

STATE, DEVELOPMENT AND VIOLENCE:
A CASE STUDY OF MAOISM IN BIHAR

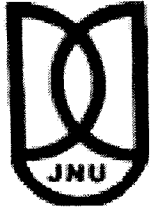
*Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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2011



Date: 25. 07. 2011

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled “**State Development and Violence: A Case Study of Maoism in Bihar**” submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of either this University or any other University.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Availing any measure of help in the pursuit of one's endeavour in life is the essence of human being, a social animal. No more acknowledge can express my depth, however, I must mention with gratitude to all those who aided me in the course of this work till its completion.

In writing this dissertation, we have had comments, criticism generous cooperation, unseen influence, active support and encouragement from a number of sources. I am grateful and highly indebted to my esteem supervisor Dr. Amit Prakash, whose intellectual ingenuity and able guided cleared my blurred vision. My words are few to describe the kind of cooperation encouragement, sympathy and above all the concern that I received from him in the course of this exercise. Without his guidance and counsel, this piece of work would have not got the final shape. I am richly indebted to him.

I would like to acknowledge the U.G.C. for its scholarship, librarians of J.N.U. library, CSLG library, I.I.P.A. library, District library Bhojpur, some government officers, and other people who directly or indirectly have provided their extended cooperation in the collection of source for the research work.

Formal thank is not enough to my Maa and Papa long with rest of the family members, without whom this work would have not been realized. I always remain indebted to my parents and my elder brothers Rakesh Kr. Mishra and Rahul Mishra, bhabi Jyoti Mishra, and sister Rashmi for their unflagging support and steadfast appreciation that really kept me on the right track of life. I would also like to thanks my nephews Shivansh and Sugyan and my niece Lalima for adding some beautiful moment with their innocent smiles, whenever I felt low and depressed. I express my appreciation and thanks to Bindu, Rukmini, Rakhi, Pranjali and all my batchmates who always encouraged and inspired me to do better. I would also like to give my heartfelt thanks to Manish for always keeping faith in my ability. Last but not the least I would like to thanks Mamaji Shri Rajendra Ojha for helping me during my field work.

In spite of having the advantage of guidance, cooperation and instructions from the able persons, I am responsible for my errors or omissions in this research work.

-Rapti Mishra

ABBREVIATION

ADD	Agency Development Discourse
ASI	Annual Survey of Industries
BJP	BhartiyaJanata Party
BSEB	Bihar State Electricity Board
CCB	Central Cooperative Bank
CDC	Cattle Development Centre
CMIE	Centre for Measuring Indian Economy
CSO	Centre of Staistical Organisation
CPI (ML)	Communist Party of India (Marxist–Leninist)
DDC	District Development Commissioner
DM	District Magistrate
GOB	Government Of Bihar
GOI	Government Of India
GSDP	Gross State Domestic Product
GWh	Giga Watt hour
IAY	IndraAwas Yojana
ICDP	Integrated Child’s development Program
IPC	Indian Penal Code
JDU	Janata Dal United
KCC	Kisan Credit Card
MCC	Moaist Communist Centre
MSME	Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises
NA	Not Available
NHPC	National Hydroelectric Power Corporation
NIC	Newly Industrialised Country
NSS	National Sample Survey
PACS	Primary Agriculture Credit-Cooperative Society
PCDE	Per Capita Development Expenditure
PDS	Public distribution System
PGCIL	Power Grid Corporation of India

PWG	People's War Group
RGGVY	Rajiv Gandhi GrameenVidyutikaran Yojana
RJD	RashtriyaJanata Dal
RRB	Regional Rural Bank
SHG	Self Help Group
SHO	Senior Head Officer
SJGSY	SwarnaJayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana

CONTENTS

Acknowledgement	i
Abbreviation	ii-iii
Chapter 1	
Introduction	1-4
Chapter-2	5-45
State-Society, Development and Violence: A conceptual Framework	
Introduction	
Section 1: What is Development?	
Section 2:Development: An Overview of Theoretical Dilemma	
Section 3: Literature Review of Development Based on State and Society Approach	
Section 4: State and Society: Understanding the Zone of Intersection and Friction	
Section 5: Understanding Violence: In The Light of Intersection and Friction	
Section 6: Violence: An Indian Case of Maoism	
Concluding Remarks	

Political Economy of Bihar

Introduction

Section 1: Bihar: Agrarian Relation, Politics, Caste and Economy:

(i) Section 1.1: Politics and Socio-Agrarian Relations in Bihar:

Section 1.1 (a): Bihar an Overview:

Section 1.1(b): Bihar During Pre- Independence Period: Land conflict and Caste Violence

Section 1.1 (c): Bihar After Independence: Perpetuation of Caste Violence

(ii) Section 1.2: Industrialization in Bihar:

Section 2: Laloo's Reign of Mal-Administration in Bihar (1990-2005):

Section 3: Bihar-Jharkhand Bifurcation:

Section 4: Nitish's Vision and Bihar (2005- Present):

Conclusion Remarks

Interrogating Development and Violence: A Case Study of Bhojpur

Introduction

Section 1: Methodological Notes

Section 2: Agriculture in Bihar

Section 3: Industries and Infrastructure Status in Bihar

Section 3.1: Infrastructure in Bihar

Section 4: Social Sector

Section 5: Violence Contextualizing Spatially

Section 6: Views of General Population:

Overall Observations

Chapter 5 **150-153**

Conclusion

Bibliography **154-158**

Chapter 1

Introduction

This study is an attempt to revisit a part of Indian state by reviewing its development and state capacity and the challenges it faces in the form of uprising, insurgency like that of Maoism and caste based army like that of Ranvir Sena. The idea behind this study is to see how development deficit and poor state capacity creates conditions, where forms of violence like that of Maoism and that of Caste armies arise. Social violence has been emphasised in this study because it fits well into the area, where we would see that even a political ideology like Maoism has undergone changes from class based ideology to caste based army. By changes one means changing conditions and needs of the society in which it is operating. The approach employed in this study is state in society, where an attempt to see the above mentioned violence form can be understood. Thus, the second chapter is devoted to literature view which has facilitated clarity over the concepts of development, violence and state capacity, keeping the aforesaid approach in view.

The area of the study chosen for research is Bihar, as the state fits well in the case study. The state is characterised by poor development performance, poor state capacity and a society, which has been categorized as having developed 'culture of violence', in which Naxalites or its current form Maoism or caste armies has been formed. Here the focus will not be on the difference between Maoism and Naxalite-as this study takes it as a form of social violence, thereby locating it within the particular context of Bihar. Bhojpur has been taken as an universe of research, for the reason that it was the first district where Naxalite movement got stronger as Arun Kumar puts it 'though the first spark of Naxalite movement appeared in Musahari village of Muzzafarpur district in 1967, it was in Bhojpur district that the movement cemented itself before spreading throughout the central Bihar'¹, he further adds that;

From 1967 (Musahri in Muzzafarpur) to 1971 (Ekwari in Bhojpur), Naxalbari was not really an organisation or a party or even a front. It was more like a

¹Arunkumar. "Violence and Political culture: The Politics of the Ultra Left in Bihar". *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol.38, No.47. November-22-28. 2003. p.4979.

phrase that caught the imagination of tens and thousands of toiling masses; it became an expression of epochal wrath, yet not articulate, but laden with the destructive strength of a storm. It was sporadic, at times, even erratic and extremely violent².

Adding to this, Bhojpur is also special case for the rise of Ranbir Sena in Belaur village in 1994³. Thus makes Bhojpur a good area for the study. The details and a brief history of the state will be the focus area in the third chapter, *Political Economy of Bihar*. This is done from the point of view of clarifying the historical specificity of the post-colonial State of Bihar in general and India in particular for the kind of performance it is giving in sphere of both economic and human development.

Methodology:

This research based on both primary and secondary source like government reports, statistical data, documents and literature on the given area of research. Second chapter, *State-Society, Development and Violence*, is based on the secondary sources available on development, violence and state and society approach. This briefly tries to build up the conceptual framework for the study. The Third chapter is *Political Economy of Bihar*, which is an historical analysis of the state along with some datasets, which has been used, based on reports of World Bank, GoI and GoB. The fourth chapter, as has been mentioned before is based on the field work, is the analysis of both qualitative and quantitative data. The data were collected from the following sources:

- Records on the physical achievement of government schemes like IAY, SJGSY, NREGS and Number of SHG and their achievement, Credit-Deposit in Bank and Post office etc., from Bhojpur District Development office,
- Data on number of candidate chosen for compensation in the year 2008 and 2009, under prevention of atrocities act 1989, from police superintendent office. Bhojpur.

²ibid.

³ibid., p. 4982.

- Information of violence against SC, SY, and OBC were collected from the department of welfare, Bhojpur district.
- Economic Survey of Bihar 2010-2011, released by finance department, GoB and a report released by GoB to show its overall achievement
- Local newspaper report *Ara*.

The field study of the universe, where an attempt has been made to see the condition of the present Bihar in terms of development and state capacity and violence in general and Naxalites in particular. The focus area of this chapter is economic development, which basically includes agricultural potential and industries and infrastructural development. Focus on the Social sector has also been made, in which the PDS, participation, education and employment has been taken care of. Status of law and order in the district has also been enquired in the violence part. This chapter does three level of analysis of the State, district and general population. Sympathy was also the area of the focus, to see how much sympathy Maoists enjoys in these areas. The assumption in this research was that in rural areas they are supported and sympathised due to their pro-poor agenda and violence, used in the name of emancipation for the exploited and alienated, which is not the case when compared to the areas where development has made its presence felt even if with little success.

Total number of respondent or sample size was 30. The methodology was based on semi-structured interview with help of a questionnaire developed for the purpose and unit of analysis were two Blocks namely Bihiya and Sahar (rationale has been given in the fourth chapter). Sampling technique was probability sampling which is snowballing sampling. Through, this technique required number of sample unit will be selected from the universe without anybody's bias or preferences or judgment. Though this technique has unrepresentative character it is best available option for the study. Since it was a purposive survey was be done by using snowballing technique. The universe is Bhojpur, which was be divided into two blocks, that is (i) Bihiya, which has urban population, which includes area which is develop in terms of market and accessibility to government offices and (ii) Sahar: area which has rural population defined in terms of its remoteness (for more details see the statistical data on both the block in chapter four).

The category of respondents included the following state and non-state actors:

1. Government officials, comprising of development officers, D.M and Bank chairman.
2. Elected local political office bearer like MLA and political party worker along with Panchayat members.
3. NGO's were also a category, included for interview, as most of the development projects of the government are being carried out in collaboration with the NGO's. Another reason behind this is that they are better acquainted with the diverse ground realities, which is being faced in development projects and it will also inform a lot about local people of the area.
4. General population were interviewed, which included the age group of 18 to 60. The reason behind choosing this age group is that, most of the youth between the age group of 18 to 40 are vulnerable and are also faced with the problem of unemployment. The age group from 40 to 60 is being chosen for the purpose of knowing some of the past experiences. There will not be any male and female ratio. As per caste is concerned the study will not focus on the caste category. However income groups will be taken into account.

