, and weapons from the suspects.

Massive op to flush out bad hats

PETALING JAYA, Sat. — Police launched a massive operation to flush out bad hats in the area.

Several suspects were arrested, and some of them were found in possession of weapons.

1) The Star 12.11.83
2) New Straits Times 20.11.82
3) The Star 20.11.83
During this time the victims and/or witnesses have to come forward to identify those held as suspects. However, they only have to go through the photographs to confirm the identity of those suspects. There is no identifying parade involved. Moreover, the particulars of victims and witnesses are withheld by the police for their own safety. Once the suspects are confirmed as having been involved in gang activities, they are sent to "Pulau" under the E 0 regulations. After being released from "Pulau" and after serving their restriction term, they are still closely monitored by the police. In case there are some gangland activities in their area of residence, these ex-members will be called up for questioning even if they might not be involved. This is done so they might be able to "throw some light" regarding that incident.

PROBLEMS FACED BY THE POLICE

One of the major problems faced by the police in combating gangsterism is the lack of public cooperation. The public is not willing and is not brave enough to give information about this. This might be attributed to a few reasons, one of which is the fear that the gangsters might harm or even kill them later. Even so, some members of the public do give information by means of unnamed and unaddressed letters to the police. Another reason is that, "Policemen are the targets of a good deal of public hostility, and they reciprocate these feelings." (8)
Foundry owner and worker detained

Gang weapons factory
uncovered

PENANG, Fri. — A gangland weapons factory in the city was uncovered yesterday by police investigating a recent spate of secret society clashes. N.S.T.

More than 150 samurai swords, knives, iron bars and spear heads were seized, making this the biggest haul by the police anti-secret society branch this year.

The weapons were manufactured at a foundry at Lebuah Armenian, State CID, said ACP Sulaiman Ali said today.

The foundry owner, aged 39, and a worker, aged 19, have been detained.

ACP Sulaiman said police believed the foundry had been making and selling these weapons to secret society elements. The swords were sold for $20 each while a knife cost $2.

Over the past two weeks, he said, there had been seven incidents involving secret society elements. Only four of these were reported to the police.

The first occurred at Kampung Pining, in Aneri Road, on June 2, when the lonely and isolated police prevented a clash between rival gangs.

Four suspects were arrested and an assortment of weapons recovered.

ACP Sulaiman said a gang fight occurred at Lebuah Kimberley last Saturday.

There was also an other incident at a music hall here which led to a retaliation by a rival gang.

In all these incidents, weapons such as spears, parangs and samurai swords were used.

Police were aware that these weapons could not have been made at foundries in the city for their success was last Sunday when, acting on a tip-off, a police party led by Inspector Raisah Anjum recovered seven samurai swords, a knife and six iron bars behind a house at Wei Quay.

This was followed by another tip-off from a member of the public which led to the discovery of a factory that makes secret society weapons.

The raiding party headed by Inspector R. Krishnan found an assortment of weapons including secret society parts which still need to be traced to other parts.

The raid uncovered 15 samurai swords, 11 spears, 10 parangs and 20 iron bars.

A further search of the foundry later in the week led to the recovery of 20 blades, 41 spears heads and 20 parangs with iron handles.

ACP Sulaiman said the weapons found at Wei Quay were believed to have been made at the same foundry.

New Straits Times 16.6.1984

By CHRISTOPHER NG
As such the public feel no necessity to help the police by supplying them with information. One other important factor for the lack of public cooperation is public apathy towards such causes. As the nation gets developed, individuals tend to be more materialistic and individualistic which in turn creates a society which does not care much for the well being of the society as a whole. Individuals will only give their cooperation when they or their interest are immediately involved or at stake respectively.

Another major problem faced by the police is that gangsters obtain weapons like "samurai parangs", bearing scrapers, iron pipes and so on very easily. As such, it is not easy to prevent fights created by gangsters. Moreover, only when they are caught red-handed with these deadly weapons can they be brought to court.

