Left Wing Extremism in India: A Governance Perspective

Nayakara Veeresha

Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore

In any society, political conflicts should be seen as 'consequences' 'rather' than causes. The causes of political conflicts are multi-dimensional in nature. Among all the determinants of political factors, 'democracy' and 'governance' are critical, though other aspects vis. poor socio-economic status and unemployment, plays a vital role in sowing the seeds for the eruption of political conflict. Set in this backdrop, the paper explores and explains the causal links, mechanisms and processes involved in producing the 'visible outcomes' of political conflicts such as insurgency, insurrection and various social movements.

Since its formation in 1950, the Republican State in India has been witnessing a variety of political conflicts leading to the escalation of violence between the security apparatus and the insurgent parties. Currently, the Indian Democracy is experiencing various socio-political uprisings in the regions of Central and Eastern India, Jammu & Kashmir (J&K) and North Eastern (NE) States. However, the nature and causative factors of these uprisings are different— for instance, the uprisings in J&K and NE Regions have a strong identity base and assumed the form of insurgencies. The insurrection in Central India — is the 'largest internal security threat' that the country is currently facing, as described by Former Prime Minister of India Dr. Manmohan Singh in 2010. The insurrection can be seen as a historical continuum on the basis of agrarian unrest in Tebhaga, Telangana and Naxalbari regions.

Left Wing Extremism (LWE) is an official name for insurrection in ten States of Central and Eastern India; it is popularly called 'Naxalism' or 'Maoism'. LWE is an 'insurrection' that needs to be understood from historical and contemporary perspective. It has to be seen as the continuation of the Telangana and Tebhaga Insurrection (1946-51), and Naxalbari Insurrection (1967) in contemporary times.

Contextualising the Research Problem

According to the Ministry of Home Affairs (India), states of Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Odisha are severely affected by Left Wing Extremism.[1] The dominant discourses on Maoism/ Naxalism /Left Wing Extremism phenomenon could be largely attributed to socioeconomic and poverty factors responsible for insurrection. It is not a deniable fact that, the areas of insurrection are characterised by poor socioeconomic conditions, high poverty and backwardness; however it is also important to analyse the evolution and functioning of modern State Institutions such as Bureaucracy, Police, Judiciary, and Legislature in areas of insurrection.

For example, it has been observed that, "the police outpost has always been considered by the tribals as an 'alien element'. On the contrary, the behaviour of other armed forces are not exemplary and hence, they are being considered as less desirable elements than the district police forces (Government of India, 1987: 159)".

Very few studies have made an attempt to understand the role of state, inquiring issues of governance such as the impact of evolution of modern nation-state, cultural appropriation of disadvantaged sections of the society especially *adivasis* and conflict between and state led a& the self –governance, are the historical factors contributed for the development of insurrection. The mode of development adopted by the Indian State post-Independence, discontentment with development (poverty, social exclusion, displacement, loss of livelihood, denial of rights over natural resources, coercive land acquisition, and impact of mining on local communities) and youth related issues (demographic dividend, unemployment), are the contemporary factors responsible for the emergence of political extremism.

Understanding the Fifth Schedule of the Indian Constitution with particular reference to on the role of any State's Governor's is fundamental to understand the subtleties of structural and institutional aspects of insurrection and discontent of the *adivasis*. A decentralised theory of governance encourages social scientists to examine the ways in which patterns of rule, including institutions and policies, are created, sustained, and modified by individuals. It replaces formal explanations and comprehensive accounts with historicist genealogies of rationalities, ruling and resistance.[2] Other governance aspects — lack of effective democratic representation of *adivasis* in the Legislative Assembly and the Parliament by elected representatives, inadequate devolution of powers to the Local Government Institutions, delay in delivering Justice, are not adequately dealt by existing studies. One important aspect of governance which have not been dealt adequately is the role of the State Governors and the President in ensuring peace and good governance in the Scheduled Areas.

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Research Objective and Questions

The main purpose of the paper is to explore the issues of governance with particular reference to enquire upon the elements of conflict between the State led Governance and Selfgovernance systems of *adivasis* in Schedule V Areas. It critically analyses the relationship between governance and insurrection. While flagging of some crucial issues of governance, it specifically tries to find out plausible answers to the research question as to what needs to be done to contain insurrection? It proposes some policy measures to address the governance gaps with an aim to reduce the intensity of socio-political conflict in Central and Eastern states.

Data Sources and Methodology

The data was mainly drawn from critical analysis of the Annual Governor's Reports on the Administration of Scheduled Areas. Every year, the Governor of a respective State belonging to the FSAs, have to submit annual report on the administration to the President of India as per Article 244(1) of the Indian Constitution. Other sources of data and information are the annual budget speeches made by the Governors of FSA States on the state of affairs. The year 2006 have been considered as reference period due to the following developments:

- ➢ Creation of a separate division within the Ministry of Home Affairs known as Naxal Management Division with an objective of tackling "the Naxalite menace from both security and development angles".[3]
- ➢ Tabulation of the "Status of Naxal Problem" by the then Union Home Minister Shivraj Patil in the Parliament
- ➢ Enactment of 'The Scheduled Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Bill, 2006'.

The above developments indicate a change in perception of the Government of India towards dealing with Naxalism. "Naxalism is not merely a law and order problem; it has deep socio-economic dimensions".[4] This data have been corroborated by preliminary observations of the author in Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Telangana States facing insurrectionary challenge in severe form. The analysis and interpretation of data has been done using 'discourse analysis' and 'document analysis' techniques.

Understanding the relationship between governance and political conflicts such as LWE phenomenon, is a complex issue requiring a detailed analysis, cutting across philosophical, epistemological, methodological and interdisciplinary perspectives. The current

unidirectional methods are insufficient to capture the complex nature of political conflicts in democracies. So far, the methods have succeeded in explaining the "what" dimension of the political conflict; however the "how" and "why" aspects are crucial in understanding the democratisation process. In the backdrop of variety of socio-political conflicts, Cunningham and Lemke highlights that, the

"Theories focused on explaining civil wars have to explain why violence takes a more organised political form. Existing theories do a poorer job explaining this. Very few existing theories' civil war explain why the organised violence is directed specifically against the state's government".[5]