Maoists could not be interviewed for two reasons (i) they already have a fixed position which will not change. (ii) High risk factor and difficulty in accessibility. However, the peculiarity of this research is that it has turned out to be a comparative study of the political regimes of Laloo Prasad Yadav and present NDA government under the leadership of Nitish Kumar. One represents maladministration and other represents a transitory phase in the history of Bihar, which is after a long time development based than caste ridden. The Fifth chapter is the concluding remark of the study, which carries summary of the whole work.

CHAPTER: 2

State-Society, Development and Violence:

Conceptual Framework.

Development- a concept which is regarded as the product of modernity¹, correspondingly seen as a part and parcel of modernization theory and the characteristics of which has been assumed to be simple with universalistic formulation, is the one which is viewed as a potent factors in defining relationship between state and society. The term is directly conjoined with the economic capacity of the state. However, one should mention about the ongoing theoretical debate involved in it. The focus of this chapter will be on the question of how does development as a goal shapes the relationship between state and society, the deficiency of which can be attributed to poor state capacity. Thereby, creating a condition where violence is destined. Here the state is seen to be a mechanical functional body, an agency which implements the very idea of development into practice.² As a problematic phenomenon, development has stretched itself with the issues of redistribution and recognition³, and thus becomes an important issue of social justice because of various developmental repercussions on the societal structure and it's functioning. Thus, the repercussion of development comes in the form of exploitation, severe deprivation supression. Concerns over redistribution make it indispensable for locating development within a particular society and state and its impact on the former

¹Richard Peet and Elaine Hartwick, *Theories of Development: Contentions, Arguments and Alternatives*, New York, London, 2009, p.1.

² Uma Kothari and Martin Minogue, "Critical Perspectives on Development: An Introduction". in Uma Kothari and Martin Minogue (eds), *Development Theory and Practice: Critical Perspectives*, Palgrave, Hounds mills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, 2002, Pp.12-13, where they emphasize the relationship between development as an idea and practice, in which state as an agency which comprises of actor and networks of institution interact to 'produce development'.

³Amit Prakash, 'Identity Needs, Developmental Needs, and Governmental Responses: Reflection on India's Democratic experience', Draft Paper Workshop on Research and Dialogue Programme on *Development, Democracy, and Governance - Lessons and Policy Implications* organised by the Mahanirban Calcutta Research Group, Kolkata at Kolkata - 14-15 May 2010.

becomes an important issue to be taken into consideration by the policy makers. It is in this context that one requires to have a conceptual clarity about development and how the interaction caused by the development makes violence an inevitable condition within the area of operation namely-the society. The main idea of this chapter is to build a conceptual framework through development, state capacity and violence as the variables. The basic engagement of this chapter while studying both the phenomenon that is development and violence, would be within the paradigm of state and society approach. This chapter is a literature review of the aforesaid approach, therefore enabling connectivity to the issues taken up in this study. The focus in this chapter is the post-colonial society, in which case of India will be given attention.

What is Development?

Discussing on a subject like development becomes an enormous task and especially when it is to decide the limits within which one wants to take up an issue. Development as a concept has always been treated as a very much part of economics. The social concern of development came into being when it's so called universalistic rationality was being challenged by the non-conventionalist theories like Marxist, Socialist and many others, which themselves were, like the conventional theories-the product of the historical experience. There has never been consensus over the concept and content of development. David Simon in his article, *Development Reconsidered: New Direction in Development Thinking*, relates its meaning to the historical past. Scholars like Cowen and Shenton traced its lineage back to early decades of nineteenth century when its meaning was equated to spirituality and interwoven in ideas of progress intent to develop and stewardship.⁴ As an ideal concept development is regarded as a product of enlightenment. It is a notion of the intervention of the modern scientific and democratic mind into the enhancement of human existence. According to Peet and Hartwick development means human emancipation in two senses:

⁴David Simon. *Development Reconsidered: New Direction in Development Thinking*. Vol.79B. No.4. 1997. P.184.

Liberation from the vicissitudes of nature, through greater understanding of the earth processes followed by carefully applied technology, and self-emancipation, control over social relations, conscious control over conditions under which human nature is formed. Rational and democratic control over the cultural production of the human personality (is the greatest tragedy of modernity. The loosening of social control over the production of subjectivity to people and institution with worst motive...⁵

Broadly speaking development means making a better life for everyone which is understood as meeting basic needs of everyone. However, according to Peet and Hartwick development is understood as a powerful emotive ideal, because it appeals to the best in people. It is a concept being used for many different purposes. While critically speaking, Peet and Hart wick says that ‘the idea of development can be used to legitimate what in fact amounts to more and more power for a few. However according to them development is the founding belief of modernity’.⁶ According to Wolfgang Sachs, ‘development is a perception, which models reality, a myth, which comforts society and a fantasy, which unleashes passion’.⁷

There are multiple meanings of development, contingent upon context and ideological orientation. A concept highly complex- which can be attributed to its outcome, when came into operation in different spatial context and conjoined with many things at a time, like for example economic development, human development, social development, political development and innumerable phenomenon, has contributed to overlapping of its understanding. However, the term ‘development’ came into fashion after the World War II, when the world was shocked by destruction of war. Development economics as an area of study came to vogue and in the course of time it became an important area of concern for international community be it first world or the then called third world. According to Sachs, the concept dominated the scenario after the World War II.

⁵Richard Peet and Elaine Hartwick, 2009, p.3.

⁶ibid.. p. 1

⁷Wolfgang Sachs (ed). *The Development Dictionary: A Guide to Knowledge as Power*. London. New Jersey, 1992. p. 2.

However, many scholars like Bernstein (2005) and Shaw (2004) argued that development study is the outcome of the process of decolonization in the 1950's and 1960's, when the newly independent states sought policy prescription to catch with economically industrialized nations of the world.⁸ However, economic factor reigned high when we look into the impact on development studies such as Marshall Plan, Truman doctrine- a 'bold new program to make the benefit of industrialized progress available for the improvement and growth of the underdeveloped areas'.⁹ Today, we see a shift a fundamental change in development studies. It has not only just applied economic approach but also has evolved as a multidisciplinary and multidimensional study.¹⁰

David Moore has given two phases of development discourse in the post war era, which coincided with the major eras of the global political economy. According to Moore,

- i) the first period was the period of international Keynesianism and state mediated capitalism based on the Fordist production in the west with stronger planning and welfarist tendencies in the United Kingdom and Europe than in United States which was accompanied by decolonization and emergence of the third world ¹¹;

⁸ Andrew Summer, "What is Development Studies?", *Development in Practice*, Vol.16, No. 6, 2006, p. 645.

⁹ *ibid.*

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p.645.

¹¹ David B. Moore, "Development Discourse as Hegemony: Towards an Ideological History", in David B. Moore and Gerald J. Schmitz (eds), *Debating Development Discourse: Institutional and Popular perspective*. New York, 1995, p.2. Also as quoted by Moore that the term 'third world' is to indicate socially and politically the construction of notion, which is marked by as much heterogeneity as homogeneity. However the fundamental similarity as emphasized by Moore among the third world countries lies in the fact that most of their citizens lack basic of essential health and longevity, which is seen by most of the first world as basic needs.

- ii) the second major phase of the post-world war global economy was the emergence of the neo-liberal, de-regulated capitalism in 1970's until recently.

Describing the second stage Moore says-

It is a world of 'flexible production' and footloose capitalism in which the market reigns supreme. In the later years of this phase the challenges of the state socialism and an ideologically uncertain third world have disappeared. The former crashed towards the mixture of its past and mafia-led market future. Whatever socialist and national capitalist pretensions that the latter had have been drummed out of it, while it split into 'Newly Industrialized Countries' (NIC's) and fourth world widens-nationally, regionally and socially. In the west, the mediating agency of welfarism, unionism and international humanitarianism have been blown away by the gales of global competition, swept asunder with nostalgic mists of 'the golden age of capitalism', to be replaced only by soup kitchens and new social movements.¹²

However, in between these two phases, Moore has also mentioned a transitional phase during the 1960's. In this period, we see that freedom promised by the regulated capitalism turned out to be more constrained. Liberty was tied to the market and to which no alternative could be imagined.¹³ Thus, it made indispensable for development discourse, to be understood within that particular spatial context and dynamism, like Moore stresses on impact global economy on development discourse. This brought changes in the basic understanding of development as a concept.¹⁴

Development theory is an outcome of the impact of the global phenomenon, which gives rise to both agency as well as intellectual discourse, and this simply means that it is a representation of the time. The importance of the theories of intellectual discourse lies in the fact that it is the reflection of the dominant ideology of the time and makes a simple and concrete representation of the reality which has been put into a well thought intellectual framework. At this point one has to remember that the hegemonic discourse i.e. the liberal discourse of development itself is vulnerable to the fact that it is the

¹²ibid.. p.2.

¹³ibid.

¹⁴ibid.. p. 12. However, it is important to note that Moore emphasize the fact that there is influence of the global economy and social movement on agency and academic discourse than vice versa. However not to ignore the fact that in the time of crisis the academic development discourse (ADD) come to the fore giving directions to development agency discourse (DAD).

outcome of the changing role of the state within the western world experience.¹⁵ Thus, a brief acquaintance with the theories happens to be important here. In the next section, some important theories of development are focused which would be broadly explained under two headings: (a) conventional (b) non-conventional.

Development: An Overview of Theoretical Dilemma

Development is fundamentally seen as a part and parcel of economics, therefore a brief indulgence in economics as a discipline is required before the actual point of focus. All theories of development have important economic aspect. Economics can be said to be a reaction of the pre-capitalist, feudal orders and landed aristocracy and against the capitalist state. It emanated as a new thinking on behalf of the new progressive capitalist class.¹⁶ When this class became wealthy and dominant, economics turned into conventional. The period of 1600-1850 is seen as a long class struggle between the landed nobility and the bourgeoisie for control of the state as well as control over the ideas and thus, economy came as its product.¹⁷ Classical economics is the product of this struggle. The conventional theories of development are mainly based upon the earlier ideas which developed during the 'Enlightenment' era, a period in civilization where revolutionary thought came into being. This term refers to the revolution which occurred in philosophy and theory in 17th and 18th century in Western Europe. The conventional thought on development is the result of the various theories of development. These were mainly constituted by classical and neo-classical economics, Keynesian economics and development as a result of modernization. The conventional theories, according to Peet and Hartwick, are the reflection of the political position of their proponent, the places of their birth along with its philosophical perspective and whether they predominantly economic,

¹⁵ David N. Balaam and Michael Veseth (eds), *Introduction to International Political economy*, Upper Saddle River, New Jersey, 2001. Pp.45-65. This chapter gives a summary of how liberal notion of state ranging from classical to the neo-classical state is contingent upon Adam Smith's 'invisible hand', which runs the market.