CONCLUSION

The task of the police as the law enforcement agency in Malaysia is not an easy mission. However, to strengthen this institution, great steps have been taken so that the citizens of Malaysia can cherish a peaceful and orderly state. As a sociological study, it is also important to realise the role of police agencies in crime causation. To the question of what brings about criminal behaviour, Gibbons puts it, "To begin with, individuals may get involved in actions which are forbidden in criminal law as a result of a variety of influences .... wish to assert emphatically the possibility that the experience of being apprehended by the police may be an important causal one. Briefly stated, this
hypothesis contends that those offenders who fall into the hands of the police may find it unusually difficult to withdraw from criminal careers." (9) To the reasons of why the public's cooperation with the police is low, Gibbon offers another reasoning, "There is abundant testimony concerning the practice in many police stations of the 'third degree', by which officers have physically coerced confessions from suspects ....... These incidents have encouraged the spread of public notions that the police department is a haven for incompetents and sadists. Whether or not such images square with the facts, they have contributed to the low esteem in which policemen are held in this society." (10)

...power, pride, monetary gains and a platform for seeking vengeance. However, it can also be said that some of these individuals turn towards gangsterism as an alternative to reduce their social deprivations.

"The range of human choice in any circumstances is narrow and the degree of free will which we all claim is in reality very limited, at least in our modern highly complex and interdependent society." (1)

Due to this disparity between aims and achievements, an individual bound by social pressure does not get the required attention to satisfy his ego and help him pursue his aims, among which is to uplift his social status.

9 - Ibid, p 91
10 - Ibid, p 91

1 - Joanna Kelley, Who Casts the First Stone? p 9
CHAPTER 5

INDIAN GANGS; A WORKING CLASS PHENOMENON?

INTRODUCTION

The origin of Indian gangs, its nature and activities have already been discussed in earlier chapters. In this chapter, we will look into the question of what attracts individuals to join these gangs, which are violent by nature. No one general solution could answer this question because the gang provides different attractions for all the different individuals like power, pride, monetary gains and a platform for seeking vengeance. However, it can also be said that some of these individuals turn towards gangsterism as an alternative to reduce their social deprivations.

"The range of human choice in any circumstances is narrow and the degree of free will which we all claim is in reality very limited, at least in our modern highly complex and interdependent society." (1)

Due to this disparity between aims and achievements, an individual bound by social pressure does not get the required attention to satisfy his ego and help him pursue his aims, among which is to uplift his social status.

There are a few theories which state the causes of individuals turning to criminal gangs. Among them are those of

1 - Joanna Kelley, Who Casts the First Stone? p 9
Niederhoffer and Lewis Yablonsky. Niederhoffer and Bloch explain this phenomenon of attraction to the criminal gang with the Theory of Power, which says:

1) (Adolescent) gangs may be profitably studied by using as a frame of reference the theory of power.

2) The gangs attempt to gain status and power through the domination and manipulation of persons and events in a collective representation of the individual gang members' guiding fiction which is 'to prove he is a man'.

3) The presence of the gang, real, constructive or symbolic, gives the individual ego support and courage. He gains a psychological sense of power and manhood which he does not possess at all when he is on his own. The factors that cause individualization.

4) If single gangs can pose a threat to the peace and safety of the community, then the well meaning efforts to organize several gangs into a confederation may be a very grave error. Lewis Yablonsky's theory of the defective socialization and the sociopath states the relationship between social-pathological condition and the personality type. Yablonsky relates that what turns an individual to be a criminal depends on the socialization process which in turn decides his personality type. "The
youth most susceptible to violent gang membership emerges from a social milieu that trains him inadequately for assuming constructive social roles. In fact, the defective socialization process to which he is subjected in the disorganized slum fosters a lack of social 'feelings'. At hardly any point is he trained to have human feelings of compassion or responsibility for another. The youth with this type of sociopathic personality syndrome living in the disorganized slum neighbourhood is most prone to participation in the violent gang ..... this sociopathic type of individual lacks 'social ability' or the ability adequately to access the role expectation of 'others'. He is characteristically unable to experience the pain of the violence he may inflict on another, since he does not have the ability to identify or empathize with any others."

