

# Bangladesh Sociological Studies

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Theoretical Perspectives

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### Geographical and Social Dimension of Naxal Movement: A Micro Level Observation

Ashok kaul\*  
Anand Prasad Mishra\*\*

*Recently naxal violence emerged as threats for the democracy in Indian States. These challenges have many dimensions in relation to geography and socio-cultural identity of the regions, and attracted the policymakers and social scientists to study this problem in detail. This paper is an attempt to analyze various components of naxal movement, which prevail in the concern regions. This paper analyzes the spatial pattern of poverty, human resource development (HRD), tribal economy, and development induced displacement and its relation to naxal movement. Lastly, in order to explain present day naxal movement, an attempt has been made to incorporate a mechanism of naxal violence in a specific geographical terrain with a certain socio-cultural and political identity.*

#### Theoretical Contentions

India achieved freedom as an old society and new state. The rationalities of the old society and the logic of the new state have been at times put to contradictory mode of unfolding by the process of modernization. The initial thrust taken from the modernization theory that the development should be linear and with the passage of time the melting pot thesis would bring equilibrium in the society. Those who believed Marxian ideology would stress on the economic development by rejecting primordial mode of production to produce poverty. The whole poverty debate would revolve round the linear mode of development. It only invited more exclusive interventions from the state resulting into the dilution of tribal population and land grabbing from outside. The inherent assumption that the change would be holistic and the new society would stand contrast to the previous one proved wrong. Hence, modernization of tribes not only failed but gave rise to the manufactured social insecurities. The tribal as a category of resource less peasantry proved to be flawed theoretical category (See Oommen 1990, Desai 1979). The decades from the 1950s to 1980s created uneven distribution,

while state had stressed on growth and taken distribution for granted. There was a shift from modernization plank to internal colonization. These studies essentially would describe peripheral border States in their content of analysis rather than dealing with the simmering discontentment within the core states. And with the advent of the new century the internal colonization theory has been replaced by the corporate colonization of market rationale.

The post 1989 debates of developmental decentring thesis were blurred with the processes of globalization and privatization. The new capital accumulation process does not need industry and the owner to work from the same venue. They hold lands without obligations. It has given rise to the "benami land holdings." The new economic zones and corporate capitalism has not only brought the rupture in the tribal mode of existence but deprived it with the inclusive life world that had sustained it over centuries. This has brought dismissal halt to social movements of people's oriented projects in the absence of the direct confrontation. New social movements transcend the borders and are laid with moral contents rather than consents of bread, land, ideology and death, the previous parameters of old social movements. It has marginalised the movements of resistance within the nation-states. Resulting into asymmetrical mode of protest, it has created pockets of violence. Its actors presume classes in pure abstraction.

Naxalism of late has posed serious threat to the internal security of India. About 160 districts are affected by Naxal influence. Of the 13 affected states, the movement is intense in parts of Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, A.P., Maharashtra, while it is growing in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, and West Bengal. Our policymakers do not consider this problem to be a mere law and order problem and it needs to be studied in a framework of socio-economic dimension. Identification of people problems, cause of poverty and effective implementation of pro-poor development programmes are the key issues to counter socio-economic causes of Naxal unrest. The Naxal movement has its origin in deep rooted structural crisis of land holding, livelihood, displacement and overall state ignorance to poverty stricken region and its people. In 1946 Telangana movement and in 1967 Naxalbari movement were emerged through peasant uprisings. In socio-economic terms, this is the area which the Indian state needs to attention. Basically, the issue is mostly related with the question of land and development in agrarian economy. Mehra (2007) observed that "there are instances from the very outset that whenever the land and development question has been attended, the support to Maoism has also declined." The main architect of this Naxal movement, Charu Mazumdar realised as, "wherever there have been movements on vested land, the peasant who

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gets the possession of the vested land and the license to occupy it, does not remain active any longer in peasant movement."