¹⁶ Richard Peet and Elaine Hartwick . 2009, p.24.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.25.

sociological, anthropological, historical or geographic. They have emphasized the politics of development as the most important among various factors. In the words of Peet and Hartwick-

These conventional theories accept the existing basic capitalist structure as the best kind of society there could ever be – as natural, inevitable, and essentially unchangeable, as the only kind of society that can persist because, for example, capitalism is the human nature writ large. Such theories tend to emphasize economic growth than the development- or, rather, they see development as economic growth.¹⁸

As the conventional theories mainly centered on the discipline of economics, they consider accumulation of wealth by few as spurring the entrepreneurship and innovations are regarded as a motivation behind development efforts. This theory reflects on poverty and social inequality as a price of progress. However, according to the conventional theory poverty can be rectified through faster economic growth and also through charity. Keynesianism, growth theory, and modernization-an outcome of the sociological study began to criticize the neoclassical economics ended up to become its main co-conspirator. The mainstream economic theory along with that of modernization theory deems development as a uniform, unilinear, 'stage type' process¹⁹, which was the result of the rise of the west. In the light of this view it began to believe in its superiority and the world is merely trying to catch up.

There are other alternative theories which came in the form of critic of the above mentioned grand theories. These theories came up as a result of the failure of the development ideas propagated by the western side of the world. The non-conventional and critical theories pointed out the flawed, unequal and unjust nature of the capitalist existing structure of society. It holds that the conventional grand theories are ethically wrong and dangerous to the humanity and planet, for example the leftist critic forwarded that capitalism is inherently unjust and non-sustainable. They call for total transformation of the entire structure of society. Socialist finds social planning and governmental control to be important method of undoing the wrong and inequality in the society. They want to

¹⁸ibid., p.21.

¹⁹ibid., p.22.

change the ownership structure of the society. These alternative and critical theories came in the form of Socialism, Marxism, Structuralism, Post-structuralism, Post-developmental Environmentalism, Post-colonialism, Post-modernism, and along with an approach known as capability approach that became famous by the writings of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum. However, Uma Kothari and Martin Minogue, focusing on the relationship between the mainstream and alternative development theory, held that the issues raised by the alternative theories like that of redistribution of resources, structural inequality, social justice, ownership, control, capability of utilizing resources and exploitation which are presented as popular and people centered approach, including that of participatory development, gender and development and sustainable development have not remained alternative for long, many of them are successful and often absorbed by the mainstream approach.²⁰ In addition to it David Moore also maintains that;

[t]he process of hegemonic construction and maintenance is by no means easy. It displays many fluctuation as the material base of the political economy changes, and social and political struggles among classes, nations, gender, and ethnic groups-as well as among group within the ruling classes-ebb and flow. It takes on many guises as the multitudinous manifestation of capitalism can support: as many strands of oppositional discourse as it can co-opt. As we witnessed the early stages of the global capital and classes riding on top of its accumulation processes, it widens its reach- and narrows its common denominator- as never before. And as global expansion of and shifts in hegemony go, so follows, albeit unevenly, with its own institutional and ideological rhythms, development discourse, perhaps one of the most derivative discourses are there.²¹

The non-conventional theories criticized the growth oriented approach of the capitalist economy and focused on well-conceived development. Theories like post-structural and environmental consider further growth as a direct threat to human existence and planet. According to them, global development must be achieved by redistributing production, and consumption from the areas having plenty to the areas where there is scarcity.²² However, the notion of development filtered down from political economy to society and

²⁰ Uma Kothari and Martin Minogue (eds). 2002 .p.9.

²¹ David Moore. 1995. p.1

²² Wolfgang Sachs. 1992. p. 144

from society to individual, which can be seen in the work of scholars like Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum's. Capability approach became an important Part of human development, like for example speaking on gender equality, Martha Nausbaum in one of her article 'women and equality: the capability approach' has rightly pointed out that 'liberty is just not a matter of having right on paper, it requires being in material position to exercise those rights.'²³ This capability approach is an economics approach introduced by Amartya Sen for measuring the quality of life; however, Nussbaum has used it in entirely different way. This capability pointed out by Nussbaum is not only about the resources but about how the resources do or do not go to work, enabling function of women. Nussbaum extends the responsibility of the state to go beyond the basic given rights and stand for redistribution of wealth, income, employment and education. The core idea behind this approach is creating an conducive environment for the treating all human being especially women as dignified entity, who is free to choose her own way of life rather than pushed by the outside environment. This approach treated all individual a bearer of value as an end; here she quotes Marx 'like his bourgeoisie forebears, it is wrong to subordinate the end of some individuals to those of other'.²⁴ Nussbaum criticized the traditional economic approach for their deficient effort in thinking about these goals of life. Speaking on redistribution of resources Martha Nussbaum says that resources are needed to be redistributed, so that woman can be enabled to arrive at a position where she would be able to use it to develop the power of freeing herself and realize that she is also a bearer of some value and self-interest. Nussbaum has prescribed talks of 'central human functional capability', which are of three types of capability-basic, internal and combined.²⁵

In between the realm of the two i.e. the conventional and non-conventional theories lay the work of Kalyan Sanyal, where he problematizes the very understanding of hegemonic discourse. Kalyan Sanyal's, *Rethinking Capitalist Development: Primitive Capitalist*

²³Martha Nussbaum, p. 231.International Labour Review, Vol. 138, No. 3, 1999. pp.227-245.

²⁴ ibid p.234

²⁵ibid.. p.235.

Accumulation, Governmentality and Post-colonial Capitalism, considers free market and private property not only a necessary characteristic of capitalism but also an important characteristics of non-capitalist production²⁶. He says that in what sense commodification is seen as capitalist development, as neither market nor private property is a necessary qualification to be tagged as a capitalist mode of production. He says that if non-capitalist production succeeds in bringing about changes in the third world then why capitalism is being regarded as an important way of giving development activity a proper shape on one hand, and ruling out the capability of non-capitalist production in fostering and nurturing development on the other hand. Thus, this brings the entire economic space of the third world within the ambit of capitalist sector. Sanyal argues that hegemony of capitalism needed to be problematized. In his own words 'can't we see hegemony in it's complex form, in which dominance works through resuscitation rather than asphyxiation, exclusion rather than subsumption, valorization rather than demotion of the other?'²⁷. He further problematizes the very concept of capitalism and questions that - isn't it possible to see capitalism as a complex of capitalist and non-capitalist production residing in the commodity space? He regards capitalist development as a process that necessarily produces and brings into existence the non-economic processes in its own course. He makes distinction between capitalist production and capitalism- the former structurally combines with the non-capitalist production and constitutes the latter. His work is a contrast of Gibson Graham's work who urges to shrink and emaciate capitalism to revive economic differences, whereas Sanyal contrary presents a vision of capitalism that is variable and flexible and considers that economic difference is an integral part of that capitalism and argues how capital successfully lies in the world of heterogeneity. He criticizes the political economy which reckons the capitalist hegemony in the third world as failure, as he reconizes hegemony as 'economic monism'.²⁸ Thus, by seeing weakness of capitalism in the third world as a failure, it visions capitalism as anti-thetical to all

²⁶ Kalyan Sanyal. *Rethinking Capitalist Development: Primitive Capitalist Accumulation , Governmentality and Post-colonial Capitalism* . New Delhi.2007. p.3.

²⁷ *ibid* p.6

²⁸ *ibid*. p.8

other modes of production. He basically problematizes the non-economic capitalism, of the third world to explore the economic heterogeneity which can be interpreted as a complex of hegemonic order- an order in which the capitalist strength lies in its ability to negotiate the world of difference rather than its ability to annihilate the other.²⁹

Sanyal's work is basically trying to find out the lapses of the underdevelopment theory, in which he states that proper characterization of the peripheral economic formation requires that the notion of capitalism should be seen beyond the sphere of circulation to sphere of production, thereby, defining itself as a particular form of production. He says that the underdevelopment theory fails to answer why the result of trade and commerce in the form of accumulation and development has been different in the peripheral world? He has quoted Brenner's argument, which states that 'capitalism has to be seen as a system of production and the development of which has to be traced in the transformation of the production economy, more specifically transformation of the socially productive relations of production'.³⁰ Thus, development of capitalism is to be understood in terms of transformation of class relation. Thereby, the success and failure of capitalist transformation in a within a specific situation depends on whether the nature of class conflict is able to create the required changes which is necessary for such a transformation. Therefore, according to Brenner, it is not the class structure that determines the trajectory of capitalist development or underdevelopment but that of class struggle that ultimately defines its success or failure³¹.

On the point of post-colonial society, Sanyal says that capital can never be seen as a self-subsistence, as it is always in the stage of becoming. Taking example of India, he says that the presence of representative democracy, seeks to protect the non-capital economy, thus it gives rise to space of confinement, where non capital survives neither being part of the capital space nor aloof of it. The development discourse perceive this non capital as need economy such as self-employment based production, household production etc.

²⁹ *ibid.* p.7-8

³⁰ Brenner as quoted in Kalyan Sanyal (2007). p. 12.

³¹ *ibid.*

Sanyal states that, ‘the creation of the need economy comes with the development as a discourse where need, poverty, entitlement and standard of living becomes an important issues to be addressed in postcolonial world, thus, bringing international organization as its vehicle to bring into play both state and non-state agencies and practices that intervene and act upon the economic space of such non-capital economy with an aim of ensuring the reproduction of the need economy’.³² Development is seen as a systematic and sustained process of elimination of the poverty. The goal of development is to engage the poor in the production activities. Thus, it is where the reversal of the primitive accumulation is occurs where the resources are made to flow from the domain of capital to the wasteland thus a need economy is instituted.³³ Therefore, he considers the need of economy as a space of confinement in postcolonial state. This confinement of the dispossessed, according to Sanyal, ‘within the space of development- where they are not the part of capital spaces but somewhere integrated by the institution of need economy’³⁴. In Sanyal’s words;

At this point, it is suffice to say that development does not see the solution to the problem of poverty necessarily in terms of an overall capitalist transformation; its emphasis rather is on re-energization of traditional non-capitalist institutions and form of production to be used as effective instrument of achieving the goal set in terms of consumption or standard of living of the marginalized or the dispossessed. The space of non-capital is however conditions of existence are undermined by the predatory expansion of capital, but at the same time are recreated and renewed by developmental interventions. It is this process of subversion and recreation what constitutes the dynamic of postcolonial *economic*³⁵.

Sanyal perceives need economy as a site of non-capital, which is the result of capitalist development rather than residual of the past that obstinately, resist transformation. Thus, the relation between the capital and non-capital is based on exclusion and formation rather than inclusion and extraction. Therefore, the need economy serves to legitimize the

³²ibid.. p.65

³³ ibid.