(3)

Based on these two theories, the factors that cause individuals to turn towards gangsterism and the effect of the social environment on individuals and the extent to which it is responsible for the emergence of the gang phenomenon will be discussed. The question of why individuals start to involve themselves with gangs could be argued in different ways. It can be that they are not well versed with the social norms regarding violent gangs and other criminal activities; they are unable or
unwilling to conform to the society’s norms; or they want an alternative means to achieve their goals which they could not through a legitimate way. Among the causes of gangsterism are the poor economic and social state of the working class family, low level of education and education opportunities, defective socialization process of the individuals and the effects of the neighbourhood.

**FEATURES OF THE GANG**

The Indian gang is a working class phenomenon. (4) As such, the involvement of middle class and upper class members in the gang is nil. These gangs are found in settlements where Indians from working class form the majority of the residents. As such, there is an abundance of Indian gangs in the San Peng, Sentul, Brickfields and Bungsar areas.

Another important feature of the Indian gang is that the vast majority of the gangsters begin their membership at an early age, during their teens. From the fieldwork done, the age range of the respondents when they first get involved with the gang is from 11 – 18 years and the mean age is 16 years.

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4 - None of the respondents interviewed were from middle or upper class families.
Table 5.1: Age when first involved with gangs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age when first involved</th>
<th>Number of Person</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>18</td>
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**WHAT LURES YOUTHS TO JOIN GANGS?**

What causes youths from working class families to join gangs can be seen from various reasoning. Among them are the minimal possibilities of achieving their aims through legitimate means; they have low status in the society, which they want to discard; and the existence of gangs in the working class neighbourhood provides an avenue to the youths to show their dislike for social norms, which are set and maintained by the middle and upper classes.

In the developed western countries, they call young individuals who involve in such anti-social activities as delinquents. These delinquents form a group (gang) and try to create a self-image by non-conformist attitudes to the social and legal norms. They rebel against anything that is formal and socially accepted. However, in later stages, when the individuals are more matured, they tend to break away from the gang and adhere to the general societal norms. Even then, some delinquents improve their criminal ability to become members of criminal gangs.
WHAT LURES YOUTHS TO JOIN GANGS

In the gangs, they found fulfillment of their needs for thrill, adventure, social relationship and identity.

But after a few years the thrills fade and there are not enough jobs in the gangs. So the youths jump to other groups where they are more successful.

After a few years the youths get discouraged and go back to their former lives. Sometimes they get involved in crime and end up in jail.

A Ministry statement said: "The improving socio-economic climate in Singapore has made it more difficult for youths to join gangs."

A police spokesman said: "The current anti-gang situation is worse than before."

The report revealed that most of the gangsters came from poor homes and about half the subjects interviewed came from broken homes. Many had been abused at home.

SOURCE: THE STAR, 8.5.1982
PETALING JAYA, Tues. — Nine schoolboys were questioned yesterday on suspicion of being involved in secret society activities and fighting.

The boys, all from a school in Ladang Seaport, and aged between 16 and 17, were picked up at school after lessons.

Two rotan canes and a parang were seized from the boys.

It is believed that the boys belong to two gangs which are active in Ladang Seaport and Sungai Way.

Sources said the boys were recently recruited by older members of both gangs to form smaller groups operating near the school.

The boys were released today after their parents were called to the police station to fetch them.

The parents were advised to monitor the activities of their children so that they would not be influenced by bad elements.

Police have been cracking down on gangsterism in schools in the district after two schoolboys were injured in a gang clash near a school in Ladang Seaport last month.

One of the injured was slashed on the back while the other received a cut on his head.

Police detained six boys in that incident. Knives were among the items seized from the six.

THE STAR, 28.3.1984
However, in the context of the Indian gangs, we cannot say the same occurs. This is because, the Indian gang is a criminal and violent gang by nature and the members are well aware of this. Although most members join these gangs as delinquents, they have the tendency to learn criminal abilities of fellow gang members which in turn helps to create a "better" criminal of the delinquent. The tendency to fall back to the greater society is weak. If at all they break away from the gang and its activities, this comes at a late stage, that is during their early or mid-thirties. This means that a delinquent who joins the gang at an average age of 16, leads a criminal life for about 10 - 15 years before he calls it quits.