During the periods of Globalization large amount of capital investment and its impact on production systems are another sector where attention will be required by policymakers to look into the matter. In fact, large part of the Indian people is tied to land and forests and mostly dependent on it for livelihood, and now this is under constraints due to liberal policy by the government. On the basis of emerging conflict in underdeveloped area, our land and agrarian policies need to fresh attention from the section of policymakers and social scientist to search out an alternative to the problem. Naxal movement, in its spatial pattern, follows some geographical features, i.e. peasant/rural economy, rough terrain with forest, tribal culture, predominated by agricultural labourer and mostly in poverty stricken regions. Bandyopadhyay (2007) observed this phenomenon as 58 percent of Indian labour force is still engaged in agriculture and allied occupations. Tribals are being pushed up the hills because of illegal incursion of outsiders in their traditional domain. Dalits continue to swell the ranks of agricultural proletariat, which is increasing in an alarming way. Poverty ratio among the  $S_{ca}$  and  $S_{ps}$  continue to be much higher at 35 percent and 44.2 percent respectively as against the national average of little over 26 percent. Neo liberal development process totally by-passed them.... This has depressing effect on rural wages and has aggravated casualisation of labour on terms grossly unfavourable to them." These prevailing phenomena have close linkages to the origins and pattern of Naxal movement.

Most of the discussions on naxal movement have paid attention either in terms of new political alternative path or as a law and order problems. But these two streams have failed to explain the naxal movement. It requires another socio-economic initiative to search out the causes of this problem and its solution by alternative policy framework. This paper is an attempt to examine the various aspects of Naxal movement, especially its association with poverty and geography of the regions. The nationally debated socio-economic component have been also analysed at micro level.

### Trajectories

Naxal movement has attracted the people of both right and left ideology. State and its machinery consider these issues as most challenging threats for the stability of law and order in the country. Government machinery mostly considers these issues as a problem which could be solved by police. But this deep rooted crisis requires in-depth analysis in a comprehensive way. Only teamwork of social scientists, state operators,

policymakers and social and political activists could be reached at some point, where solution might be arrived. In general, naxal movement follows the spatial pattern of geographical variation, combination of cultural isolation, underdeveloped productive system, and mostly the problems generated by development induced displacement of people from rich resource regions. This socio-cultural and geographical identity and its antagonistic relation with emerging economic development have initiated a new political movement, which seeks an alternative path of development. The emerging issues of naxal movement now requires to study as research problem for social scientist. Most of the Naxal affected areas, in its socio-economic terms, are the areas which need attention. The naxal affected area is mostly covered by forest and tribal population. Recently, forest resources in the country too have been commercialized alienating the adivasis/girijans from forest produce. Industrialization, mining, and the construction of big developmental projects have also initiated massive displacement of the tribal without proper resettlement policies. The tribal and dalit development programmes over the year have created new elite structure in the community, leaving patches of acute poverty and causing distress migration from there." (Mehra 2007).

The above-mentioned aspects have significant value in any discussion, for understanding the Naxal movements and its further in-depth analysis. Most of the Naxal groups have been raised the question related to land and livelihood. Editorial team of Yojana (2007) have identified the recommendation for naxal problems. These measures are as "land reforms should be taken on priority and surplus land allot to landless people. The State should focus greater attention on the affected area to accelerate people-centric development activities and ate try to create employment opportunities in naxal affected areas with special focus on creation of physical infrastructure in terms of roads, communication, power and also social infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, etc. (Yojana 2007, p. 7). On the basis of above discussion, it is observed that the issues which have been addressed by the naxal group mostly an agenda and the need of a civil Society. The feudal and undemocratic nexus for exploitation create space for growth to naxal upsurgements.

Considering the various aspects of Indian development process and alienation of common people from the fruits of development originated the problem of Development vs. Discontent. Most of the Naxal affected areas of Jharkhand, Chhatisgarh, Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh are dominated by the exploitative nexus of contractors, bureaucrats and politicians, which disturbed the harmony between the people, nature and resources of the regions. Moreover, the Naxal movement tries to express the issues of civil society, which have been ignored by feudal-forces of the resource rich regions. The movement can be conceptualized as, "the naxalite try to address the emerging issues of

agrarian transformation, tribal people's rights, nationality movement, people's aspiration against imperialism and discontent of globalization and adding up to as solution of these challenges what they conceptualize as people's democratic resolution to change the power structure of Indian state." (Yojan 2007)