³⁴ ibid.

³⁵ ibid..p.65

expanded reproduction of the capital i.e. it ensures the capital political and ideological position as a condition of its own existence.³⁶ Development notion has also undergone changes over the period of time according to Sanyal. Earlier it was seen as a ‘systematic transition’ to one of ‘improvement’ which was the result of the 1970’s change in the discourse as a way of meeting the need of the people of the third world. However, here in this phase need was defined in terms of nutrition, shelter, health and education. This shift was the result of the attempt by the development discourse to negotiate the political critic posed by the post-colonial’s primitive accumulation.³⁷ Thus, one can come to the conclusion that these alternative theories came up as a reaction to the universalized notion of development forwarded by the western capitalist countries, which saw development not as a systematic way of achieving growth in income but as an improved way of life which is required in the non-capitalist world. In one way, one can say that capitalist conceptually universalized the notion of development and when it was put to practice in the non-western society failed to deliver the results as against the expectation and propagation by the western world. Here we notice a departure and rise of a reactionary thinking. Development as a concept, it was popularized by the first world but the intellectual world, which derived its thinking from the Agency world³⁸ saw it as a practice contingent upon the spatial specificity and diversions from its original form- as a result of which came the alternative theories exploring new dimension to development thereby giving it a new meaning, over the period of time. Scholars who have done empirical studies on the postcolonial societies have looked into these states through the glasses of these available theories, so let us look into some of the literature which has tried to find out the causes of failure of the capitalist way of development and also find out what proposal have been put forth by them.

Literature Review of Development Based on State and Society Approach:

³⁶ *ibid.* p.75

³⁷ *ibid.* p.89

³⁸ David Moore. (1995). p.12.

The above mentioned concern of the intellectual world in the development discourse led them to give special impetus to understanding of the nature of the state in developing world. Typologies like 'shadow state', 'Neo-patrimonial state', 'Soft state' came up as a result of intellectual endeavor to understand a particular society and the relationship which basically involves the interaction between the two³⁹, thus, state and society approach is indispensable in order to understand development from sociological point of view. These categories were given to the developing or underdeveloped state as per their developmental goal achievements analyzing the factor for its failure in realizing its goal by the political actors.

To start with, mention of the work of Hamza Alavi becomes indispensable. While analyzing postcolonial states like Pakistan and Bangladesh, Hamza Alavi talks of 'over-developed'⁴⁰ state, in which he emphasizes the historical specificity of the post-colonial society, which is different from that of the west. He basically challenges the Marxist theory of the state for the analysis of state in post-colonial societies. He emphasizes that the 'colonial state has its origin in metropolitan society and not in the colonial one and those of indigenous provenance of the modern European state. Thus, it was not the product of the developmental history of its own society but the structure has been super-

³⁹ Zoe Scott, *Literature review on State building: A Report*, University of Birmingham: International development department, 2007, p.10. He says that 'There is no single typology of states in the developing world that is widely used across the academic field. Instead, there is a plethora of different attempts to categorise states and various terms used by different authors (Leftwich 2000). Examples from the literature covered in this review include 'collapsed states', 'neo-patrimonial states', 'shadow states', 'weak states', 'warlord economies' and 'quasi-states'. However, these different terms are more attempts to identify previously unrecognised characteristics of the state in developing countries: they are not efforts to develop a coherent typology. As a result there is often a lack of conceptual clarity about the meaning of different terms, terms often overlap and, taken collectively, they do not cover all types of state. An overview of the literature then provides more a myriad of different perspectives on and labelled characteristics of states, that it does a usable typology or method of neatly categorising states'.

⁴⁰ Hamza Alavi, 'The State in Post-colonial Society: Pakistan Bangladesh', *New Left Review*, 174 (July Aug 1972), p. 145.

imposed by the colonial power for its own purpose of commercial interest'⁴¹, giving it a shape of over developed state structure. For Alavi, state in post-colonial society like that of Pakistan was not the instrument of single class but state act as a mediator of competing interest of three dominant propertied classes- the metropolitan-bourgeoisie, small but powerful indigenous bourgeoisie, and the landed class, which enjoyed relative autonomy.⁴² This case can equally be applied to the Indian conditions where we see multiple competing classes.⁴³ Another work by Gunnar Myrdal on 1960's India, characterized it as a 'soft state'. According to him:

A general lack of social discipline in underdeveloped countries, signified by deficiencies in their legislation and, in particular, in law observance and enforcement. Lack of obedience to rules and directives handed down to public official on various levels. Often collision of these officials with powerful person or group of person, whose conduct they should regulate, and at bottom, a general inclination of people in all strata to resist public control and their implementation. Within the concept of the soft states belongs corruption, a phenomena which seems to be generally on the increase under the developed countries⁴⁴.

Thus, we see primacy of understanding that society has always been a concern of the scholars for understanding the processes of development in these countries. In the recent decade, we have some finest of works by Pranab Bardhan, Atul Kohli, Barbara Harriss White. Let us see some of the effort made by these scholars.

Building on a similar argument like Hamza Alavi, Pranab Bardhan also criticizes Marxists class analysis of the state. According to him, the Marxist analogy of state with the concept of the 'relative autonomy'⁴⁵, that is 'the state acts not *at the behest of*, but for

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p.145-147

⁴² *ibid.*, p.145

⁴³ One should take into account the fact that both Pakistan and Bangladesh were formed carving out of India, so some character like that of competing multiple class and relative autonomy are shared by these three states (emphasized by me)

⁴⁴ Gunnar Myrdal (1970), p.229. quoted in Adrian Leftwich. "State of Development: On Primacy of Politics"*Development*. Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers Ltd . 2000, p.80.

⁴⁵ Pranab Bardhan. *The Political Economy of Development in India: Expanded Edition with the Epilogue on the Political Economy of Reform in India*. OUP: New Delhi. 1984. p. 33.

all practical purpose *on the behalf of* the dominant proprietary class⁴⁶, is highly in sufficient and ambiguous to understand the dynamics of a state in the process of industrialization over the past centuries. Quoting Theda Skocpol, he says that, ‘the explanatory centrality of the states as potent and autonomous organizational actors’⁴⁷ needed to be emphasized. He also holds that centrality of the state cannot be ignored just by reducing it to be an instrument in the hands of few bourgeoisie. In the words of Bardhan;

There are, of course, serious constrains imposed by the dominant proprietary class, but to focus exclusively on them is to ignore the large range of choices in goal formulation, agenda setting and policy execution that the state leadership usually has, and the powerful impulses shaping policies and actions that are generated *within* the state, fueled not merely by motives of self-aggrandizement but quite often also by what Miliband (1983) calls its “conception of national interest”. In many cases of state-directed industrialization, the leadership genuinely considers it as a trustee of the nation’s most deeply held normative aspirations, and in the world of international military and economic competition, these aspiration often takes the form of striving for rapid economic growth⁴⁸.

Bardhan says that state is not only for class realignments or provides assistance of material base for new classes but it is also a very important part of economic base itself.⁴⁹

In context of India he adds;

In India, irrespective of the exigencies of the delayed industrialization, the civil society was already dominated by the relatively overdeveloped state at the times of Independence (overdeveloped in relation to economic structure). Some Marxists scholars have traced the extraordinary powers of control and regulation vested in the state to the colonial administration ruling an alien land. But overdeveloped state actually goes back to pre-colonial days and was certainly evident during the peak of Moghul rule in India⁵⁰.

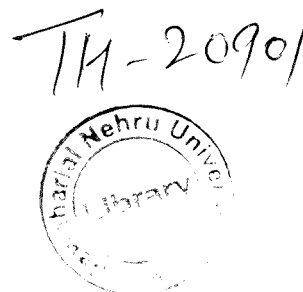
⁴⁶ibid.

⁴⁷Theda Skocpol (1982). quoted in Pranab Bardhan. *The Political Economy of Development in India: Expanded Edition with the Epilogue on the Political Economy of Reform in India*, New Delhi. 1984. p. 33.

⁴⁸ibid., Pp. 33-34.

⁴⁹ibid., p. 35.

⁵⁰ibid., p. 37.



Similarly, Atul Kohli's book *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in Global Periphery* is a comparative study of four States - India, Nigeria, Brazil and Korea. State's role in relative success and failure of development in what he calls late-late industrialized states, has been emphasized. He basically focuses on the variations of degree of development. He has attributed these variations to four sets of explanations with one case to be peculiar in each case respectively. These explanations are on the ground of (i) culture (ii) significance of ruling regimes particularly democracy versus authoritarianism. (iii) Importance of free market conditions and (iv) the degree of reliance on free market conditions.⁵¹ He basically talks of three models of state based on the above criteria of analysis in his book (a) cohesive capitalist state (b) neo-patrimonial state (c) an fragmented multiclass state. According to Kohli, cohesive capitalist state is the most effective agent of industrialization in global periphery and quite efficacious in creating new wealth in their poor society. However, this type of society are not ideal type, they concentrate power at the apex and use state power to discipline their society. Rapid industrialization is their national goal and basically works in close collaboration with the industrialists. They repress labor, penetrate and control the rural society and use economic nationalism as their tool of political mobilization.⁵²

Kohli talks about distortion of European model of rule in various peripheries and the most serious distortion was in Africa where traditions of state like political organization were historically weak and where colonial power failed to create effective model of state. They ruled by accommodating various pre-modern, personalistic indigenous elites. Thus, the result of it was neo-patrimonial state.⁵³ The facades of a modern state created by the colonizers were inherited by the indigenous elites and they in their turn reduced it to a

⁵¹ Atul Kohli. *State Directed Development: Political power and Industrialization in Global Periphery*, New York. 2004. p.368.

⁵² *ibid.*, p.381.

⁵³ *ibid.*, p. 395.

vehicle of personal and sectional aggrandizement. Poor state institution is the root cause of economic problem according to Kohli in neo-patrimonial states.⁵⁴

The third models which Kohli talks of, is fragmented multiclass state. He has characterized it as a modern state, where there is centralization of coercion in a defined territory and that of state structure is organizationally and normatively different due to variety of private interest. Leaders in this type of state go for state led development. However, they are bound to define development in broader of the sense as it includes not only economic development but also includes goals like welfare, redistribution, national sovereignty. The quality of both armed forces and bureaucracy in such states tends to be uneven- superior in places to be deemed by leader of great political importance and inferior elsewhere. According to Kohli, 'what distinguishes multiclass states from other state types within the developing world is the nature of political expectation that links rulers and the various social groups'.⁵⁵ The link between the social group and ruler is weak due to the weak political institutions. Mobilized citizenry, weak political institution like parties and dispersion of power dominates the scene in this model of state. As a result, it witnesses late-late industrialization. Fragmented state authority constraints its developmental power, due to multiple goals, treating pockets of bureaucracy as a way of patronage and politics, maintaining political distance from business elite and political inclination in favor of popular groups to accommodate multiclass politics are the main characteristics presented by Kohli in his book. He basically talks of mixed developmental capacities citing Indian case.⁵⁶ He conjoined the developmental capacity of a state in global periphery with the type of its regime. Neo-patrimonial states are common in Sub-Saharan Africa. And fragmented multiclass state is mostly located in India, South East Asian, and for a brief period in South Korea.