It is clearly indicated that the existing theories and its subsequent methods are inadequate in explaining the "why" and "how" component of the civil wars. Here, an attempt is made to understand the utility of ProcessTracing Method (PTM) in strengthening the analytical rigour of the political tools and methods especially in studying the political conflicts. While doing so, it delineates the applicability of PTM as a meaningful and appropriate technique to explain the nature and dynamics of political conflicts permeating through interdisciplinary approach and method. The PTM is a recent addition to the methodological toolkit of political analysis. It analyses the pattern of interactions between the institutions of society and state which is crucial not only to analyse the subtleties of democratic politics but also to explore the causal mechanism/s between the two. Here, an effort is made to apply PTM to the case of insurrection in central India, known as Left Wing Extremism (LWE) in official language.
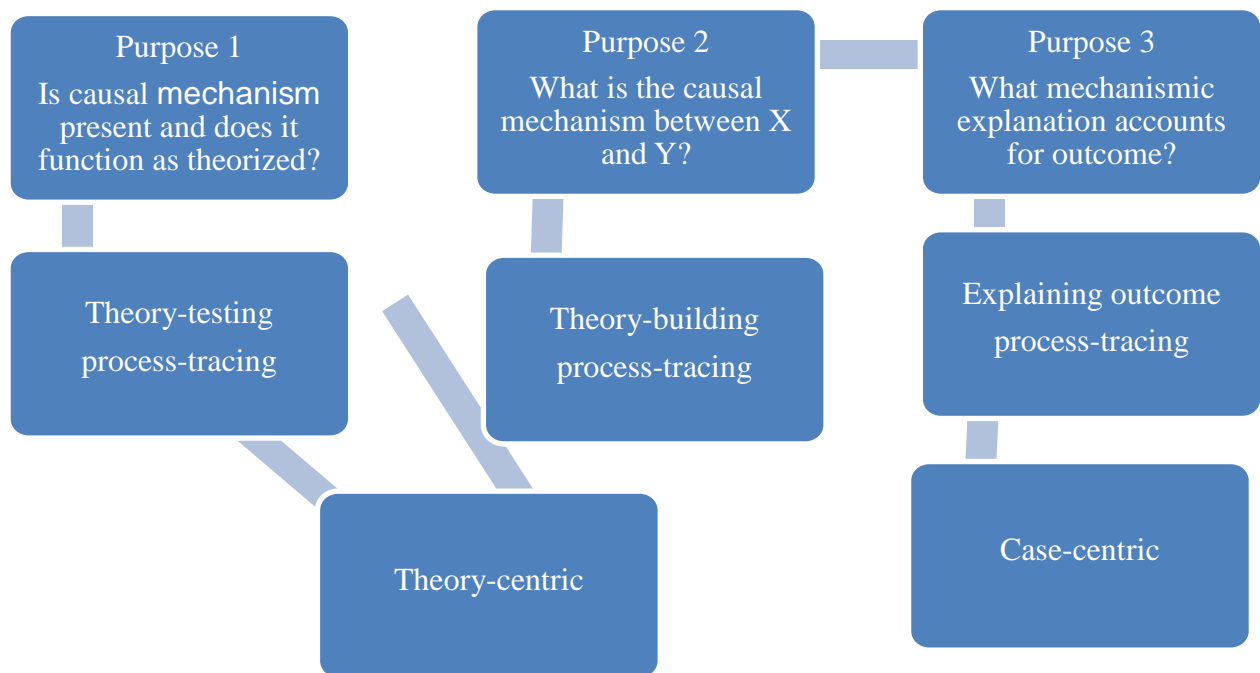
Process, Process Tracing and Its Variants

Dey understood that the idea of process is "bound up with the idea of change, and the circumstances, conditions, actions and mechanisms through which change comes out. In focusing on process, we shift attention from context and intention to action and consequence".[6] Process tracing is a new analytical tool in the armory of political science methods. The use of qualitative techniques such as content analysis, discourse analysis, document analysis, interview, focus group discussion and the ethnographic approach to study the political processes, is widely prevalent since 1950s-60s. The method of 'process tracing' is defined as the analysis of causes involved in a single outcome is referred to as "process-tracing". In process-tracing, the researcher examines histories, archival documents, interview transcripts, and other sources to trace the links between possible causes and observed outcomes.[7] Beach and Pedersen outlined three variants of process tracing[8]:

- In theory-testing process-tracing, certain hypothetical causal mechanisms were developed to test the theoretical assumptions. The objective of testing is to go a step

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ahead of establishing correlation ships and to see the existence of a causal link through what is known as 'causal process observations' to confirm the mechanisms between chosen variables.
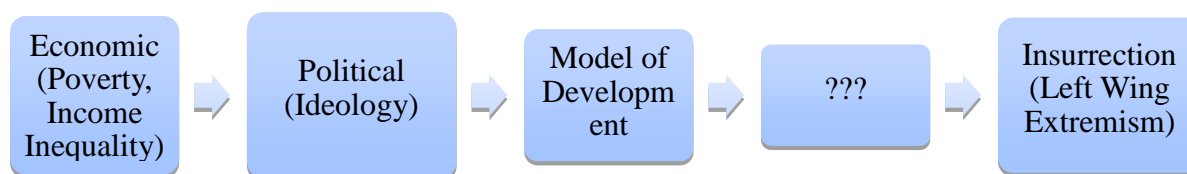
- In theory-building process-tracing, efforts are made to build a theoretical basis on the basis of causal mechanism/s observed to come up with new insights so as to renew the theories or its propositions. The findings of these observations are generalisable in nature depending upon the population selected for the study purpose.

- In explaining outcome process –tracing, the focus is on providing "minimally sufficient explanation [9]of a case. The selection of case is critical and plays an important role in setting the tone for the social and political enquiry. This explanation precedes the studying of mechanisms and its causal links. This variant of a process-tracing involves either being deductive or inductive or sometimes both of these approaches.

Graph 1: Types of Process-Tracing Method

Source: Beach and Pedersen

The three variants of process-tracing methods operates on a different philosophical, epistemological and ontological understanding of the researchable problem at hand. Here, the third variant of process-tracing is employed to explain the insurrection in central India.

Graph 2: Explaining Insurrection as a Case of Historical Outcome Using Process-Tracing

Economic (Poverty, Income Inequality) → Political (Ideology) → Model of Development → ??? → Insurrection (Left Wing Extremism)

Source: Annotated by Author

The insurrection in Central India is a visible outcome. N Sundar tries to understand the insurrection from three broad perspectives of law and order (through a security lens), under-development (here lack of basic amenities such as nutrition, food, education, health, infrastructure) and political ideology.[10] Further, it is observed that "the civil war across Central India may be seen as a combination of a resource driven war and a class conflict".[11] If one examines critically, the above perspectives by and large deals with diagnosing the problems at hand, as they explain those aspects of conflict that does not sufficiently focussed on how the problem has emerged (i.e. 'why' and 'how' component of the conflict). The above dominant perspectives of the ongoing discourses does explains the socio-political conflict to some extent; however, they are inadequate and insufficient in explaining as to 'why' and 'how' people's uprising emerges in the first place.