### A Case Study

The Vinadhyan and Kaimur Plateau regions of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Chhatisgarh and Jharkhand are severely hit by Naxal attacks. The identified area of Naugarh Block of District Chandauli, Babhani, Dudhi Block of District Sonbhadra and some hilly regions of district Mirzapur of Uttar Pradesh have been recently experienced naxal attacks and attracted the attention from different sections of society. The occurrence of Hinaut and Bhavanipur village naxal violence in these regions reveals some ground facts about naxal movements. The predominance of Naxal groups in Babhani block needs socio-cultural, political and economic inquiry prior to frame a policy for Naxal problems. This paper is an attempt to examine the various emerging dynamics and prevailing socio-cultural elements related to Naxal problems. The basic hypothesis of this paper regarding Naxal problems is associated with the conflict between the aspiration for civil society Vs. feudal-capitalist exploitation. These issues have been analysed in a detailed way at micro level. The study of 10 sample villages of Babhani block of District Sonbhadra, Uttar Pradesh., has taken into account to explain the problem.

The study area, Babhani block, is a tribal dominated region comprises of most backward economy and poverty stricken block of newly constituted district Sonbhadra of Uttar Pradesh. The Study area is 6,788 Sq. Km. It has 1078 Sq. Km. dense forest and 1369 Sq. Km. open forest. The forest covers 36.05 percent of total geographical area. During the periods of 1981-91 and 1991-2001, high decadal population growth was registered and it was 38.18 percent and 36.13 percent respectively. This population growth is high in comparison to the state and it happened through migration from outside toward the industrial parts of the regions. The local resource bases such as forest, stone, tinker, minerals etc also attracted the commercial individual and groups to settle their economic activity over the resource base of the region.

On the basis of the trajectories of the movement and depth analysis of the case study the naxal movement could be analysed on the following assumptions.

### Geographical Dimension

The Naxal affected regions have revealed a close relation between the geography of area and magnitude of movement. The Planning Commission (2007) has classified naxal movement into four tiers based on its intensity and magnitude. These are: (1) severely affected districts (51), (2) moderately affected districts (18), (3) marginally affected districts (62), and (4) targeted districts (34).

The spatial pattern of this movement shows that mostly the affected areas have been confined in central Southern, eastern part of Indian subcontinent. These regions geographically reveal a specific physiographic, soil, contour, drainage pattern, forest covers, demography, culture and overall level of development. The combination of geography, dynamics of development, spatial conflict and problem of displacement have added quite new socio-political phenomenon in the concern area. It also generated new dynamics in content to resource, development, and poverty which needs a fresh orientation and theorization in social science researches. The naxal movement has a very close relation with geography and nature of poverty with primitive mode of agrarian production.

In Indian context, the prevalence of poverty and its spatial pattern have revealed many interesting aspects of Indian poverty and, its emerging threats towards future growth. Dutta and Sharma (2000) study the seven most deprived districts of India. Table 1 shows the nature and pattern of poverty. It revealed that most of the poverty region and its severeness have been concentrated in the regions of Orissa, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, and Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, etc. which have also severely affected by social and political conflicts. Table 1 also shows that Kalahandi district of Orissa has very low level of literacy and extremely high level of infant mortality. The region is also highly confined with the severeness of poverty.

The spatial pattern of naxal affected area and poverty regions have a very close relation, and it reflects that poverty has become the engine of naxal movement. It is found that the Southern Orissa, Northern and other parts of Bihar, Central and Vindhyan M.P., Eastern Uttar Pradesh and some parts of plateaus region have been mostly confined by severe poverty, which also generated the naxal problems. Moreover, most of the poverty, and naxal effected regions concentrated in the area of tribal predominance, low level of Human Development Index (HDI), geographical and socio-cultural isolation and overall the region of underdevelopment and political alienation from the power structure. This ground reality demonstrates the dynamics of naxal movement. The facts related to naxal movement have also explained about the problems and

put it a crisis for civil society and it is a people resistant against feudal exploitation rather any classical Marxist movement in nature

**Table 1.** Most Deprived and Poverty Stricken Region of India

State	Region	Districts	% of Rural Poverty Population	% of Severely Poor Population	% of Urban Poverty Population	% of Severely Poor Urban Population
Orissa	Southern	Kalahandi	69.02	34.08	45.64	33.53
Bihar	Northern	Kishanganj	58.68	27.62	49.37	21.68
MP.	Central	Damoh	50.13	21.78	53.68	32.96
MP.	Vindhya	Shardol	36.71	13.80	50.45	24.32
U.P.	Eastern	Bahraich	48.60	23.20	38.60	18.48
U.P.	Western	Badaun	29.59	10.24	31.03	14.37
Rajsthan	Western	Banmer	25.48	5.84	23.68	7.43

*Source:* Based on Dutta and Sharma, Level of living in India, Planning Commission, 2000. New Delhi.