It should be stressed here that youths in the age group of 11 - 18 years are very vulnerable to changes in their environment. The minimum provocation or challenge to their personality or wealth could trigger them to take offensive actions. For example, an individual who is constantly harassed by some other group may find it difficult to avenge their ill-treatment alone. As such, he needs help from his friends and if he could not gather enough friends, he joins a gang. This is done merely to gain courage and support for seeking vengeance. Also, at this age, they are very rebellious and high-handed, which increases the attraction of the individual to the gang. Cloward and Ohlin say that "The disparity between what lower class youths are led to be and is actually available to them is the source of a major problem of adjustment. Adolescents ..... have internalized an emphasis upon conventional
goals. Faced with limitation on legitimate avenues of access to these goals, and unable to revise their aspirations downward, they experience frustration, the exploration of non-conformist alternative may be the result." (5) This explains well the reasons given by one of the respondents interviewed on why he joined the gang.

Mr A was 11 years old when he first got involved with a gang. He is the fourth child, out of six, from a working class family. His elder brother, having been involved with gangsters, was away from home most of the time. As such, Mr A was the only reliable son in the family. He stopped schooling after Standard Six because he did badly in studies and furthermore he was not interested in it. Being born in a working class family, he desired to improve the conditions at home by providing some "necessities" like a colour television, video player, cassette deck and so on. But he could not afford all these with his pay of $100.00 per month which he was earning after his schooling days. Later, by joining the gang he found a new way to achieve his aims. Now he is the gang leader and aims to "make money" which he does through his gang's protection service. With a full time job which brings a steady income in addition to his income from his gangland activities, he has achieved his earlier aims. He is proud of his achievements and says that he earns more than some graduate officers with his brother, who was a gang leader, was arrested by police. After which, a rival gang started to harass Mr C and the other residents because of his brother's rapport as a gang leader, did not want to

5 - Cloward & Ohlin, Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs, p 75
whom he has business dealings. In addition to this, he is always ready to help his friends financially if necessary, to prove his stature of a well-to-do person and Mr A is just 19 years old now!

Although Niederhoffer's theory of power is based on delinquents, it can still be applied to the local Indian gangs. Out of the 12 respondents interviewed in the fieldwork, 9 of them seem to have joined the gang because they wanted to be in power.

For instance, Mr B who was a factory worker before he joined the gang. During his working days, Mr B normally accompanied his lady colleagues after work at night. Near their factory, a few thugs used to wait and disturb the girls. Occasionally, some girls were kidnapped and raped. Seeing all these, Mr B wanted to do something about these thugs but had not much "muscle" compared to the thugs who were in a group. Then he was asked to pay protection money by the gang near his working place. At first, he paid the dues and later he decided to join the gang to gain control over the thugs who have been harassing the factory girls. After some time, he was appointed as the gang's leader. During his term as gang leader, he was very particular about his members' activities and laid restrictions. Rape was forbidden and under-aged children should not be extorted.

Another respondent Mr C, got involved with gangs when his brother, who was a gang leader, was arrested by police. After which, a rival gang started to harass Mr C and the other residents in his area. Mr C, who was the target for the rival gang's attack, because of his brother's rapport as a gang leader, did not want to
give in to the rival gang and as such gathered a few friends and started to fight the rival gang to show he was capable of beating them. Soon, he gained control of the area and the rival gang was driven away. After this, Mr C narrated that his popularity grew and many outsiders came to him for help in organizing a gang branch in their respective areas. In the process he became a powerful, somewhat dictatorial leader and all the rest are subservient to him, a gang leader who was respected by the other gangs as well.

**SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT**

The social environment plays an important role in determining who are the potential individuals to be attracted by the gang. Under the scope of social environment factors like the family, level of education, neighbourhood and the socialization process in general have a great impact upon the individual. Among the root causes of delinquency in general are "Broken homes; children who have been unwanted or rejected either by their parents or by the community; children with alcoholic or criminal parents; general uncertainty on the part of adults of the moral validity of the existing code of ethics; transmission of heredity; inborn mental abnormality; and bad general environment." (6)

The family is an important institution of socialization. If, and when, it fails in its duty to nurture the children, then it paves the path for the children to involve themselves in delin-
quent activities, which if prolonged, might end in a criminal career. All the 12 respondents' families have some similarities among them. Firstly, they are working class families, which could only afford the basic necessities for their children. Secondly, most of their fathers are alcoholics and their mothers housewives. Thirdly, they come from comparatively large families. Fourthly, the familial interaction is not very strong. The father plays a somewhat dictatorial role and all the rest are subservient to him. The parents could not afford to provide proper education for all his children and the parents' strong control of the children weakens once the children are about 13 - 14 years old. The boys especially, rebel against their parents and some quit school out of their own whims. One respondent said that he ran away from home at the age of 8 and started working at a tea stall in Kuala Lumpur.

Individuals who have family problems or broken homes and minimum emotional relationship with other family members and their parents find it hard to adjust to the general society and thus find alternative ways of adjustment. This leads them to join the gangs that exist in their area. "The child lacks equipment and experience necessary for a careful and unclouded evaluation of himself. The only guides he has are those of the significant adults or others who take care of him and treat him with compassion. The

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7 - The smallest family had 7 members inclusive of parents and the largest family had 11 members.
child thus experiences and appraises himself in terms of how parents and others close to him react. By empathy, facial expression, gestures, words, deeds, they convey to him the attitudes they hold toward him, their regard or lack of feeling for him. This set of positive sympathetic responses needed for adequate self-growth are generally absent in the development of the youth who becomes a setting sociopathic violent gang member." (8)

The level of education is another indicator of who becomes a gang member. Of the 12 respondents, only one had sat through his Lower Certificate of Education examination. The rest were school dropouts. The dropout rate suggests that these individuals without sufficient paper qualifications land in laborious jobs which often pay little. Based on Miller's classification, it can be deduced that the majority of the Indian gang members come from the successfully aspiring lower class. As such, they have a will to elevate their status from that of a working class family. However, due to lack of interest and guidance from parents, these individuals fail in their academic pursuit and as an alternative turn towards gang activities. The irony here is that with proper guidance and motivation from parents, these individuals would have done well in their studies. This I conclude because, all the former gang leaders and

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8 - Harry S Sullivan, *Conception of Modern Psychiatry*, p 151
a few present leaders who were interviewed, realise and emphasize
the importance of education and regret that they did not work hard
during their younger days. They claim that with some "push" from
their parents and elders they would have made it and would not have
to live a fugitive's life now.

milestone The working class neighbourhood provides a perfect setting
for individuals to be entangled with gangsterism. In Cloward and
Ohlin's words, "..... the criminal sub-culture is likely to arise
in a neighbourhood milieu characterized by close bonds between
different age-levels of offender and between criminal and conven-
tional elements. As a consequence of these integrative relation-
ships, a new opportunity structure emerges which provides alternative
avenues to success-goals. Hence the pressure generated by restrict-
ion on legitimate access to success-goals are drained off. Social
controls over the conduct of the young are effectively exercised,
limiting expressive behaviour and constraining the discontented to
adapt to instrumental, if criminalistic, styles of life." (9) The
argument is that free relationship between different age groups
and between individuals of criminal and non-criminal nature provides
a new opportunity structure for success-goal achievement. However,
with proper social control, youths may be prevented from exercising

9 - Cloward & Ohlin, op cit, p 79
criminal characteristics. This shows that even in a criminal neighbourhood, effective social control can prevent youths from involving themselves in gangs.

Indian gangs are abundantly found in areas where working class communities prevail. Hence, areas like Sentul, Cheras 2½ milestone and Brickfields were heavenly areas for these gangs to operate. Sentul was and still is a residential area for the working class, that is the railway workers. Cheras is an area of municipality houses and Brickfields has government quarters.