The relation between the political elite and the vast numbers of poor in fragmented multiclass states tends to be unorganized, encouraging both rhetorical populism and on

⁵⁴ibid.. p. 396.

⁵⁵ibid..Pp. 399-400.

⁵⁶ibid..p. 400.

occasion sharp reaction against it. Populist ideologies and nationalism plays a very important role in it. However, Kohli says that it is due to this unorganized, fragmented nature of the state that leads to fragmented authority ultimately constraining the developmental power pursuing multiple goals. The dilemma of the fragmented multiclass states is how to promote private capital while simultaneously legitimizing the hold on power in the eyes of its majority of its population. The state's role in developing world is quite crucial, since state initiate industrialization which means narrow collaborations with political and economic elites; this becomes the very problem of multiclass fragmented state. This problem according to Kohli is not visible in neo-patrimonial state because of its pervasive personalism and cohesive capitalist state because of its coercive nature.⁵⁷

However, the process of economic policy implementation is also full of tension in such states as it is brought into effect with numerous inefficiencies like for example management of public sectors readily becomes the victim of malpractices like patronage or other type of politics. He observed that in such type of state, colonialism and nationalist movements and regimes changes, especially military moving in and out of power is the most effective political force. The Pattern of colonialism is being emphasized, shaping the basic state structure and emergence of new classes within the countries like British colonialism different from Japanese colonialism. In the context of India Kohli says :

[t]he problem of fragmented state power was the result of the colonial past led to the continuity of it even during sovereign period because the new rulers were unable to mobilize sufficient cohesive force to penetrate the country side and in part because the legitimacy of the new rulers depended on allowing different centers of local power to survive and flourish⁵⁸.

For Kohli, state developmental capacity is of great importance for these inherited poor states while those with effective state apparatus has high capacity to develop in economic terms. On the basis of this study, Kohli comes to the conclusion that in developing country the capitalists seek not so much of free market and laissez faire economy unlike

⁵⁷ibid..p. 410.

⁵⁸ibid.. p. 412.

capitalist state. He, thus, concludes by saying that the developing country states have become the medium, assisting the birth and spread of industrial capitalism in the global periphery. On the issue of solution, he says that possible exchange of goods points can be a solution, like for example some movement towards cohesive capitalist state does not have to come out at the expense of totalizing social control by the state.

After going through Kohli's work at length, we analyse that there is emphasis on the use of state and society approach with heavy reliance on the historical past. However he is constantly connecting the failure or success of global periphery with that of colonial experiences. One point which requires ample attention in this context, and which is mentioned in his discussion, but does not form his focal point as far as fragmented multiclass states is concerned- is the presence of personalism at each layers of policy formulation and implementation of procedure. This presence of rent-seeking and personal profit has become the main constraining problem on the actual working of the state in a post-colonial State like India.⁵⁹ The role of emerging middle class and how they have become the focus group, behind pursuing neo-liberal agenda is also needed to be mentioned. The larger questions like how some groups are completely left out and how some section become the supporter along with the rise of regional politics and local insurgency, also needs attention, especially when we are talking in context of fragmented multiclass society- as these factors also leads to constraints in development capacity of the state. However, he also seems to miss out the fact that the fragmented multiclass state also need to diverge its resources and revenues for keeping its social forces such as insurgents controlled. It has to deal with these groups who feel alienated and take up violent means for claiming their rights. As a necessary compulsion, States like those of India has to spend on military forces along with implementation of developmental policies⁶⁰ for economic industrialization.

⁵⁹Government of India. "A Report of an Expert Group to the Planning Commission" *Development Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas*. New Delhi. April 2008. p.80

⁶⁰ Government of India. "A Report of an Expert Group to the Planning Commission" *Development Challenges in Extremist Affected Areas*. New Delhi. April 2008. p. 57. Where it has been mentioned the

Substantiating the above raised problem in the context of the nature of Indian state and how does it works, a very interesting concept of 'Shadow State' has been given by Barbara Harriss White. The concept the 'shadow state' is defined as 'that part of the informal, real economy that cannot operate without a particular form taken by the state. The shadow state is a part of actually existing state. It is big but ignored by the development discourse'.⁶¹ Some role of shadow state is attributed to the bureaucrats like for example accepting of patronage, tribute or clientage. Other shadow state livelihood is a form of self-employment, depending on the state employees for their incomes. Example of this is intermediaries, gate keeper, contractors, adjudicator of disputes, consultants etc. The norms of the shadow state becomes the norms of society and as a result of the operation of shadow state, and its use of state resource for accumulation the formal state losses legitimacy.⁶² This is a serious and the most important problem being pointed out by White in the implementation of any development policies of the Indian State, thus making the work of the leaders worst and problematic.

An anthropological understanding which came in the form of a work by Arturo Escobar in *Encountering Development*, is basically premised on post-structuralist approach. It is a critique of the development discourse being spread by the Western and North American states. According to Escobar, 'the development discourse inevitably contained a geopolitical imagination that has shaped the meaning of development for more than four

supplement of both security and development measures for controlling of the Maoist insurgency problem.

⁶¹ Barbara Harriss-White, *Contemporary South Asia, India Working: Essay on Society and Economy*. New York. 2003. p.88.

⁶² *ibid.* Pp.88-90

decades'.⁶³ He criticized the use of expressions such as 'first and the third world', 'center and periphery'⁶⁴, as it reflects the subjectivities and social order.

He says that the term development has come up as a result of historical singular experience, which resulted in domain of thought and action based on three components that defines it- (a) forms of knowledge which comes in the forms of theories and concepts. (b) power which control and regulates it. (c) and finally forms of subjectivities which shape the perception of the people fostered by discourse as developed and under developed. By referring to Bakhtin, Girard and Foucault, who talks of regimes of representations as a place of encounter, Escobar says 'in 1940's a similar encounter of regime of representation took place, with the emergence of development followed by modernized violence.'⁶⁵ The main aim of Escobar's book is to look at development by criticizing the construction of discourse which gives shape to the third world through their power and knowledge, which results in subjectivities of perception. He pays greater attention to the deployment of discourses through practices. For Escobar 'the discourse results in concrete practices of thinking and racing through which the third world is produced'.⁶⁶ He analyzed the 1970's and 1980's Latin America and investigate the implementation of rural development, health and nutrition program.

State and Society: Understanding the Zone of Intersection and Friction

There is a huge literature based on the state and society literature which are devoted to find out the causes of clash of interest due to the policies and understanding of state of its own society. Review of some of the literature has been attempted in this section. The root of this approach is seen in the writings of many Marxist and Dependency school; it has

⁶³Arturo Escobar, *Encountering Development: The Making and Unmaking of the Third world*. Princeton, New Jersey. 1995. p. 9.

⁶⁴ibid., p.9.

⁶⁵ibid., Pp.9-11.

⁶⁶ibid., p.11.

also found expressions in the trends of structural-functional, pluralist, civil society approaches. Let us see some of the literature available on it.

Migdal, in the introduction to *State Power and Social Forces* discloses some basic canons of state in society approach which can be categorised into four, Firstly, variation in state's competence based on the relationships they have with society. According to him, it is a delusion to see states as the central actors in societies. In addition to it, while states may autonomously exist apart from its society but there is no assurance that they have any universal or dominant influence over other groups in its polity.⁶⁷ Secondly, states are not like black-boxes, it must be analyzed in a comparative way to expose the social context of its operation. According to Migdal, the importance should be given not only to peak organization while studying state and society interaction but peripheral organization also needed to be taken into account. As he puts it 'in their engagements with and disengagements from the scattered elements of society, the various component of the state encounter the same pushes and pulls, the blurring of boundaries, and the possibilities of domination by others that other social organizations face'.⁶⁸ Thirdly, both social forces and states are dependent on specific empirical contexts which differ greatly among polities and explanation of their functioning may not fit into popular or general categories. Also, development is not assumed to be unswerving but can assume multi-directional forms. Migdal says that 'the political behavior and the power capacity of the social groups are contingent at least in part; in other words the political action and influence of a social group are wholly predictable from the relative position of that group within the social structure'.⁶⁹ Fourthly, states often sanction social forces and vice versa. State-society competition is not always a zero sum game and interaction among diverse groups can be mutually beneficial as well as vice versa. These four tenets provide a

⁶⁷ Joel Migdal, "Introduction: Developing a State in Society Perspective", in Joel Migdal, Atul Kohli and Vivienne Shue (eds.) *State Power and Social Forces: Domination and Transformation in the Third World*. Cambridge, 1994, p. 2.

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, Pp. 3.

⁶⁹ *ibid.*, Pp. 3-4.

skeleton framework for evaluating what types of works may be included in the state in society literature.⁷⁰

In another work by Migdal in his book 'Strong Societies and Weak States' (1988), explores some central relations between people and state and the rule of justice to govern their lives. His main argument revolves round the question of why some states succeed more and some less in realizing the vision of their leaders. He tries to provide an answer to this question through a model and a theory.⁷¹ His main emphasis is on the capacity of state to penetrate in its own society, regulate social relations, and extract resources and appropriate use of resources in determined way. The strong states achieve these goals and weak states lack in their capacities to achieve these goals.⁷²

In order to analyze strong and weak states he draws example from countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Migdal does not compare these countries; instead, he takes these examples to explain varying capacities of state and the characteristics of the weak states. He also lays emphasis on how state and society shape the capacity of the state to achieve its goal. In this context, he talks about formal and informal organizations that shape individual lives. The model of Migdal depicts society as combination of social organizations. The increasing level of state social control is reflected in its capacity to fulfill demands of its population, people's participation and legitimating. He also talks society's web like structure.⁷³ The structure of society has undergone a transformation during the colonial rule. This transformation resulted, social organization capable of resisting the expansion of state social control. The state policies resulted in weakening of old social and political arrangements are land tenure patterns, adopting new forms of taxation and new modes of transportation. This change resulted in changing social control

⁷⁰ibid., p. 4.

⁷¹Joel S. Migdal.*Strong Societies and Weak States: State Society Relations and State Capabilities in the Third World*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1988.

⁷²ibid., p. 7-9 and 22.