Fig. 1 depicts the geographical dimension of naxal affected regions. Mishra et al (2009) observed, "the pattern of development, existing nature of poverty and resource distribution have explained the emerging conflicts between the axis of east and west in India. There is tremendous pressure on the unity of east and west geographical regions and its continuing social and cultural phenomenon. It also explains a tragic story of resource rich regions where the lack of human resource development has deprived the people of the concerned area to their native resources during the process of modernisation and industrialization". The study also observed, "the eastern parts of India reveal its severe condition of human poverty, social conflict and underdevelopment and have posed a challenge for sustainability of modern development." (Mishra, Bano and Vipin 2009). The emerging socio-economic and political dynamics have relation with naxal movement.

Another dimension of Naxal movement is related with the pattern of land holding and isolation of tribal culture and its people from modern developments. Most of the Naxal affected area reflects a very poor success rate in land reforms expansion of education, lackness in the implementation of several government sponsored scheme through effective democratic systems. All these emerging issues create constraints for proper functioning of civil Society, which leads towards conflict in social systems. The districts of Kishanganj, Plamau, Purnia, Sitamari, Bastar, Betul, East Mimas, Guna, Jhabuas, Manella, Panns,

Sarguja, Tikamgarh, Ganjam, Kalahandi, Koraput etc. reveal the severeness of human poverty, lackness of land reforms and components for modernisation (Planning Commission of India and NIRD Report 199). Roy (1996) conceptualized these emerging problems of agrarian economy and its relation to conflict in development process. They observed, "The sustainable development at the national level, demands investigating, within a global-national frame, key aspects of transformation of developing countries from an agricultural-rural to an industrial society."

Worldwide expanding pattern of terrorism has matched similarity with naxal movement. United Nations General Assembly studies this problem in a holistic way. According to the study, "poverty, prolonged unresolved conflicts, dehumanization of victims of terrorism, lack of rule of law and violation of human rights, ethnic, national and religious discrimination, political exclusion, socio-economic marginalization and lack of good governance," are the basic causes for conflict and terrorism. In a more comprehensive way it further observed, "to pursue and reinforce development and social inclusion agenda at every level....especially on youth unemployment, reduce marginalization and the subsequent sense of victimization that propels extremism and terrorism." (UN 2008).

On the basis of above discussion, the naxal movement could be analysed as a problem of poverty, deprivation, social exclusion, lack of people participation in economic as well as political process and overall related to the question of civil society. In this context, the present paper is an attempt to examine the various segments of the naxal related problems at micro level. The emerging dynamics of naxal movement has linkages to the geography, culture, economics and politics of the regions, which needs to a theoretical and empirical explanation from researchers and policymakers. In order to meet these challenges, at micro level, the study of Sonbhadra District of Uttar Pradesh is being made and some of major findings are as follows:

### Economic Predicament

The study area reveals a very severe condition of poverty and deprived socio-economic condition of primitive, underdeveloped and isolated tribal society. About 88.30 percent people have lost their livelihood and employment, which creates constraints in social ecology of the area. The