The main issues of governance discussed in this paper are classified as historical and contemporary factors. They are analysed one by one using process- tracing methodology:

Historical Development of the State

Elementary Communism to Feudal Order

Historically, "a system of devolution of authority based on the tribal origin of the territorial sub-divisions in Chhattisgarh" during medieval period was found.[12] The rise of intermediaries between the king and the taxpayer, and the growth of self- contained villages laid the foundations of feudalism in Bastar during the Nala Period (350-760 AD)". [13]

The land policies, regulation of forest produces to the *adivasis*, school system introduced by the British Administration, Zamindari system[14], and cultural invasion in the internal affairs of local communities, are some of the historical factors that have given rise to dissatisfaction and discontent towards the colonial rule. The centralisation of power with respect to land, forest policies, interference in the lives of the people, promulgation of individual rights by replacing the community rights etc., have slowly infused feudal elements in indigenous political organisations.

The development of modern forms of state apparatus (forest guards, local officials) have transformed the earlier communism into a feudal state. The roots of feudal order was developed in the 16th century in Bastar wherein the 16th century considerable progress had been made in the direction of dispossessing the primitive inhabitants by means of more vigorous immigrants from Upper India".[15]

The exploitation of local *adivasis* by dominant communities', is still prevalent in the States of Chhattisgarh, Jharkhand and Odisha. This kind of economic exploitation in daily wages compensation is largely visible not only in the hotels but also in small retailing shops, stationery shops, tendu patta trading, sand mining and in the payment of minor forest produces to *adivasis* by outside immigrants. The development of modern state in *adivasi* society, with its infusing elements of feudalism, by exploiting the local people, is one of the main determining factors of insurrection.

Cultural Appropriation of Adivasis

Alex de Tocqueville and Montesquieu saw politics and governance as 'cultural constructs'. In this tradition, the term 'culture' has been understood as the 'analytical framework within which political action occurs'. In brief, politics has to be understood on the basis of 'local political culture and tradition' within which it operates. The cultural appropriation of *adivasis* has started during colonial period with the introduction of school system in *adivasi* regions. Traditional rights over the natural resources, and forest produces are inalienable rights of the *adivasis*. In a confidential report on the contributing factors of Bhumkal rebellion 1910, Standen opined:

"They had not liked the new forest laws, the Police interference, the schools and beggar. All over Bastar people talked of the change that was being brought in their pattern of life. Sons of the forest—the tribals—felt that they have inalienable rights and any interference in this was irksome to them. They felt that they could do with the forests whatever they liked and that nobody had a right to interference. Even the schools were considered to be an unwanted interference with their way of life". [16]

Appropriation of culture of the *adivasis* by the immigrants, dominant castes, local traders, contractors, and lately modern state apparatus. stands in conflict with the traditional political customs and values of the local communities. The cultural appropriation of *adivasis*, through different systems and institutions has eroded the vitality of traditional political structures and authority which are genuinely in value conflict with the 'modern' culture or 'mainstream culture'.

Conflict Between the Systems of Self vs. State led Governance

Till the early 1980s, the Bastar Region of the State was a peaceful location. Former and Bastar District Administrator — Late BD Sharma observed that, the 'conflict in Chhattisgarh is about ownership of land, forest and water resources in tribal areas'.[17] The institutional conflict between traditional and modern systems of governance is one of the contributing factors of insurrection. The present insurrection in Central and Eastern States can be largely attributed to the structural limitations of the Fifth Schedule. In fact, Brajeshwar Prasad[18] has expressed the probability of socio-political conflict during the Assembly debates. "We must go even out of our way to allay the apprehensions of the tribal people. A discontented minority is a source of grave danger to the stability of the State. The minorities have shattered Europe to bits. At the critical moments when the nation is confronted with some catastrophe, the minorities can tilt the balance one way or the other. If at such a critical juncture the discontented minorities choose to light the fire of rebellion, no State can survive the onslaught".[19]

It is sheer coincidence that the words of the Brajeshwar Prasad has come true as we are witnessing insurrection in ten States which are governed under the Fifth Schedule— the insurrection is loosely called 'Naxalism' or 'Maoism' in the dominant discourse. Another structural limitation of the Fifth Schedule is the insertion of the word "control" in the Draft Constitution. Initially, there was no word like "control" in the both acts[20] that formed the basis for the present Fifth Schedule of the Constitution. In the context of administration of scheduled areas, the term "control" can be understood as exercising power to influence or regulate. This gives impression that the Constitution makers have shown centralising tendency to hold the authority and power to govern the scheduled areas. This may be acceptable given the circumstances prevailed at that time such as integrating the nation as a whole. When seen in today's context, this is a contentious issue as it provides Union Governments control over the administration of the Scheduled Areas (SAs) through the respective State Governments, without giving governing powers to the *adivasis*. Precisely for this reason, the Fifth Schedule is called as 'Lame Duck Schedule' of the Constitution.[21]

In brief, the instituted Fifth Schedule of the Constitution suffers from following lacunae:

- o Insertion of the word "control" to have a grip on governing power and authority.
- o Reduction of the Office of Governor to a mere annual report writing institution to the President on the affairs of SAs.
- o Creation of TACs without any legislative, executive and financial powers.
- o No clarity on the composition of TAC especially the remaining one-fourth of the membership.[22]

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○   Ambiguity on the discretionary role of Governor.

Addressing such institutional deficits, that gave impetus to insurrectional politics, demands immediate attention from the policy makers.

Discontents of Development

In the current discourse, 'development deficit' has become one of the contributing factors for insurrection. Lack of human development indicators such as health facilities, literacy rate, and per capita income, may have become a reason for the local people to resort to extremist activities or to support political ideologues. Let us see how far this holds true as far as the ten states facing insurrection are concerned. The following table provides insights of human development conditions with emphasis on extent of poverty rate among the LWE states.

Table 1: LWE States Poverty and HDI

State	Poverty Rate*	HDI**
Andhra Pradesh + Telangana	13.7	15
Bihar	41.3	21
Chhattisgarh	47.9	23
Jharkhand	42.4	19
Madhya Pradesh	44.3	20
Maharashtra	20.0	7
Odisha	45.9	22

*Sources: *Government of India, 2014; **Institute of Applied Manpower Research Planning Commission, Government of India (2011)*

It is evident from the above table **(Table 1)** that, forest lands were diverted for mining purpose in these mineral rich states. It can also be observed that most of the mineral resource rich areas falls under the PESA which provides an alternative governance mechanism to administer the SA areas. It empowers the Gram Sabha as 'custodian of community affairs' and 'ownership of minor forest produces'. The office of the Governor has endowed special responsibilities to ensure peace and good government in schedule areas.