Of the 12 respondents who were interviewed, all of them have been affected, in varying degrees, by their neighbourhood. Mr A's residential area was polluted with gangsters during his younger days. Mr A was friendly with the gangsters in his area because they did not trouble him and infact they were nice to him. Slowly he became close to them. His friends were very much elder than him (in their early 20's, while Mr A was about 12 years old). Mr A knew very well the rapport his friends have in the neighbourhood but he did not despise them. In fact, he felt great and honoured to be seen in the company of these gangsters. He was actually idolising the gangsters and within him grew an urge to be like them. Meanwhile, if he had any problems in school with other boys, he would make use of this friendship with the gangsters to threaten them. Then, after some time, he was taken in as a member of the gang and started collecting protection money on behalf of the gang. He was given this duty by the gang leader himself and this further glorified his ego. He became more violent and could
not control his temper and was always ready to fight at the slightest irritation or provocation. Other respondents tell somewhat similar stories.

However, it should be stressed here that one of the reasons that helped Mr A's involvement in the gang was due to the lack of parental control and knowledge over his activities. Both his parents were petty traders and often came home late. Mr A himself was working as a helping hand, in a provision shop, after school. Thus, the parents were not worried about their son because they felt that their son was at school all morning and at the shop in the afternoon. Thus, any fear that they had about their son being influenced by some bad hats were removed from them. However, Mr A managed to mislead his parents with his job which formed a platform for him to have contact with his gangster friends. When his parents came to know about their son's involvement in the gang, it was too late. By then, Mr A was deeply involved with the gang and did not want to break away because he enjoyed the power and the respect he felt he got from the other gangsters and his friends.

Parental control over their children is a vital necessity to prevent a youth from involving in gangs and other criminal activities. The problem in the working class family is that parents are occupied with their work most of the time and do not spend much time with their children. Even after work, they have other ways of keeping away from home. The parents, some of them, show a fatalistic character. They argue that nothing can be done about their condition which is all in the hands of God. And to escape from all their
problems they consume alcohol, which relieves them of all problems momentarily. They come back home drunk and do not seem interested in their children's education and other activities.

Generally, the socialization process of an individual decides who are the potential gangsters. "Children who are brought up in an environment in which values are uncertain and in which the relationships of love do not abound are under serious disadvantage and those who come from stable, loving homes have an enormously much better start in life." (10) Those children who are neglected and not given enough parental love and care tend not to show emotional feelings to others when they grow older. They become immune to what others may suffer as a consequence of their actions. This being the case, they find it difficult to adapt to the society where such feelings run high. The gang provides a place where they can practice non-emotional relationships.

Among all the respondents interviewed, none of them can be said to have undergone a proper socialization process. They underwent defective socialization processes which did not emphasize on the roles they should play. Moreover, their parents did not set an example for them to follow. As such, they were very much influenced by their play-groups, friends and elder family members. Accepting non-conformity to social norms features. Among the respondents some lower class categories:

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(10) Joanna Kelley, op cit, p 15
did not have any guidance from their parents regarding their role; others were used to watching their parents quarrelling and yet others had elder brothers who were gang members. Further, they could not run away from the fact that they are a working class family and of low status in the community. The necessity to elevate this social status is realised by them and they explore whatever avenue available, whether legitimate or illegitimate, to this end.

3) Successfully aspiring lower class. This group, popularly assumed to be the most prevalent, includes those

CONCLUSION

Although gang members are from working class families, not all the working class members are gangsters. This shows that within the lower working class itself, there is a categorization which decides who are potential gangsters and who are not. This categorization is based on the individual's perception of goal attainment and how strong their will to achieve is. Whereas some members from the lower class will employ whatever means there is to achieve their aims, others are more realistic of their goal achievement chances and as such, live within their means of maximizing this end without any outward rebellion against the social and legal orders. W B Miller, touching on delinquent behaviour states "The gap between levels of aspiration of lower class youths and their general inability to achieve produces different types of lower class categories:-

1) 'Stable' lower class - consists of youngsters who, for all practical purposes, do not aspire to higher status or who have no realistic possibilities of
achieving such aspiration.