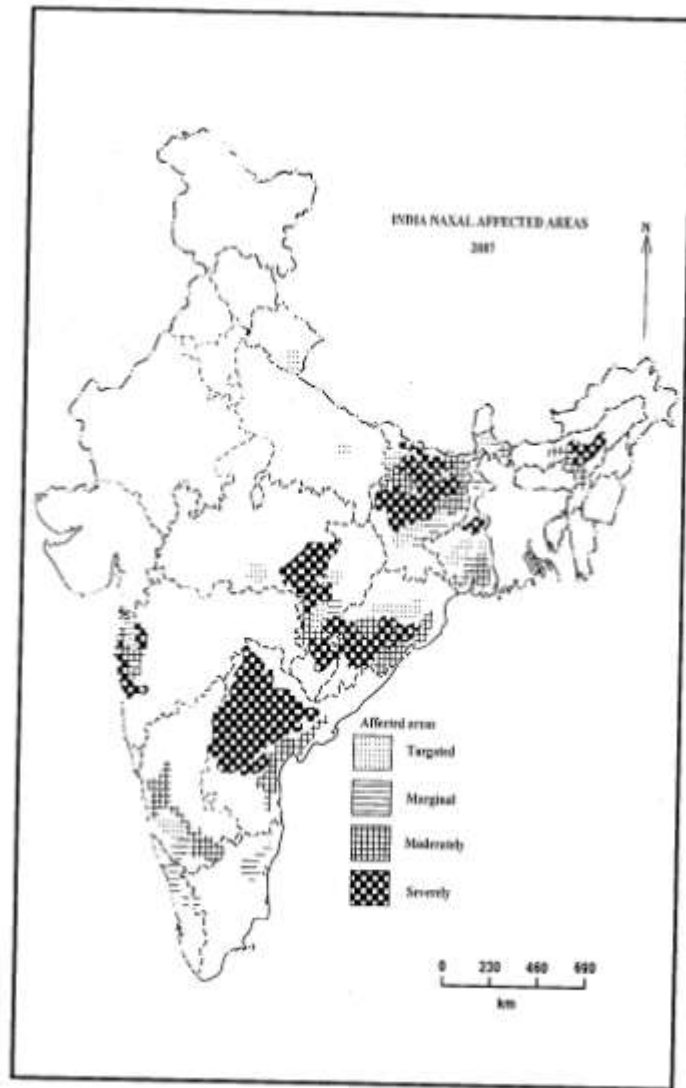


Figure 1

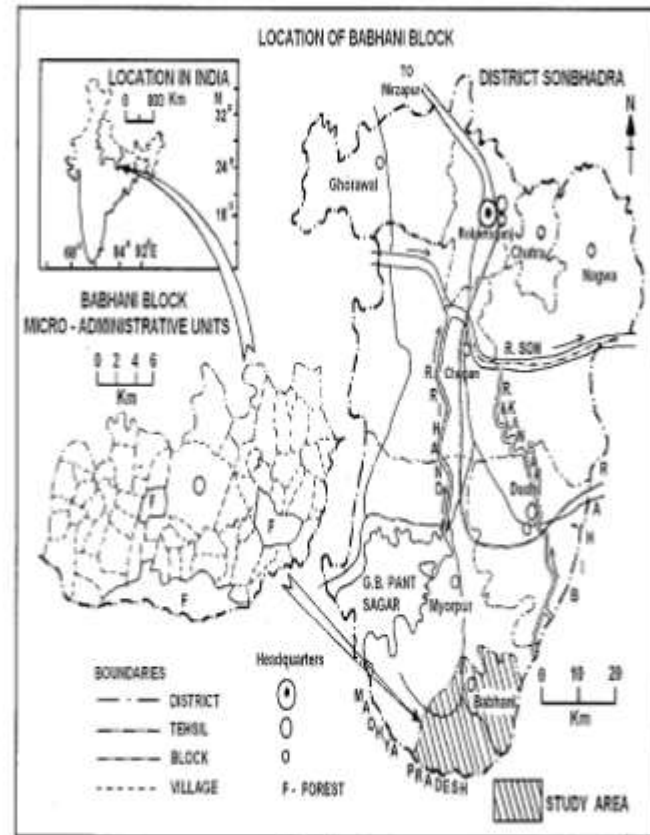


Figure 2

level of illiteracy (89.9%), low level of agricultural productivity, higher dependency ratio (1: 8), predominance of uneconomic primary occupation (90.24%), non-availability of full time employment, etc. are the some important features which originate the problems of deprivation, poverty and social conflict. The prevalence of illiteracy, bad health care facilities, unhygienic condition, accumulated cultural poverty from generation to generation and nutritional deficiency has developed a fatalistic attitude towards life and society. This emerging socio-economic dimension turns into a process of alienation leads to violence, this needs to in-depth study by social scientists.