Table 2: Major Mining States, LWE and Human Development Index

Major Mining States	Percent of ST Population	Forest Coverage (in %)	Diversion of Forest Land for Coal Mining Since 11th FYP (in Hectares)	Human Development Index	PESA Districts	LWE Districts
Chhattisgarh	30.6	41	15916.731	0.45	19	14
Jharkhand	22.8	29.5	9304.5656	0.46	16	17
Odisha	26.2	32	4435.38	0.44	13	18

Source: Adopted from C Bhushan & S Banerjee (2015)

How can we explain the growth of insurrection in post liberalisation period after the economic reforms? It can be argued that, it is not the 'development' but the 'development path' followed in post 1990s, that has led to systematic alienation of the *adivasis* from the development process itself. The relationship between the extent of adivasi population in a state, forest coverage and availability of mineral resources, are the potential contributing factors for the development conflict between insurgents and state. The expanding notion of governance, beyond the state, includes multiple actors in decision making process, that in turn influences the politico-economy factor of development of the country.

Although, the direct cause and effective relationship between mining and insurrection is difficult to establish, however, it is suffice to say that mining, and other modern development projects, have led to increased displacement of people—Bastar Region of the State has witnessed an unusual kind of displacement particularly in the Bijapur and Sukma Districts. It is a 'conflict induced displacement' popularly known as "Salwa Judum" which started in 2005 in Bijapur District.

Case of Salwa Judum (Peace Mission/Purification Hunt)

Can a Democratically elected Government arm civilians to fight the insurgents? If so, then what are the legal and constitutional grounds to pursue it? The case of Salwa Judum in Bijapur, and Sukma Districts in Chhattisgarh State and other parts of Bastar Region have experienced local people's sudden uprising in resistance to insurgents rule during 2005-06. Most of the literature on Salwa Judum notes that it was a strategic, conscious and purposeful state's intervention to arm the civilians to fight the insurrection.

The Supreme Court of India has dismantled it by portraying "Salwa Judum" as illegal and unconstitutional in 2011. Mostly, young people between in age group of 15-29 years were

affected by this campaign. The following case gives a glimpse of the state of young people, who were appointed as SPOs by the State to fight the insurgents:

Figure 1: Interview with youth SPO

> Box (1): Special Police Officers (SPOs) or Disempowering Youth?
>
> Salwa Judum appoints local people who are not happy with the insurgents, who are victimised by their violent methods, political opportunists more importantly young unemployed people. They are recruited as Special Police Officers (SPOs)Most members are under twenty years old, and many appear to be no more than fifteen during 2005. [23]Steady source of income is one of the reasons for the local *adivasi* youth to join as SPOs. This indicates the role of poverty and unemployment in pushing the local youth towards taking arms to fight with the insurgents.

Source: Author interview with one of youth on 28.06.2016 at 3.20.P.M. in the premises of livelihood college

The impact of Salwa Judum on *adivasi* communities in particular and on the local people in general is unbearable in terms of human sufferings. A Rojgar Sahayak[24] recollects his memories:

"Earlier (i.e. before Salwa Judum) there was peace and tranquillity in the villages; though the fight was on between Naxalites and State. Once the Judum got started, it slowly divided the villages both horizontally (inter-personal relationships) and vertically (social-hierarchical relationships). It made people to suspect each other within the village/s and responsible for the breaking the trust between the villagers".

The following narrative and testimonies of a fact finding report of All India Women's team gives a glimpse of women's condition during the peak of conflict:

"They do not get any leave. They are made to work even at night, sleeping at the *thanas*. They are allowed to come home only to eat. Many of them have not been paid for months— Mother of a young girl SPOs. [25]

Most existing literatures have documented the negative effects of Salwa Judum in general and particularly its impact on human rights violations. Very scarcely some literature has observed that the Salwa Judum is a tribal's resistance to the insurgent's rule—view which is endorsed by the Chhattisgarh State and NHRC report on Salwa Judum in 2008. It is unfair to speak of development without fulfilling the basic necessities of human life in an emerging economic nation like India with democracy as its core strength. With regards to the discontents of development and its relation in producing people's uprising, it is worth mentioning the observations made by Former Union Minister of Rural Development— Jairam

Ramesh (2014) who attributed insurgency of Central India to four Ds: Tribal Displacement, Deprivation, Discontent and Tribal Disconnect. [26]

Land Related Issues

In the context of insurrection and land related conflicts, the general understanding is that 'alienation' of *adivasi* land to non-adivasi groups is one of the contributing factors for contentious politics. The advent of neoliberal governance and subsequent adoption of its development model increased the pace of land acquisition in the FSAs. The contentious issue is that, the land acquisition process is taking place on the premises of rights based legislations such as PESA and FRA. Despite of such protective measures, to prevent the transfer of land in scheduled areas, there is widespread land alienation in the Fifth Schedule. This is more evident in the post economic reform period wherein the average size of land holdings in the country showed a gradual declining trend. The alienation of *adivasi* land predominantly takes place under the 'curtain of development' that is for mining and other infrastructural projects, by diverting the forest land.