2) Aspiring but conflicted lower class. This group represents those for whom family or other community influences have produced a desire to elevate their status, but who lack the necessary personal attributes of cultural 'equipment' to make the grade, or for whom cultural pressures effectively inhibit aspiration.

3) Successfully aspiring lower class. This group, popularly assumed to be the most prevalent, includes those who have both the will and the capacity to elevate their status." (11)

This categorization implies that potential gangsters come from the aspiring but conflicted lower class. They form the core of the gang by being the leaders and active members. "Emphasis is placed on the fact that lower-class youths who are confronted with the largest gap between 'aspirations' and possibilities for 'achievement' are most delinquency-prone. Such youths are apt to utilize heavily the normal range of lower-class delinquent patterns of 'toughness', 'shrewdness', 'cunning', and other devices in an effort to achieve prestige and status." (12)

In the context of the Indian gang, it does not show clearly that the gangsters are interested in elevating their social

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11 - Kvaraceus & Miller, Delinquent Behaviour, p 68-69
12 - Lewis Yablonsky, op cit, p 200
status. (13) However, they are definitely concerned about elevating their status within the gang and the "underworld". It can be said so because most of the gangs are not profit-oriented gangs. If a gang is profit-oriented, then it "earns" a huge income which could be used to improve the living conditions of the gang members. The Indian gang on the other hand seems more of a venue for settling disputes and fights between one gang and another.

The mushrooming of Indian gangs in various parts of the city and its outskirts created feuds between rival gangs, which was filled with never ending bloodshed. In the 1960s, the Indian gangs widened their scope of operation by venturing into drug and prostitution rings, apart from their already established protection service. The growing menace of the Indian gangs and other criminal gangs and their threats to the safety of the public brought about the legislation of the Emergency Ordinance, 1969. This Act further strengthened the powers of the police authorities, who till then were using the Prevention of Crime Ordinance to curb the rising terrorism. The 70s saw a drop in the gang activities as many leaders and core members of these gangs were detained under the Emergency Ordinance. This move by the police crippled the Indian gangs. Together with them, the detained leaders took over the rituals and initiation ceremonies that the original leaders had been doing. This is why some gangs still have some kind of initiation ceremony whereas others do not have. Those leaders who were not caught by the police passed on the rites to their successors to carry on the tradition.

13 - Of the 12 respondents only two stated that they wanted to "improve" their living standards. The other respondents' reason for joining the gang was other than elevating their status.
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

It has been about 30 years since the Indian gang first emerged in the 1950s in Kuala Lumpur. Within this period, its traditions and activities have gone through many changes. Started as a group to provide protection to the lower caste Indian community, later it took the form of "territorial gangs" which safeguarded its interests, against any intrusion, in a particular area. The mushrooming of Indian gangs in various parts of the city and its outskirts created feuds between rival gangs, which was filled with never ending bloodshed.

In the 1960s, the Indian gangs widened their scope of operation by venturing into drug and prostitution rings, apart from their already established protection service. The growing menace of the Indian gangs and other criminal gangs and their threat to the safety of the public brought about the legislation of the Emergency Ordinance 1969. This Act further strengthened the powers of the police authorities, who till then were using the Prevention of Crime Ordinance to curb the rising terrorism. The 70s saw a drop in the gang activities as many leaders and core members of these gangs were detained under the Emergency Ordinance. This move by the police crippled the Indian gangs. Together with them, the detained leaders took away the rituals and initiation ceremonies that the gangs practised. (1) The new faces in the gangs are not

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1 - This is the reason why some gangs still have some kind of initiation ceremony whereas others do not have. Those leaders who were not caught by the police passed on the rites to their successors to carry on the tradition.
as volatile as the old guards and their activities are more subdued. This could be attributed to the seriousness with which the police force are handling cases of gangland nature. However, the Indian gang still persists in the city because it acts as an informal institution which brings together delinquent youths. The Indian gang of today is a criminal gang, even if not totally criminal, because many of these gangs still practice collection of protection money and other activities linked with the gang before. As such, it still poses a threat to the society as a gang. (2)