In this context, Tables 2 and 3 reflect some important aspects of poverty on the basis of a sample survey of tribal dominated village. It presents the consumption - expenditure pattern and nature of poverty. It observed that the level of poverty varied from a minimum of 56.90% in Babhani village to a maximum of 78.50% in Hathiyar village. Moreover, the average proportion of population below poverty line is very high in the study area, Babhani blocks, (73.32%) as compared to that of state of U.P. (51.0%) and India (46.0%). Through micro analysis of poverty, the extent and magnitude of the problems shows the severity of deprivation into four tiers (Table 3). These are as follows:

**Table 2:** Poverty Structure of Babhani

Name of Sample Villages	Percent of Family Under Different Categories				
	Severe Destitute Rs. 40-45	Destitute Rs. 45-55	Poor Rs. 55-59	Just Below the Poverty line	
				Res. 59-105	% of Family Living Below The Poverty Line
Ranadah	18.25	40.50	06.00	08.00	72.75
Hathiyar	16.50	45.00	08.00	09.00	78.50
Chapki	15.00	35.00	17.00	10.00	77.00
Jiganhawa	17.00	39.00	08.50	10.00	74.50
Duba	13.50	50.00	07.25	06.35	77.10
Babhani	02.25	35.00	10.65	09.00	56.90
Pokhara	07.00	50.00	10.00	10.00	77.00
Chauna	05.00	35.00	20.00	10.50	70.50
Machbandhawa	15.00	35.00	25.00	02.00	77.00
Asandih	17.00	20.00	10.00	25.00	72.00
Average	12.65	38.45	12.24	9.48	73.32

Source: Mishra (2005)

**Table 3.** Poverty Structure of the Sample Villages in Babhani Block (2000)

Sl. No.	Poverty Structure	Percent of Total Population
1.	Severe destitute	12.65
2.	Destitute	38.45
3.	Poor	12.24
4.	Just below the poverty line	9.98
5.	Total below the poverty line	73.72

Source: Based on Field Survey conducted by investigator, 2000

- The first acute poverty level may be defined as "severe destitute" in Babhani Block, the proportion of severe destitute varies from of minimum of 2.25 percent in the village of Babhani to a maximum of 18.25 percent in the village of Ranadah. This category of people suffers from severe malnutrition and complete absence of modern facilities.
- The second level of poverty classified as destitute. Though this categories is a little better than first severe destitute it still get short to meet even the basic needs for survival. The proportion of this poverty level in study area ranged from a minimum of 20.00 percent in the village Asandih to a maximum of 50.00 percent in Pokhara and Duba. This segment of poor population suffers a little less malnutrition as compared to first categories of severe poverty.
- This category designated as poor and its configuration varies from a minimum of 6.00 percent in Ranadah to a maximum of 25.00 percent in the village Machbandhawa.
- The fourth category of poor population considered as just below poverty line, and it ranges from 2.0 percent in the village of Machbandhawa to 25.00 percent in Asandih.

The above mentioned four tiers of acuteness have explained about the extent and magnitude of the prevailing problems of poverty. These facts about the tribal dominated regions associated with the level of employment, emerging spatial organization and its conflict, and the problems of development induced displacement. It requires fresh enquiry and scientific analysis to understand about the socio-political dimension of the regions and its pattern of conflict.



### Flawed Distribution and Primitive Employment

In the study area, large chunk of population is engaged in primary occupation, i.e. agriculture and primitive employment related to forest and hill. This prevailing employment is highly primitive in nature, yielding very low per capita productivity. Employment of agricultural labourer and other tribal occupational working days are highly seasonal with low earnings. During the summer months (March to May), gathering of "Mahuas" fruits and other minor agricultural produce is the only local source of income for poor people. Both employment and wage get their highest score in summer (March to May) due to Ravi harvesting and forest fruits. But it becomes non-existent during the rains (July to September). This emerging phenomenon explained the stagnant character of tribal economy with periodic poverty status. Moreover, the spatial dynamics of poverty and its components, i.e. illiteracy, malnutrition, unemployment, etc. shows equality among poor in context to their mass deprivation. However, the observed condition of poverty may be classified as ultra poor as defined by developed country poverty criterion (Lipton 1983). The level of employment is directly associated with the severity of poverty. The predominance of tribal productive system in the economy has low diversification in its development pattern, which limits the employment opportunities to the people. Local people find gainful working days only at the time of sowing and harvesting of crops. Table 4 shows that employment pattern in tribal society is highly seasonal in character and primitive in nature.