Graph 3: Average Size of Operational Holdings
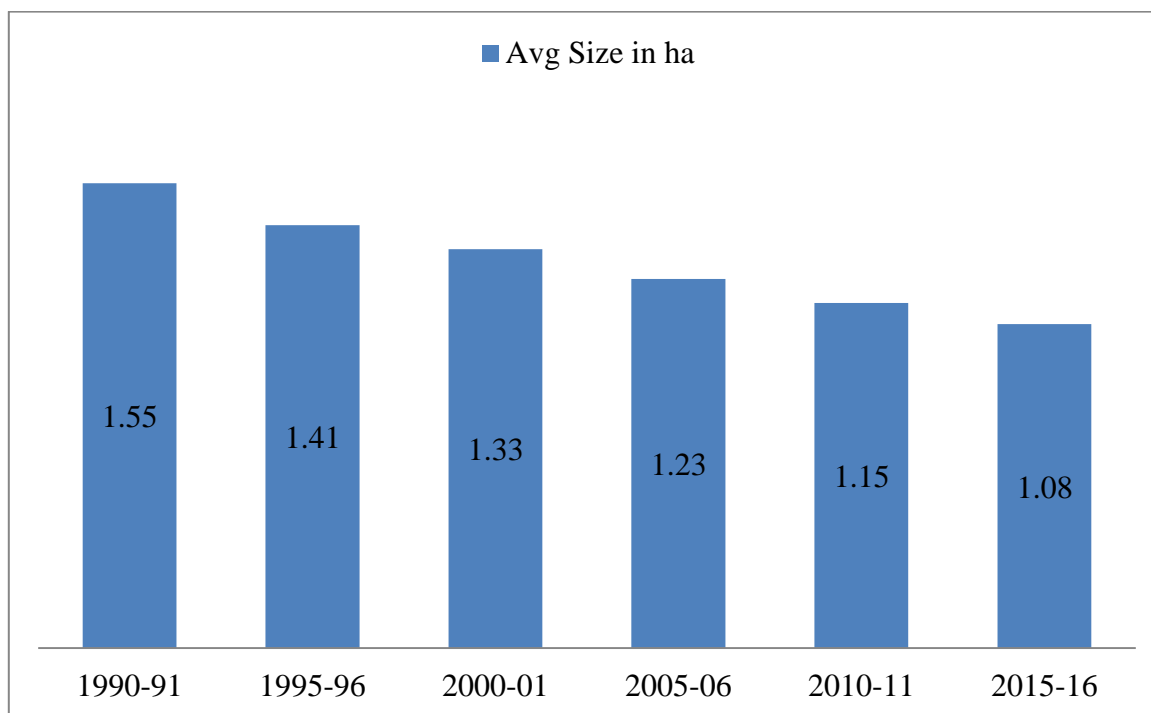
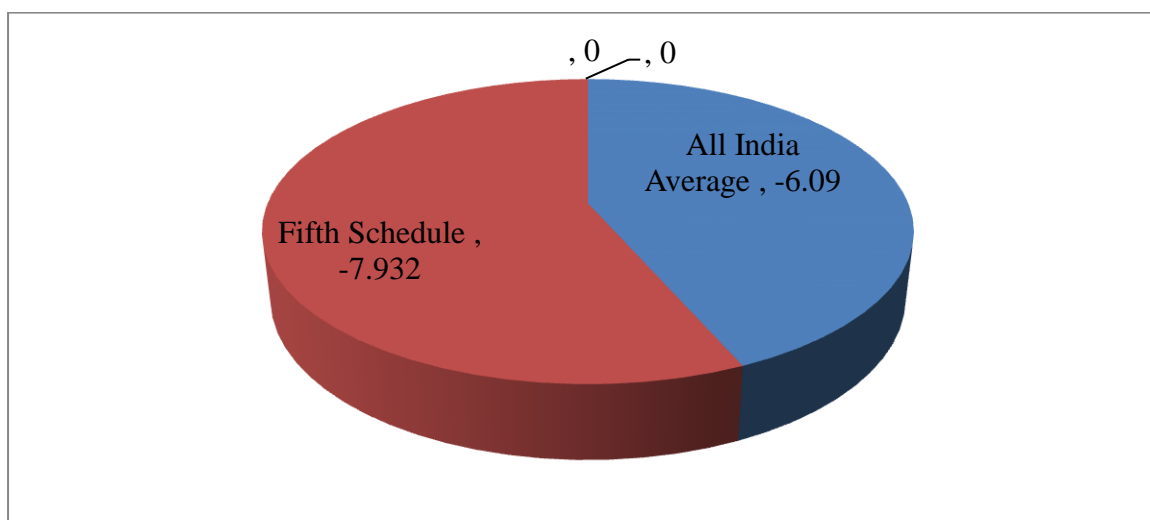*Source: Government of India (2019)*

The following data illustrated this trend. The decline in average size of land holdings in the states under the Fifth Schedule between 2010-11 to 2015-16 is given below:

Table 3: Reduction in the Average Size of Land Holdings in the Fifth Schedule

S.No.	Fifth Schedule State	Percentage Reduction Between 2010-11 to 2015-16
1	Andhra Pradesh	-11.32
2	Chhattisgarh	-8.09
3	Gujarat	-7.39
4	Himachal Pradesh	-4.04
5	Jharkhand	0.00
6	Madhya Pradesh	-11.80
7	Maharashtra	-6.25
8	Odisha	-8.65
9	Rajasthan	-11.07
10	Telangana	-10.71

Source: Government of India (2019)

The reduction in the average size of land holdings in Fifth Schedule is more than that of All India average. The following graph illustrates the same.

Graph 4: Average reduction in the size of land holdings of All India vs. Fifth Schedule

Source: Government of India (2019)

The decline of average land holding and the diversion of forest land to the pursuit of development projects is more in the areas of fifth schedule (the non-schedule areas). The developmental aspects include infrastructure projects, mining and building of roads. In the following paragraphs, all these are dealt one by one in accordance to the impact on the land governance in FSAs.

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A closer analysis of the land diversion and land alienation in the Fifth Schedule Areas refutes the existing understanding that, the support base of local *adivasis* and other backward sections of the CPI (Maoist) belongs largely to the landless people or families. To illustrate, in the Konta Tehsil in Sukma district, which is a case selected for this study, has higher land holdings among *adivasis.* The following case of forest land diversion to non-forest purposes by deviating the rules of FRA (2006) and PESA(1996) is a sufficient evidence of State's abdication of not fulfilling the constitutional obligations as far as land governance is concerned.

Local Youth: Perceptions and Perspectives

The relevance of youth in various insurrections, rebellions, uprisings is historically well known that is from the period of renaissance to the recent social upheavals of 'Arab Spring'. It is interesting to ask a question here— why the local youth in insurrectionary districts are becoming easy target for insurgent recruitment? The present research study has made an attempt to understand insurrection from the point of view of local youth. Methods used to gather data are observation technique, unstructured interviews, and focus group discussion.[27]. The respondents comprises different categories of youth such as surrendered youth— those who has worked with CPI(Maoist) party for some time and then surrendered before the government; those youth who are in government service; general youth and migrated youth. The following discussion gives view of local youth, belonging to different sections of life, on insurrection. What is the youth's understanding about the ongoing conflict? How do they perceive insurrection?