⁷³ ibid., p. 33-39

and some strongmen gained more power in the society and resulted in widening gap between the rich and the poor.⁷⁴

The transformation in the social order created problem for state leaders after independence. To overcome this problem the leaders used centrifugal and centripetal force. The state leaders adopted shuffling, non-merit appointments, dirty tricks to outplay the social institutions which pose threat to them. The triangle of accommodation is a way through which state leaders, implementers and strong men structure the society at various levels.⁷⁵ In his concluding part Migdal provides an interactive model of relations between weak Third World States and their societies. In this model, he shows how spread of economy led to colonial rule , which in turn led to fragmented social control in third world, which was based on politics of survival and accommodation of leaders for social stability after independence, which ultimately results in weak administration due to non-merit appointment and careerism, which he describes as politics of administration thereby forming triangle of accommodation and capture of the state.⁷⁶

On contrary to Migdal, Peter Evans, in ‘State – Society Synergy’ (1997), discusses, state as a central actor in capitalist development and inclusion of community norms and interpersonal networks as “social capital” forced broadening of development framework. The idea of synergy implies that civic engagements strengthen state institutions, and effective state institutions create an environment in which civic engagements is more likely to thrive. Evans explains the idea that synergy may be based on ‘embeddedness’.⁷⁷ He argues that state society synergy acts as a catalyst in development and this synergy involves combination of complementarities and embeddedness. The article explores the

⁷⁴ibid., p. 30-4.

⁷⁵ibid., Pp. 238-245.

⁷⁶ibid., p. 268.

⁷⁷ Peter Evans (ed), *State-Society Synergy: Government and Social Capital in Development*. Berkeley, 1997, p. 7.

ideas of involvement of different levels of state agencies involved in development and various efforts taken by them to initiate people's participation.⁷⁸

James Scott in his book 'Seeing like a State' tries to explain why state initiatives in the form of development policies fail. He begins his writing by explaining why the state has always seemed to be the enemy of people who move around. He has attempted to understand the state role, and concluded that these efforts are states attempts to make a society legible. The state arranged the population in a way that simplified state function of taxation, conscription and prevention of rebellion. Scott considers 'legibility as a central problem in statecraft'.⁷⁹ This view is similar to that of Foucault's Governmentality, where he says that state gives categories to its citizen and organizes them for efficient governance⁸⁰, for example, registering its citizen in census data, issue of voter ID card etc.

However Scott says that the states cadastral maps did not successfully depict the original activity of the society; instead, they depict the interest of state officials. To prove his point, he gives various examples of forestry science project undertaken in countries. The four elements for tragic episodes of state initiated social engineering are administrative ordering of nature and society, high-modernist ideology, authoritarian state using its power to bring high-modernist designs and civic society that lacks capacity to resist these plans.⁸¹

Scott in this book argues that for the state plans to succeed there should be natural practical knowledge (Métis).⁸² In the beginning chapters, the author explains with various

⁷⁸ibid.. p. 178.

⁷⁹ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like A State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Conditions Have Failed*, New Haven and London. 1998. p.2

⁸⁰ Michael Foucault, "Governmentality", as reproduced in Aradhana Sharma and Akhil Gupta (eds), *The Anthropology of State: A Reader*, USA, UK and Australia, 2006, Pp. 131-143.

⁸¹James C. Scot. 1998. p. 5.

⁸²ibid.. p. 6.

examples of forestry science, however, the state is interested only in economic benefits it fails to consider local knowledge of inhabitants.⁸³

The concluding chapter explains how the negligence of local knowledge or informal processes leads to failure of state policy. The concept of Métis explains forms of knowledge embedded in local experience. The argument of Scott is that the local knowledge and standardized or universal standards of weights and measures can help build rich knowledge system which is more accurate. The author also emphasizes on decentralization rather than centralized social reforms.⁸⁴

Azarya and Chazan, in their article *Disengagement from the State in Africa: Reflections on the Experience of Ghana and Guinea*, refute the neo-statist view that states are the primary actors for integration and consolidation in societies. The authors focus on three questions. First, why are African states so weak? Second, what are some different paths to state disengagement from society? Third, what are the implications of this disengagement? These authors blame the colonial past for many of the failings of the post-colonial state. During periods of colonial rule, state structures were remote and kept away from the day to day activity of society. The structures of these states, set up for the purpose of maintaining order and extracting resources for colonizing powers, and thus were not well suited for independent rule. The rulers of Ghana and Guinea, Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Toure, set out to build strong socialist centralized states in order to integrate their respective populations into the state domain. Thus, combination of poor management, economic stagnation and social resistance became hurdle in the way of the growth of state power.

Azarya and Chazan identify four types of state society disengagement that were either extant or came up in due course after independence. The first type of disengagement strategy that they discuss is "suffer managing." This approach examined the various survival strategies that people followed to reconcile themselves to declining standards of living. Citizens were forced to abandon the formal economy and government jobs which

⁸³ibid.. p.14.

⁸⁴ibid.. p.350.

do not provide for their minimum requirement to survive. This encouraged corruption, weaken worker productivity along with the state's ability to extract resources by employing formal means such as taxation which can cause it to mishandle its own resources in inefficient ways in the interest of survival.⁸⁵

The second disengagement strategy is termed as "escape." Escape is, simply, emigration. Escape is most prevalent among those populations that states need in form of educated elite. In times of especially calamitous circumstances whole populations of workers emigrated, in order to find work from Ghana and Guinea. The third type of engagement strategy is the maintenance of systems which is parallel to the state. These included black markets, corruption and alternative modes of justice. In both Ghana and Guinea there existed these parallel systems dwarf the state and other formal institutions, especially in the economic sphere. Related to this third type of disengagement is self-enclosure. This type of disengagement does not involve total rejection of state regulations as might be the case with parallel systems but it does entails reduced use of state channels. Self-enclosure can include migration from urban to rural areas, reforming allegiances to local or traditional forms of solidarity or renouncing public service.⁸⁶

The authors conclude by stating that in Ghana and Guinea "various sectors of society have disengaged from the state in response to the paucity and instability of state channels, which in turn have caused the further impoverishment of the state".⁸⁷ The result of this disengagement is the existence of a weak state, with a personalistic rule, and which has only limited control over societal resources.

Understanding Violence: In the Light of Intersection and Friction

Marx in *Das Capital* described distressingly that "force was the mid-wife of every pre-industrial European society pregnant with the one brought by James Watt, invention.

⁸⁵ Victor Azarya and Naomi Chazan. "Disengagement from the State in Africa: Reflections on the Experiences of Ghana and Guinea." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29. 108. n.d., p.116.

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, pp.117-118.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, p.130.

Capitalist by its very disposition, must follow the most inhuman, aggressive and violent course. It doesn't give a damn whether or not it can offer a human profile'.⁸⁸ This statement reflects the inherent violent tendencies in the society which is regarded as the epitome of success in every sphere of term. Arrival of capitalism is not devoid of violence, so is the case with non-capitalist world. In the previous section we saw some of the lapses of the non-capitalist states, because of which there emerge the importance of various elements like that of civil society, local knowledge and which is deviated from the view of perceiving the state as a central actor. Here importance of non-state actors is also of enormous significance, either in the form of helping hand to the state like that of civil society or in the form of group which retaliates its rule, questions its legitimacy due to the faulty understanding of the state of its own society or lack of state capacity to appease all the section due to various factors like that of, which has been pointed out by White, Kohli, Migdal, etc. Here violence comes as an important means of expressing their grievances. For example, speaking on terrorism in particular Jeff Goodwin holds that:

- (i) The typical explanation of terrorism given by many scholars are grievance based however it is been criticized as it does not explain why even after removal of grievances most of the terrorist acts continues?
- (ii) Terrorism is also a response to state terrorism.
- (iii) Another for terrorist violence is that it is the result of extreme 'social polarization'.
- (iv) The rationale that terrorist are weak and lack popular support but yet they want to redress their grievances employ terrorism is also quite popular among groups of scholar.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Karl Marx (1867) as quoted in Sumit Chowdhury, "Activist in Search of an Alternative: Reflection on Contemporary people's Movement in West Bengal", *Mainstream*, Vol XLVIII, No. 44, Oct 23 2010, p24.

⁸⁹ Jeff Goodwin *A Theory Of Categorical Terrorism in Social Forces*, Vol.84, No.4, June, 2006, p. 2032.

However, the above given rationale behind terrorism can equally be applied to violence of which terrorism is one form. Social polarization and grievances are the reason which this study focuses as a result of lack of state capacity to manage diverging forces of its society.

As pointed above that terrorism is also a reaction against state terrorism, which the later claims legitimacy on violence, Max Weber with his statement 'monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force'⁹⁰ led to ongoing debate over the use of violence as weapon by the state to get things according to its plans. Here violence is seen as an important method used by the state, a way of bringing the right order in society. On the matter, one can intervene and say that what is right is being defined in the language of state itself. Weber's idea on legitimacy of force by the state must be seen in the context of its historical past, where state is seen as protector for the peaceful running of economic activity during that time. State requirement and its role have always been changing in European tradition of thought which reflects the need of market and time in the past.⁹¹ Western societies are driven by economic impulse than the political. The need of economy has always defined the role and area of its control. Karl Polanyi in his book, *The Great Transformation* has substantiated the fact that nineteenth century history of Europe was dominated by the market system. He held that the history of Europe was the history of the creation of economy as an autonomous sphere 'violently' distorting our views of man and society. Market was the result of a conscious and violent intervention by the government.⁹² Reflecting on how the state came to have monopoly over power Charles Tilly says;

Eventually, European government reduced their reliance on indirect rule by means of two expensive but effective strategies: (a) Extending their officialdom to the local community and (b) encouraging the creation of police forces that were subordinate to the government rather than to the individual patrons, distinct from war making forces, and therefore less useful as the tools of dissident

⁹⁰Byran S. Turner, *From Max Weber: Eassys In Sociology*, With an Introduction by H.H. Gerth and C.Wright Mills with a New Preface. England. 1991. p.78.

⁹² Wolfgang Sachs. (1992),p.19.

magnates. In between, however, the builders of the national power all played a mixed strategy: eliminating, subjugating, dividing, conquering, cajoling, buying as the presented themselves. The buying manifested itself in exemptions from taxation, creation of honorific offices, the establishment of claims on the national treasury, and a variety of other devices that made a magnate's welfare dependent on the maintenance of the existing structure of power. In long run, it all came down to massive pacification and monopolization of the means of coercion.⁹³

Thus we see his proposition on violence as an important weapon of state formation. Charles Tilly in his essay *War Making and State Making as Organized Crime* discusses the role of violence in the process of the formative stages of state. He gives a brief picture of the formative stages of the state, which involved the process of war making among the European powers, the result of which was a peculiar state structure, administrative, military and legal apparatus, techniques of extraction, and strong ties with emerging capitalist. In short, he concludes that 'war is important in state formation, a process historically intertwined in Western Europe with mercantile capitalism.'⁹⁴ Charles Tilly talks of double-edged protection, which he explains as 'apologist for a particular government and for government in general external violence. They claim that the prices they charge barely cover the cost of protection. Charles says that the threat against which a given government claim to give protection are imagery or consequences of its own activities, the government has organized a protection racket'.⁹⁵ Thus, a conception of State as a legitimate upholder of violence came into being. Further, developing his idea of double edge protection Tilly says that there are forms of rule often produced through violent means, rather than based on consent. He says 'consent to govern is given often as much for reasons of fear as it is freely chosen'.⁹⁶ He emphasized that both liberal and non-liberal states are based on violence and depends on fear and coercion to carry its fundamental tasks. For him states should be understood as a provider of protection but it

⁹³ Charles Tilly, "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime" as reproduced in Catherine Besteman (ed), *Violence: A Reader*, New York, 2002, p. 42.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 38.