From the fieldwork, it was found that the aims and reasons for joining the gang and later staying with it, changes as the members grow older and become more experienced. The stages in the life of a gang member can be discussed in three parts:

1) early stage - a youth wants to become a gang member as a boost for his ego; and has pride in being known as a member of a gang;

2) middle stage - after a few years of experience, a member starts to think about gaining control of the gang leadership. If he is the only candidate and if the present leader agrees to let him take over, there will be no squabbles. When there are a

2 - I prefer to term to Indian gang of today as a delinquent gang because from the fieldwork, it was found that all the respondents joined the gang during their teenage days. Moreover, according to a few gang leaders, the majority of their members are those below 20.
few challengers then an internal clash might occur. At times, the present leader who dislikes the idea of someone else taking over the leadership, might play a foul game and "frame" the contender;

3) later stage — when a leader is about 30 years and above, normally he will quit to give way for "young blood". Normally a leader quits when he is intending to "settle down" with a family of his own without having to fear about anything.

Thus he becomes the free man. Although he breaks away from the gang, he still owes allegiance to his gang. One leader had this to say, "Even though I am not involved directly in the gang, I do give my help, like financial aid or settling internal disputes, to help keep the gang alive. The gang is like my own child; I started it and saw it grow. How can I just see it die without doing anything?"

Many reasons are given as to what provokes these individuals to become gang members. Among them are the greed for power; to gain courage by being in the company of some well-known "hardcore" criminals; a result of poor parental control; a result of deprivation and neglect of parental love and care; influence of friends; victims of circumstances; alternate means to elevate their social status; unhealthy neighbourhood and defective socialization. Any one of
the reasons are insufficient to instigate an individual to take order in which we all play a part and for which we should share such an action. It is a multiple causal effect that turns an the blame. And our efforts should be directed towards curing individual towards a gang.

Among all these causes, defective socialization is an evils.

important determinant as to what extent an individual might be attracted by a gang. As Yablonsky states "The defective sociali-

zation process ..... produces youths with limited social feelings, identity and compassion for others. Such youths manifest socio-

pathic personalities that reflect some if not all of the following characteristics:

a) a defective social conscience marked by limited feelings of guilt for destructive acts against others,
b) limited feelings of compassion or empathy for others,
c) the acting out of behaviour dominated by egocentrism and self-seeking goals,
d) the manipulation of others in a way possible for immediate self-gratification without any moral concern or responsibility." (3)

What creates a sociopathic personality is an individual's social environment and his pathology which depends on his socialization, both within and without his immediate family. These being the important causes, it should not be forgotten that this gang pheno-

menon is a symptom of a sick society, the product of a social dis-


3 - The Violent Gang - Lewis Yablonsky p 201
order in which we all play a part and for which we should share the blame. And our efforts should be directed towards curing this infection and to produce a new society, free of all these evils.
DIAGRAM 1: THIRASHER'S NATURAL HISTORY OF THE GANG

SPONTANEOUS PLAY GROUP
- May become a gang
- May become a mob

FAMILY
- Nucleus for gang

INTIMACY
- Breeding place for gang

FORMAL GROUP
- May have in it

GANG
- May function in it
- May become a mob
- May become a solidified gang
- May become a criminal gang
- May function in a federation

CLIQUE
- May function in a clique
- May become a psychological crowd

PSYCHOLOGICAL CROWD
- May become a psychological crowd

MOB
- May become a public
- May function in a ring
- May become a mob

PUBLIC
- May function in a ring

RING
- May become a mob

CRIMINAL GANG
- May function in a federation

FEFEDRATION
- May become a clique
- May become as a gang

FEFEDRATION
- May become a clique
- May become as a gang

CONVENTIONALIZED

SECRET SOCIETY

ACTION TYPE
- (e.g., mob)

ORGIASTIC TYPE
- (Expressive)
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