Education, Unemployment and Livelihood

The average level of education among the surrendered youth has been found to be till the matriculation level; only one among them has completed higher secondary but failed in Maths and Science. A careful analysis of level of education among the martyred youth of CPI (Maoist) party in Dandakaranya reveals that, most of the youth have not even passed the matriculation standard barring few exceptions. Hence, the local youths are vulnerable to get attracted to radical political ideoplogies of Marx-Lenin-Mao Tsetung. Bal Sangham is one such example in which children falling in the age bracket of 14-18 years, in some cases even below 14 years, were recruited into the party. This higlighted the problems with the current educational system. These schools, set up in *adivasi* areas are culturally different from that of other local learning institutions, present in the area. This view is prevalent among the local *adivasi* youth who often feels alienated in the educational system. The semi-literate or semi-educated people are more vulnerable to extreme radical political ideologies. Commenting on

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the kind of education system that is being implemented in *adivasi* areas which perpetuates the social inequality in the minds of these young children and adults it is observed that the,

"the semi-educated boy…..…become frustrated and resentful; he is a ready field for the sowing of the seeds of political discontent. This is a problem in tribal than in other rural areas in India". [28] Despite of problems with the current education system with respect to empowerment of the *adivasi* population, there is a considerable progress in terms of increase in literacy levels since the last five decades.

 In the context of local *adivasi* youth it was found that, "the stories of forced surrenders is a curious one because some villagers report that unemployed youth declare themselves as Maoists, and then surrender to get jobs. In a situation of extreme unemployment and deprivation, the security personnel use the option of "fake" surrenders to lure the unemployed youth".[29] Instead of creating fair employment opportunities for the youth, the local administration is pushing them into a cycle of violence by inducting them into the Para Military Forces. Those who have joined this 'tribal battalion' will become easy target group for the insurgents and will be killed one day or the other. How a State with highest *adivasi* population can push their local youth into the danger zone of conflict in the name of creating employment?This is against the ethics of the State itself. From the above discussion, it can be understood that, the youth in general are not joining the radical political parties only on the basis of education or unemployment issues. The reasons for joining the CPI (Maoist) party includes their day-to-day experiences with the local administration, historical legacy of associating with the party (like if their parents or family members associated with the party in past), the family circumstances etc. with an idea that they may find a source of livelihood.

Role of Ideology

How the radical political ideology of CPI (Maoist) influences the local youth? Insurrection mainly is an ideological battle between the power holders (State) and the power aspirers (Insurrectionaries). Capturing the role of ideology and its influence on the local youth is a dynamic and complex process. The social research space is very narrow in the conflict zones and it demands a closer observation as to how ideology plays a role in the lives of young people. Ideological indoctrination has been carried out by the CPI (Maoist) party in their area of influence through training in the form of the Basic Communist Training School (BCTS) or through Mobile Academic Schools. These schools' teaches the basics of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tsetung's political thought to the children. The local people has been manipulated with an aim to sow seeds of discontent against the Indian State. The CPI (Maoist) party perceives the Indian State has as an instrument of exploitation and injustice.

It argues that, the Indian State strives on the basis of structural violence perpetuated on the Indian masses particularly on the *adivasis* and other backward sections of people through extractive and exploitative land policies to support industrial giants and corporate enterprises. More details are needed to understand how the CPI (Maoist) party operates its ideology in local areas. It is suffice to say that though the role and influence of ideology on local youth has its own limitations, yet the criticality of ideology assumes importance in the areas lacking basic amenities of human life. The successive governments, both at the Union and the State level are yet to fulfill their responsibilities of providing the basic amenities to the people in these areas, before speaking of any rhetoric of 'development' of these areas.

Socio-economic Background and Bureaucratic Exploitation

Most of the youth who participates in the insurrection hails from a poorer socio-economic background. The CPI (Maoist) party document provides some crucial inputs about the socio-economic status of the cadre— majority (approx. 61%) of the party cadre belongs to the *adivasis*, poor or middle class agricultural labourers or landless labourers. The data from district administration shows that majority of the people, who have surrendered to the Government after working for some time with the CPI (Maoist) party, mainly consists of *adivasis*.

However, it is not that, all the youth who joins the CPI (Maoist) party, belongs to the poor socio-economic background; rather mostly these are the youths who have experienced the inefficient systems of politics, corruption in government, exploitation of bureaucracy etc. This is important particularly in case of women cadre. To draw from CPI (Maoist) party document:

"Comrade Rukmati (26) used to attend the party meetings whenever the party held meeting in the village. She was very attentive in listening to the meeting proceedings. She has firsthand experiences of the difficulties faced by the *adivasis*. She also knows about the government official's behavior with women especially by the forest and revenue officials. This understanding has brought her closer to the Krantikari Adivasi Mahila Sanghatan (KAMS). After working one year in KAMS, she expressed her interest to join as full time worker as PLGA to the party, for which the party accepted her request".[30]

Poor socio-economic background of the family does influence the local youth to take different paths in order to fulfill their day-to-day requirements. Some of the youth have shared a view that, they often associate with the CPI (Maoist) party for their survival in daily lives. From the above narratives, it can be understood that, poor socio-economic background plays a big role in influencing the youth to join radical politics.

Everyday Experiences with the State Apparatus

The local youth seems to be unhappy with the ways the State is functioning to empower them. Rather than addressing the socio-economic disparities entrenched in the society, the State through its various policies of mining, and other development projects, has alienated the local population from the growth process. Local youth feels that the State has not addressed the root causes of insurrection, rather it is engaging in killing of individuals, arresting *adivasi* youth, by alleging them of being members of the banned CPI (Maoist) organisation.

The Salwa Judum (Purification Hunt), which started in 2005, have rapidly spread in the Bastar region; large number of local people got displaced from their own villages due to the war between the State and the insurgents. Young people who are working with the government have shared their views, as to how most of the government officials are neglecting or not efficiently doing their public duties. Some of the youth who got surrendered has expressed a view that initiatives such as Salwa Judum have increased the public anger towards the State. The anger is due to social tensions or distance created by Salwa Judum among the villagers, or the local communities. It has disturbed he social fabric of the order which now have taken the form of political violence expression.

Rampant Human Rights violations by the security forces particularly on women, children are important factors that contributes to the rise of political discontent among the younger generation. A step such as recruitment of SPOs among the tribal youth is crucial in making the youth angry towards the State apparatus. A critical question to be asked here is that, how the local people perceives the 'State'? How do they understand the modern 'nation-State'? More importantly, what does the State mean to *adivasi* communities. These are some research questions that requires an in-depth analysis of the 'notion of State' in the *adivasi* areas specifically among the younger generation.