**Table 4.** Month wise number of working days (1991)

S.No.	Village	Months (from January to December)											
		J	F	M	A	M	J	Ju	A	S	O	N	D
1.	Ranah	10	9	15	20	25	20	8	5	7	10	11	10
2.	Hathiyar	8	7	15	21	19	25	5	7	6	9	12	13
3.	Chapki	10	7	14	24	26	14	7	6	5	10	11	15
4.	Jiganhawa	6	10	11	15	17	7	3	8	5	11	15	11
5.	Duba	10	17	11	14	10	4	7	2	4	9	7	7
6.	Babhani	12	15	25	17	18	9	6	3	5	10	12	11
7.	Pokhara	10	18	19	20	17	8	9	4	5	7	10	11
8.	Chauna	9	13	19	20	17	8	9	4	5	7	10	11
9.	Machbandhawa	9	14	16	15	18	8	5	3	6	8	15	10
10.	Asandh	7	10	17	16	13	5	5	6	5	15	16	10

Source: Based on Personal field Survey, 1991.

In the study area, most of the tribal people are highly dependent on forest, hill and other primitive modes of agrarian production. These

emerging phenomena have shaped the nutritional condition and its periodic nature among the masses. Table 5 explains the prevailing characteristics of nutritional calendar of the area.

**Table 5.** Nutritional Calendar of Babhani Block (1991)

S.No.	Village	Months (from January to December)											
		J	F	M	A	M	J	Ju	A	S	O	N	D
1.	Ranah	2	2	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	2	1	1
2.	Hathiyar	2	2	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	2	1	1
3.	Chapki	2	2	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	2	1	2
4.	Jiganhawa	3	2	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	2	1	1
5.	Duba	2	1	1	1	1	3	2	3	3	1	1	2
6.	Babhani	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	2	1	1
7.	Pokhara	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	2	2	2
8.	Chauna	2	2	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	2	1	1
9.	Machbandhawa	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	2	1	1
10.	Asandh	2	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	1	1	1

Source: Based on Personal Field Observation, 1991

- Note: 1. Represents normal calorie status and represented by 2400 calories  
 2. Represents destitute calorie status represented by 1500-2000 calories intake.  
 3. Represents severe destitute conditions of calorie status and represented by below 1500 calorie intake.

### Spatial Dynamics

Various observations on the issues of tribal poverty and its relation to social and spatial conflict have highlighted many dimensions into the circle of social scientists and policymakers. In fact, the problems of tribal poverty are generated by the prevailing dominance of primitive social base without any progress in human resource development (HRD) and penetration of state sponsored capitalism. These emerging socio-economic trends have following consequences on tribal society and regions:

- The local resources have been exploited by the new traders, officials, agencies and influential people. Most of the tribal people get their livelihood through local forest, hill and land resources. However, their rights in contemporary process of industrialization have gone under great constraints and it posed problem for survival to common people.
- The emerging development patterns have many consequential impacts on region, society and economy. This region is power

capital of India. Most of the mega power projects were established by National Thermal Power Project Corporation of India in the area. It covered large land resource of the area, and also major chunk of local population were displaced through this mega projects. The process of displacement creates the problems of deprivation and most of the masses alienate from ongoing mainstream development process, i.e. political, social and economic.

- The area is characterized by inadequate irrigation facilities and stagnancy in agricultural productivity and economy. This prevailing phenomenon helped to perpetuate poverty among the common masses. These emerging patterns of agrarian dynamics have originated the issues of conflict between development vs. poverty with discontent.
- The traditional rights of tribal people over the local resource base, i.e. forest, land and water, have destroyed due to modern projects and other developmental activities, without any new alternative.

These changes in socio-economic sphere of life have posed threats towards the old livelihood security pattern of tribal people and also compelled the dependent people to move out of their past set-up and try to enter into new one. But this process creates many constraints for unskilled local population. This socially deprived population lose their command in decision making process and also developed deep antagonism and dissatisfaction towards ongoing state sponsored capitalist development.

The above discussed local dynamics, through its cumulative impact, alienated tribal people from decision making process and get discontent attitude for whole political process. It also generated anger and violence against deprivation and exploitation among the masses, which gives space for ultra left organization. On the basis of ground investigation in the study area, the dynamics and mechanism of naxal movement could be explained by following model (Figure 3).