⁹⁵ *ibid.*, Pp.36-37.

⁹⁶ Charles Tilly, "Introduction-A double edged Sword: Protection and State Violence", in *Critique of Anthropology*, Vol. 26 (3), 2006, p.251.

is a double-edged commodity, protection evokes both the sense of a comforting person providing protection against enemies and image of criminal racket, whereby the locally powerful demand tribute in order to stop their own violence. Thus gives legitimacy to the state violence.⁹⁷

The literature reviews in the previous section shows, an opposite picture in post-colonial states, where political propensity molds economy, and makes state an important functional body in economic sphere apart from its institutional role. However, Weber is not only one who observed state's involvement with violence but what is peculiar about his observation is the fact that state is the only social institution that claims legitimacy while engaging in violence both at domestic and international level. According to Weber, violence is inherent to politics; his emphasis was primarily on productive side of state use of violence. However, this statement of Max Weber seem to be a reflection of state power and it also seem to be a highly statist statement. However, Hannah Arendt in her article *Reflection on violence* forwarded difference between power and violence and holds that violence can never be regarded as legitimate.⁹⁸ According to Arendt, violence does not lead to power but it means destruction of power. For Arendt violence and power are opposite where one rules absolutely, the other is absent. Violence occurs where power is in danger, but left to its own course, its end is the disappearance of power. Violence is incapable of creating power.⁹⁹ On his observation of the Soviet Union, Barrington Jr. Moore focuses on the link between socialism and terror. He has also pointed out the psychological insecurity produced by the terror that leads to destructive result in the project of transforming society. He emphasized how terror is useful in limiting the alternative bases of power and argued that regime must offer appearance of legality to

⁹⁷ibid..Pp.251-257.

⁹⁸ Hannah Arendt."Reflection on violence" as reproduced in Catherine Besteman *Violence: A Reader*, New York, 2002. Pp.31-32.

⁹⁹ibid., p.34.

claim legitimacy over its rule.¹⁰⁰ States of all different political ideologies are engaged in violence against its population. State building efforts offers ways for violence against internal opponents or undesirable, in order to fuse a particular kind of state citizenry or to control population for state backed economic development. State building project may support unequal benefits to political, economic elite and may establish structural conditions that may lead to violence either by the elite against marginalized or by the marginalized in protest against a social order that adds to their woes. The task is to determine where such opportunities of violence become available and how decisions are arrived at, to exploit these opportunities for resorting to violence. We have communist and fascists states as an examples, but if analyze history we see that capitalist states are also no exception in their search for labor and raw materials for production.

Violence as an activity attached to the state would be just like knowing oneself with partial truth, states are not the only organization that perpetrates violence and violence against citizens has many origins, beside need for control and order. Martha Crenshaw suggests that terrorism is facilitated by modernization and particularly because of shift to urbanized way of life, increased social complexities and non-judgmental moral environment. She argues that terrorist tend to be distinguished by their normalcy, their elite and their minority status. They believe that they speak for a group and that their concerns are being ignored by their state government. The utilitarian or instrumentalist view of violence presented by Crenshaw is quite important in many studies on terrorism and revolutionary movement.¹⁰¹

Political violence is not always is not simply instrumental, it is deeply cultural as well. These are situation where people use terror to challenge state power like for example Maoist or Naxal, militant Sikhs in India, to reconstruct the state power. These studies further that the people who resort to terrorist activities and revolution initiates violence to

¹⁰⁰ Barrington Jr. Moore. "The Impact and Function of Terror", as reproduced in Catherine Besteman *Violence: A Reader*. New York. 2002. Pp.61-66

¹⁰¹ Martha Crenshaw. "The Causes of Terrorism", as reproduced in Catherine Besteman *Violence: A Reader*. New York. 2002. Pp.106-110.

achieve political goals. In the context of the violence by these groups comes due to the fact that both resources and opportunity are less. Charles Tilly puts forth a similar view that when he speaks of social inequality due to both *opportunity hoarding and exploitation*¹⁰² on the part of government creates inequality and the outcome is in the form of collective violence. However, he also added that adaptation, which is creation of practices and which articulates people's lives with unequal arrangement and emulation, a means of transfer of relevant practices, beliefs and relation from site to site as an important contributor to collective violence.¹⁰³ For Tilly, Violence and government maintains a queasy relationship. When and where governments are weak, interpersonal violence burgeon in the population under the minimal authority of those governments and where and when government becomes very strong, violence among civilians usually declines. Thus, political philosopher and actors advocate for a strong government as a bulwark against violent victimization.¹⁰⁴ The example of these kind of practices in form of Maoism in India can be given where Mao's ideology and practices has been articulated in a manner where it catches the imagination of the people and tries to rationalise itself on the basis of the fact that they are using 'emancipatory violence'¹⁰⁵ against the inequality, exploitation, social injustice of the state.

Thus, one can draw a conclusion that the contemporary political violence can be due to the long desolations of politically marginalized group, a government's fear of losing power, a bureaucratically elaborate nationalist rhetoric of isolation, or an effort to change society with a radically new or alternative social order. The social disorder caused by the economy of extraction or expanding capitalism may contribute to violence. The instance of political violence seems to be associated with revolutionary efforts to create a new kind of society. The violent process of social construction or reconstruction can be made

¹⁰²Charles Tilly. *The Politics of Collective violence*, Cambridge. 2003. p.10.

¹⁰³ibid. p.10.

¹⁰⁴ibid. p.26.

¹⁰⁵ Frantz Fanon. as quoted in Arun Kumar. "Violence and Political Culture: Politics of ultra-left in Bihar". *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol.38, No.47.November 22-28. 2003. p.4980.

more efficient with modern tools such as bureaucracy, surveillance systems, and state control over the information and killing technologies. 'Small scale conflict originates in protest against political or economic marginalization, these long term conflicts has absorbed a non-political variety of meaning and motivation'.¹⁰⁶ Political violence is not only influential, but is also filled with sentiments and filled with poetics and passion for perpetrators and victims alike. Political goal may retreat in face of the high emotional passion for violence.¹⁰⁷ Political goals may initiate violent conflict, but they may not be the only or even the most important form of sustaining them.¹⁰⁸ In the next section we will briefly introduce ourselves with the problem of Maoism in India.

Violence: An Indian Case of Maoism

After having a brief understanding of violence, the Indian case of Maoist and related social upsurge like that of local Senas or armies can be seen in the light of the literature reviewed. However, a brief summary of historical genesis of Maoist insurgency in India is required here and then it will be succeeded by few reasons as to the question why only Maoism and not social movement dominated the scene in some places and became part of the 'social' losing sight of its original goal (citing Bihar as a special example). Today in some states like that of Bihar, it has become more of a competing party with that of the state, which is struggling to establish its rule by overthrowing the government. Based on the above mention idea of 'double-edge protection'¹⁰⁹, Alpa Shah investigates the case of Maoism in Jharkhand. Her focus area is the contested boundaries between state violence and that of MCC in Jharkhand. She holds that, the reason behind MCC gaining control over the local area is not by sharing common values but it through the greater control that the MCC has in these areas over market of protection, of which state is the another key

¹⁰⁶ Catherine Besteman. "Introduction" in Catherine Besteman, ed., *Violence: A Reader*, New York. 2002, p. 9.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, p.9.

¹⁰⁹ Charles Tilly. 2006. Pp. 251-257.

player.¹¹⁰ According to Shah, MCC has gained control not through shared ideology but through intimidating local people, which lies under the carpet, giving protection to the people. This protection is double-edged commodity¹¹¹, it is protection to access the informal economy of the state but also protection from the possibilities of the protector activities. However she says that in selling the protection the MCC controls the market that was previously controlled by the state.¹¹²

However, history of left extremism in India is related to land relations. The land relation in the traditional economy was highly unequal and it helped to increase the already existing economic and social inequalities. After Independence, the agrarian policies adopted by the Indian state did not sufficiently curb these existing inequalities. In tribal areas the situation was more difficult. There is an identity distinction coupled with continuous social and economic exploitation. Tribal who live in forest have deep affinity towards their land. These forests are also the source of rich mineral resources, which the state wants to acquire for the development of the country.¹¹³ Thus, it became ground for Naxalite activity in the State. Naxal activity started in late 1967 in Naxalbari in Darjeeling district of west Bengal.¹¹⁴ The Naxalbari uprising has left a far reaching impact on the agrarian parts throughout India. It not only raised the dormant military of the poor and landless peasants but it also laid a base for future Maoist insurgency in country. These are descendants of the parent communist Party of India-Marxist Leninist CPI(M-L) which was formed in 1969, which ended up in major split in the party in 1971 with the aim of organizing the peasantry and seizing power through armed struggle.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰Alpa Shah, 'Markets of Protection: The 'Terrorist' Maoist Movement and the state in Jharkhand, India', in *Critique of Anthropology*, Vol. 26 (3), 2006, p. 297.

¹¹¹ *ibid.*

¹¹² *ibid.*

¹¹³Report of an Expert Group to Planning Commission. *Development Challenge in Extremist Affected Areas*, GoI, New Delhi, 2008, p.11.

¹¹⁴ Manoranjan Mohanty, *Revolutionary Violence: A Study of Maoist Movement in India*, New Delhi, 1977, p. xv.

¹¹⁵*ibid.*, p. xviii.

Earlier it was poverty, unemployment and landlordism which were regarded as the causal problem, but in recent years it is against the extension of political power by the Indian state to the resource rich tribal areas which were regarded as having political vacuum.

Though this movement proved to be short lived in West Bengal, it spread in other parts of the country including Chhattisgarh, (earlier Madhya Pradesh), Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Jharkhand and parts of Maharashtra. Andhra Pradesh was a model for both Maoist as well as state. The government of India has made an estimation of the spread of the problem in 125 districts spread over 12 states.¹¹⁶ Though the Maoist lost their base in some parts of the country but gradually they have expanded in other parts of the country. However at this point a very important question arises, that why in a democratic state like India Maoism came up forcefully, even when other democratic means of expressing grievances are available. Three broader reasons as a factor can be attributed to it (though not to deny the others reason):

- The failure of the peasant movement in their effort to bring in land reform, case of Kisan Sabha in Bihar can be cited due to internal disunity among the peasants class, as a result of large scale politicization of the caste identity.¹¹⁷
- Marxist leadership working with the peasants of the area came up with a visible and supported leadership along with an ideology that fitted compatible with the rationale for struggle against the exploitative landlords and the state structure, both of whom supported and perpetuated each other. Thus the people identified themselves with the ideology and goal compatible with their needs.¹¹⁸ As Manoranjan Mohanty says that the major reason behind the revolutionary terrorism of Maoism was poverty, landlordism, and weak link in India's

¹¹⁶Report of an Expert Group to Planning Commission. *Development Challenge in Extremist Affected Areas*, GoI, New Delhi, 2008, p.2.