Legacy of Insurrectionary Culture

The cultural inclination of youth towards radical political party ideology and its objectives may have personal undercurrents and reasons. The grown up circumstances of children and youth exerts considerable impact in inspiring a person to support the party's cause or to join the party cadre. The CPI (Maoist) party has grassroot cultural wings and organisations to mobilise the local people particularly the children and young people. A substantial portion of youth expressed a view that they were inspired by the revolutionary songs of the CPI (Maoist) party. Most of the villages that have been influenced by the insurgents are governed by Zamindars and participated in the Bhumkal insurrection of 1910.

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To raise the party's ideals and objectives, the CPI (Maoist) party has an educational and cultural committee. The Chetna Natya Manch is a frontal organisation of the party which is responsible for the mobilisation of local people. It uses mainly folk dances to enthuse the *adivasis* to induct their political ideologies. This is the major organisation which also trains children from the age 10 years. The motto principle of the organisation is is "people are the makers of history and people are the creators of new culture".

The following narratives from CPI (Maoist) party documents gives a glimpse on how the participants of insurrection were inspired by the cultural wings of the party:

"Comrade Gangakka (Swarna) was attracted towards the revolutionary songs since her childhood. She attended the Girijan Rythu Coolie Sangam second district conference in 1983 at Adilabad at the young age of 10. She understood that new democratic revolution alone would pave the way for the liberation of women and propagated these politics among women".[31] "Comrade Dasri Salami was born in Chhote Farasgaon in a middle class family. She studied till the 6th standard. She was influenced by revolutionary culture and joined the movement".[32] It can be inferred that the richness of *adivasi* culture, adopted by the insurgents through their political strategy, has given impetus to the local youth to come closer to the CPI (Maoist) party.

Although, it is beyond the scope of this paper to enquire about the adoption of the exclusion scheme inspite of the sub-committee apprehensions about the practicality of the scheme, however, it can be observed that the Constitution of India may have altered the criteria to administer the tribal areas instead of following the colonial framework of governance. The remarks of the sub-committee are valid even today. To illustrate, there is have only one Member of Parliament for the whole Bastar Region (bigger than smaller states of the country). In public offices also, the *adivasis* faces the problem of poor representation. The following table gives a glimpse of the representation of *adivasis* in comparison to the Scheduled Castes.

Table 4: The Representation of *Adivasis* As Compared to SCs and STs

Level	Total	SC		ST	
		Number	**Per cent**	**Number**	**Per cent**
Secretary	72	4	5.55	2	2.78
Special Secretary	19	1	5.26	1	5.26
Additional Secretary	60	1	1.67	2	3.33
Joint Secretary	280	22	7.86	7	2.50

Source: Government of India (2014)

The inadequate representation of *adivasis* in legislative bodies (Parliament, Assemblies) and public offices is one of the main reasonfor the unrest in FSAs. It has been observed that "as a result of this insufficient representation, the problems of these areas do not receive the attention to which their size and importance entitle them.[33]

Policy Considerations

The above analysis indicates that performance of the Governor's Office in fulfilling the Constitutional obligations of Article 244(1) is not up to the mark. To strengthen the Governor's position and to make the office of the Governor effective in administering the Scheduled Areas, the following prescriptions may be considered by the policy makers.

- Providing necessary infrastructure and Personnel to the Office of Governor to discharge the functions as obligated under the Article 244 (1).
- Empowering Governor's Office with financial powers and rather than only legislative provisions.
- Institute provision in the Constitution with an aim to prevent political elite intervention in the duties of the Governor. Revisiting the colonial scheme of governance for FSAs.
- Tribal Cell, as established by the Maharashtra Governor's Office, may be replicated, wherever applicable, in other States.
- Creating necessary checks and balances for the States so that the Governor does not find it difficult to do his duty in administering the FSAs.

Conclusion

Insurrections are unique phenomenon in the history of any nation's progress; they are the legitimate people's uprising demanding their due share of rights as mandated by the Constitution. Contrary to the general understanding vis. it is not the 'development deficit' or 'governance deficit' which is responsible for political violence between the insurgents and State, it needs to be understood that, excessive governance in these 88 districts or Fifth Scheduled Areas by the Union and State Governments particularly in post liberalisation period, has given rise to the current insurrection situation. Here, the excessiveness of governance means to have multiplicity of governance arrangements to administer the fifth scheduled areas such as

- Traditional governance practices of the *adivasis.*
- Constitution has given a clear framework to administer the Fifth Scheduled Areas under Article 244 (1) with Governor as the sole Authority. The Fifth Schedule is popularly regarded as 'Constitution within the Constitution'.
- PESA envisages participatory governance.
- Both Union and State Governments have their defined framework of governance.
- CPI (Maoist) party has its governance.
- Local district administration have different idea of governance and local development,
- Civil Society Organisations and Human Rights activists have different scheme of administration for the insurrectionary areas.

Enmeshed in the multiplicity of governance these areas precisely lack good governance giving room for the radical political ideologues to run parallel administration in some of the interior villages. In a modest way, it can be inferred that both the CPI (Maoist) party as well as the Union of India and the State Governments are responsible for the discontent among thousands and lakhs of children, adolescent and youth lives in the 35 critical LWE districts. Due to this, the real potentialities of the youth has been lost in the game of power politics of the State and the ideologues, who usually forgets that power has to be rooted in the democratic principles of legitimacy of the local people and not in the indiscriminate use of authority to produce human violence.

Sundar hopes that "A new Constitution will give all people the right to decide how they wanted their resources to be used".[34] We, as a country will be happy if this comes true; yet the question is who will give the new Constitution to the *adivasis* of SAs? In other words, the Indian Union and State Governments should show the political will to amend the colonial

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framework of governance as laid down in the form of Fifth Schedule. The functioning of the Indian State, in seven decades, clearly indicates that this is impractical and not feasible until the governments at the Union and State levels change their attitude and perception and work towards *adivasi* welfare through the prism of effective state rather than as an escapist state (abdicating the responsibility of ensuring basic amenities to the *adivasis*).

The social legitimacy of the Indian State and its institutions of governance are poor in the States that are experiencing insurrection. The historical continuum of insurrection in India highlights the limitations of revolutionary methods in facilitating the social changes to ensure equality, justice and rights. At this critical juncture, it is important to delineate insurrection as an active constituent of citizenship for humane governance and politics. This calls for a human centric politics wherein the citizen gets preference over the rules of governance. It may be called as anthro-politics— a politics which evolves and expands through various insurrections from below, by combining the sensitivities of human collective responses in the situation of social disorder and political instability. This can be developed on the basis of anthropological and philosophical tenets of humanism. What is going on in Central India is a fight related to the issue of land rights, equality and justice. This has to be perceived and understood from a democratic citizenship point of view by combining the elements of human values into political theory, thereby enabling a way to construct a "project of democratisation based on this insurrectionary history of citizenship".[35] It could be one of the ways through which various processes, underlying the non-armed revolution can be pushed further for peaceful human advancement.