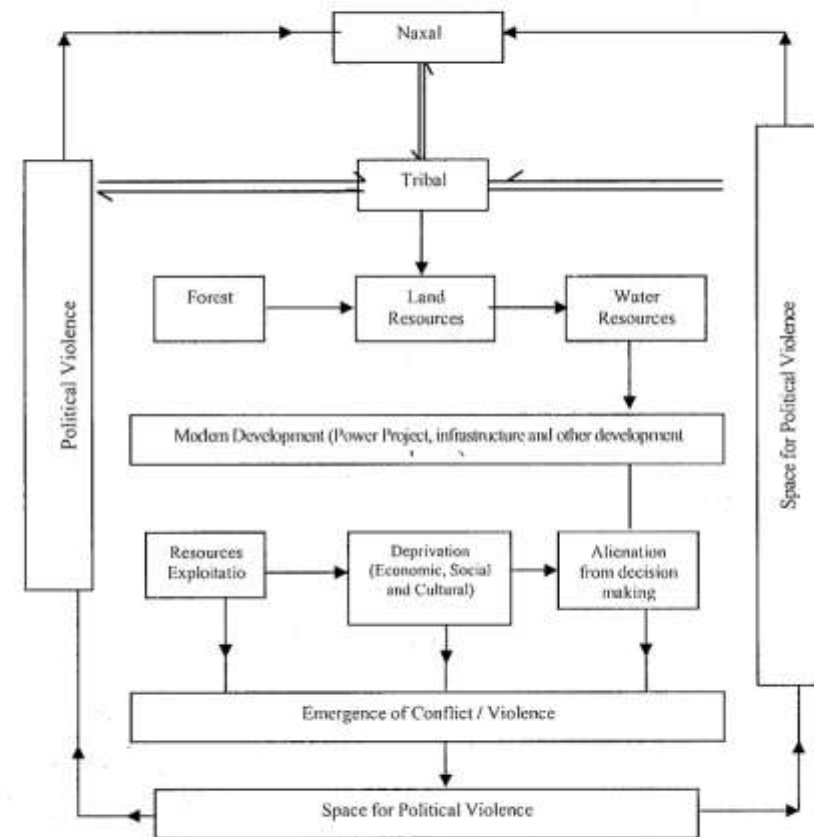


Figure 3. Mechanism of Naxal Violence

### Conclusion

Recently Naxal violence became the challenging issue both in political and in academic discourse. Most of the naxal movements confined in area, geographical regions where inadequate administrative and political institutions are in practice. These inadequacies promote the exploitative nexus in naxal affected area, which give space for exploited segments of population to consider naxal ideology as an alternative system for development. It also promises to all kinds of emancipation to these deprived masses and for this ideal condition the use of barrel of a gun is necessary. Actually, most of the affected areas (about 460 police stations in 11 states in 2005) are predominated by tribal people with agrarian economy and geographically hilly terrain with forest covers, which reveals a unique geographical social cultural and political identity. During the periods of different planned development, the people and regions of naxal movement have lost their command over the natural resources and other benefits of modernization. Under this condition naxal violence get legitimacy for concern people. However, the emergence of violence in naxal affected area has very much associated with the demand of civil society, i.e. liberty, justice, self respect and participation in all kinds of development process. The naxal movement / violence can be explained by following ways:

- Most of the naxal affected areas formed a rough terrain physiographic, which is completely isolated from road, communication, education, health and other modern facilities. This geographical isolation has a close association with the emergence of naxal movement.
- Most of the tribal communities and culture have deep organic link to the forest and its environments. Ongoing development schemes have recently displaced tribal people from their natural environment and livelihood and under these circumstances the livelihood and cultural identity of tribal faces many constraints and threats for their survivals. This process compelled people to participate in naxal movement.
- Overall, naxal movement has linkages with issues of land reform, low level of human resources development, bureaucratic-contractor exploitation, low level of modern infrastructural facilities, cultural crisis and optimum participation in democratic process. These entire questions are related with the democracy and norms of civil society.

Despite legal restrictions over acquisition of property of non tribals, the state has not been averse to new economic zone policy that has been a major cause for manufactured uncertainties in the life world of tribal populations of India. Its inclusive life world mode of existence has not only experienced the rupture, it has also led to the emergence of anarcho-militarism of these poor deprived people of India. Therefore, it is recommended that democratic desire and needs of concern people should be taken into policy framework in the participatory form of development so that the naxal violence could be minimized.

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