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of the Ministry of Defence (MoD) (Army), or the Centre for Land Warfare Studies. The photographs used on the cover are all from open sources and CLAWS does not claim copyright of the same.

End Notes

[1] Left-Wing Extremism is an official connotation used by the Ministry of Home Affairs, GoI to describe the phenomenon of insurrection. It must be noted that though the term 'Naxalism' is popularly used especially in the Indian context, we can see a change in the nomenclature in policy documents of Government of India to explain the insurrectionary situation with the changing times. Other widely used terms for the ongoing insurrection in Central and Eastern States are Maoism/Extremism/Revolution etc.

[2] M Bevir and RAW Rhodes (Eds.), *Rethinking Governance: Ruling, Rationalities and Resistance*, Oxon: Routledge, 2016, ISBN 9781138487369.

[3] Annual Report 2006-2007, Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India. Available at https://www.mha.gov.in/sites/default/files/AnnualReport_06_07.pdf.

[4] Ibid.

[5] DE Cunningham and D Lemke, "Beyond Civil War: A Quantitative Examination of Causes of Violence within Countries", *Civil Wars* , Vol. 16, Issue 3, 2014. Available at https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13698249.2014.976356, pp. 328-345.

[6] Ian Dey, *Qualitative Data Analysis: A User Friendly Guide for Social Scientists*, London & New York: Routledge: 1993, ISBN 9780415058520.

[7] AL George & A Bennett, *Case Studies and Theory Development in the Social Sciences*, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2005, ISBN: 9780262072571.

[8] D Beach & RB Pedersen, *Process Tracing Methods: Foundations and Guidelines*, The University of Michigan Press, 2013.

[9] JL Mackie, "Causes and Conditions", *American Philosophical Quarterly*, Vol 2, No. 2, October 1965.

[10] Nandini Sundar, "Insurgency, Counter-insurgency, and Democracy in Central India" in *More than Maoism: Politics, Policies and Insurgencies in South Asia* by R Jeffrey, R Sen & P Singh (Eds), New Delhi: Manohar Publishers & Distributors, 2013, ISBN 9350980231.

[11] A Sundar and N Sundar, *Civil Wars in South Asia: State, Sovereignty, Development*, New Delhi: Sage India Publications, 2014, ISBN 9789351500407.

[12] CU Wills, "The Territorial system of the Rajput Kingdoms of Medieval Chhattisgarh", *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Series XV,pp. 197-262.

[13] HL Shukla, *Tribal History: A New Interpretation*, Delhi: B R. Publishing Corporation, 1987, ISBN 8170184711.

[14] It is important to note that seven districts of the Bastar Region, where insurrection is intense between the insurgents and the state, are historically governed by local Zamindars during later medieval period.

[15] N.12.

[16] PB Standen, Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, 16 December 1910, *NAI*, Foreign Department, Secret—1 Retrieved from Jagdalpur Record Room.

[17] Richard Mahapatra, "Independent India worse for tribals", *Down To Earth*, 15 June 2012. Available at https://www.downtoearth.org.in/interviews/independent-india-worse-for-tribals-38299.

[18] Brajeshwar Prasad did not favour the idea of Tribes Advisory Council. He strongly emphasised that the creation of TAC "is merely side tracking the issue. What the tribals want is not a Council but a guarantee by the Constitution that means of livelihood, free education and free medical facilities shall be provided for all tribals; Ibid, pp984-85.

[19] *Constituent Assembly Debates*, Vol.IX. New Delhi: Lok Sabha Secretariat, 2009.

[20] The Government of India Act 1919 and 1935.

[21] B Singh, "A lame duck Schedule of the Constitution", *Down To Earth*, 04 September 2014. Available http://www.downtoearth.org.in/news/a--lame-duck-schedule-of-the-constitution--46191.

[22] Three-fourths shall be the representatives of the Scheduled Tribes in the Legislative Assembly of the State

[23] J Miklian, "Purification Hunt: The Salwa Judum Counter Insurgency in Chhattisgarh in Windows into a Revolution: Ethnographies of Maoism in India and Nepal" by A Shah & J Pettigrew (Eds.), New Delhi: Social Science Press and Orient Blackswan Pvt. Ltd., 2012

[24] Views were shared during an informal discussion on what happened during Salwa Judum and its aftermath impact on the local society. The conversation took place during a field visit to Jagargunda, which is one of the places with highest number of people's displacement to Konta, Bhadrachalam (Khammam district of Telangana State).

[25] All India Women's Team, "Salwa Judum and Violence on Women in Dantewara (Chhattisgarh), *Committee Against Violence on Women (CAVOW)*, December 2006. Available at https://cpjc.files.wordpress.com/2007/07/cavow-sj-ff-report.pdf.

[26] "21st Century Maoism in India", *Nehru Memorial Lecture*, 22 January 2013. Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2ZYnQdqcGds.

[27] The checklist prepared for the FGD has not yet come handy in the field, as the level of awareness about government programmes among the youth, who are working with government, has been found very low. Youths working in interior villages has come forward to share the opinions on insurrectionary governance. Other categories are somewhat hesitant/ tense/fear to share the opinion about insurgents and State's response to the insurrection. Hence, only some sections are being used in the checklist of FGDs for the purpose.

[28] "Report of the Committee on Special Multipurpose Tribal Blocks", *Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India*, 1960.

[29] A Prasad, "Adivasis and the Anatomy of a Conflict Zone Bastar 2016", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. 51, Issue No. 26-27, 12 July 2016. Available at https://www.epw.in/journal/2016/26-27/commentary/adivasis-and-anatomy-conflict-zone.html.

[30] "Communist Party of India (Maoist)", *DK Martyrs Book*, 2012.

[31] "Women Martyrs of The Indian Revolution", *Naxalbari to 2010*, Vol. I & II, 2010. Available at http://www.bannedthought.net/India/CPI-Maoist-Docs/Women/WomenMartyrsNaxalbariTo2010-Vol-1&-2.pmd.pdf.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid, p.748.

[34] Nandinin Sundar, *The Burning Forest: India's War in Bastar*, New Delhi: Juggernaut Books, 2016, ISBN 9789386228000.

[35] A Ulbricht, "Democratising Democracy", *European Political Science*, Vol. 16, Issue. 1, 2017, pp. 116-119.

About the Author

Nayakara Veeresha is pursuing his PhD from the, Institute for Social and Economic Change, Bangalore.