¹¹⁷ Arvin N. Das. *Republic of Bihar*. New Delhi 1992. Pp. 35-36.

¹¹⁸ Ajay k. Mehra. "Naxalism in India: Revolution or Terror?" in *Terrorism and Political Violence*, 12:2. Pp.37-66.

experiment with western parliamentary democracy, which led only a small section of elite to dominate giving rise to machinery of coercion and legitimation.¹¹⁹

- The fake character of left -right distinction particularly in the matter of economic policy. As Ashok Rudra says ‘it is difficult to arrange parties neatly in terms of an ascending and descending order of leftism’.¹²⁰ Nationalization has been used largely to expand opportunities of those who are called white collar workers, to improve the work conditions and amenities of the unionized working class and providing an under priced intermediate and capital goods for private sector. In the words of Rudra ‘yet any expansion of the public sector is to be called a victory of the proletariat and any criticism of the way the public sector is run or the way the potential surplus is frittered away is to be construed is considered to be support for the cause of monopoly of the capitalism’.¹²¹ Thus, weak role played by the left party might be the reason for the rise of left extremism once more in Indian political scenario.

In the light of the above mentioned reasons (which are important but not complete), can be attributed to the violence in form of Maoist outfit.

Concluding Remarks:

In the above discussion, it is argued that the understanding of the state ruling within society must not only be understood, what has been given by the intellectual discourse, a popular discourse which includes local perception of the state should be taken care. Question like why there are blurred boundaries between the local and the national, needs a spanning of gap. By local perception it means, the perception of the local people about the state which is present in the form of local bureaucracies¹²² in a particular locality.

¹¹⁹Manoranjan Mohanty. 1977. p. xv.

¹²⁰Ashok Rudra. “Thinking Left” in Pranab Bardhan (ed), *Poverty, Agrarian Structure and Political Economy in India*. New Delhi. 2003. p.322.

¹²¹ibid., p. 324.

¹²²Akhil Gupta. “Blurred Boundaries: The Discourse of Corruption” as produced in Aradhana Sharma and Akhil Gupta (eds). *The Anthropology of State: A Reader*, USA, UK and Australia. 2006. p.212.

Thus, citing India as an example one can expiate that state in its initial phase of independence tried to interpret its society making it 'legible' in its own way and the policies it introduced in the areas of social and economy is according to its own understanding. Over the period of time a mixed result in the form of beneficiaries, victim and partial beneficiaries came to the fore. Thus it is this mixed result which has led the state to be in a stage of dilemma in which neither a complete failure nor a success of policies can be accredited. This particular stage has resulted in heterogeneity in population leading to benefits on one side and dissatisfaction on the other. Results of the dissatisfaction come in the form of grievances and one form of it is Maoist insurgency. We can see revolutionary violence an outcome of it.

Development, violence and state form a very important nexus. Action of the state to transport development might result in violence. As a western concept, development demands certain kind of conducive environment for its successful operation; this however, makes the non-European state an instrument of the top players of the game to initiate changes in their respective society. This ultimately ends up in creating an artificial environment superimposed by the state over its society in the form of policies which is often seen with skepticism and non-compatible in its initial stages within a given society. This leads to clash and intellectual debate. The emphasis is on contextual understanding of development as a process within a particular state. What has been noticed in the given literature is a lack of serious engagements with of the heterogeneity within group or groups within group like for example now we have technically specialized groups, business groups, groups engaged in agriculture activities, unemployed and illiterate, educated but unemployed, propertied, propertied non-propertied, as a result of development endeavors by the state. However, there is a need to recognize this vague heterogeneity giving it a proper shape, as it results not only in an incomprehensible condition which is beyond the remedy but also gives rise to groups like Maoists. Development deficiency which one can say- as a peculiar condition where there is neither full realization of development nor complete absence of it. has caused changes not only

in the social decorum but has also created as mentioned above, group within group which is heterogeneous and beyond the class compartmentalization of Marxists understanding of society . Now treating violence as a result of the above mentioned condition as a result of dissatisfied mass of heterogeneous group becomes an apparent result of it. India's experience is that the partial beneficiaries amalgamated with the tribal or indigenous people creating an outburst ultimately challenging the legitimacy of the state autonomy these people are not a spontaneous creation of the modern techniques of development but are the creation of long time experience over the given space of its operation. These people can be called the partial or non-beneficiaries of development. By partial beneficiaries it means not benefitting to the level of having decent living. Thus these partial beneficiaries raise voice against the legitimacy of the state as a result of incomplete and half successful development project.

Violence creates most importantly environment of suspicion, which kills those who are neither party of the state and nor the oppositional group or non-state party. This situation also creates a condition in which one can perceive problems of participation by the people who are located between two warring party. The causal factor of non-participation can be in the form of fear and intimidation or attraction served by either of the party in the form of personal favor. This severely hurts the environment of trust in the society, which is the case in India. The type of violence, which has been addressed in this study, has come up in shape of class based ideology, fashioned itself in a manner so as to fit in and speak the language of the marginalized. If state wants success in the policy-which is seen as a way of mediation between two conflicting parties, implementation and the success of a policy lies in not only creating a mechanical way of solution but solution has to come from all side which also includes some ethical and moral considerations.

Chapter 3

Political Economy of Bihar.

Introduction:

Bihar, a State once judged by Paul Appleby¹, to be the best administrated State in India in 1948, during the rule of Sri Krishna Sinha, has arguably deteriorated over period of time since then. The State with second highest number of MP's in Lok Sabha²; was also the one which decided the political career of a national party in this country. This State has produced some of the top Indian leader like Dr. Rajendra Prasad (the first president of Indian Republic) and Jayprakash Narayan. However the political centrality of the state notwithstanding, it has in the recent past been marked by the administrative breakdown, violence and underdevelopment, making it a fit case for analytical focus of this study. The present chapter therefore is an extension of the previous one and continues to develop a clearer picture of development and violence in State. Since the focus of the present effort is to enquire about development imbalances, and violence as the outcome of it, this chapter will be an attempt to find out how a state's poor capacity and development deficit creates a condition where social violence becomes inevitable due to the problem of exploitation and redistribution of resource like land like in the case of the State of Bihar. This chapter is a review of some of the literature on the State and will try to locate the assumption where development deficiency and poor State capacity of Bihar, creates the condition for violence. This State has been in the lime-light because of its law and order problems³, caste based

¹Srikanta Ghosh. . *Bihar in Flames*. New Delhi: 2000 . p.v

²National portal of India. <http://india.gov.in/govt/loksabhaswise.php>. Earlier the State had 54 M.P's before its Bifurcation. currently 40. UP being the First with 85 MPs (undivided, currently 80) in the Lok-Sabha.

³ Praveen Swami."A Political Misadventure"*Frontline:India's national Magazine*. vol.15. No.21. Oct 10-23. 1998. <http://www.hinduonnet.com/fline/fl1521/fl152100.htm>. In the cover story see Governor Bhandari's report to the president K.R. Narayanan, which basically focus on the Crime rates in various States in India. In 1996 it was reported that 5,264 murder cases were recorded in Bihar, which means a rate of 5.4 murders per 1.00.000 population. The highest was Nagaland with

politics and above all, for its poverty. In early 1990's this State went through various stages of change which including ; Laloo's Reign of mal-administration, bifurcation of Bihar and Jharkhand and turn of the State from castiest politics to Nitish kumar's developmental politics, as many political and economic expert like AmartyaSen, Dalai Lama, Montek Singh Ahluwalia have opined⁴. The State has been said to have evolved with its own peculiar set of culture which has been defined as 'Politics of criminalization and criminalization of politics'⁵. Many example of the above used phrase can be cited. For example Ranvir Sena chief Brahmeshwar Singh from Ara, Muhammad Shahabuddin and Rajesh Ranjan alias Pappu Yadav, who contested election from jail⁶. These are few of a long list of instances of the criminalization of the politics in Bihar. However the focus of this chapter is to provide contextual background of the State and to delineate datasets on human and economic development. Development in a State like Bihar, has been a distant dream due to its poor capacity of implementing the same, see table 1, given below, and where problem is not the policies of development but implementations and full utilization of allocated resources⁷. The problem of violence in the State in general and Naxalite movement in particular is needed to be understood first within the particular context of the State. The first part of the chapter will be focused on giving a brief discussion on the political economy of

14.2 murder rate and Jammu and Kashmir with a crime rate of 12. The State capital of Bihar- Patna recorded 18.8 murder rate and was regarded as the single most unsafe city in India. Also see Santosh Mathew and Mick Moore (May 2011) in *State Incapacity by Design: Understanding the Bihar Story*; Institute of Development Studies, vol 2011 No.366, p.22, which shows the crime records in Bihar since 2001 to 2009.

⁴Government of Bihar, *NyayKeSath: VikasYatra.PanchVarsh*, Patna, 2010, p.6

⁵Arvind N. Das, *Republic of Bihar*, New Delhi, 1992, p.xv

⁶MahendraRana Singh, *India votes: LokSabha and VidhanSabha elections 2001-2005*, New Delhi, 2006, p.175

⁷Mathew and Moore (May 2011) in *State Incapacity by Design: Understanding the Bihar Story*, p.8 to 10, which shows the under-utilization of allocated plan spending by centre to the State of Bihar since 1992 till 2005.

Bihar. The second part will deal with the evolving patterns in the State's political economy since the 1990's under three pronged periodization: (i) Laloo: reign of maladministration (ii) Bihar after bifurcation and (iii) Nitish's wave of new hope. This discussion will be under-pinned by some statistical data-sets to analyze the State. This analysis will be devoted to examining issues of violence and development.

Table 1: DOWNWARD REVISIONS TO THE BIHAR STATE PLAN 1992-3 TO 2004-5			
Unspent Central Plan Allocations			
FINANCIAL YEAR	APPROVED PLAN SPENDING	REVISED PLAN SPENDING	REDUCTION
(BILIIIONS OF RUPEES)			
1992-93	22.0	11.0	50%
1993-94	23.0	7.5	67%
1994-95	24.0	9.0	63%
1995-96	25.2	9.7	62%
1996-97	21.4	16.5	223%
1997-98	22.7	18.0	21%
1998-99	37.7	18.5	51%
1999-00	36.3	24.7	32%

2000-01	31.6	17.4	45%
2001-02	26.4	16.6	37%
2002-03	29.6	23.1	22%
2003-04	33.2	26.4	20%
2004-05	40.0	30.6	24%

TABLE 1: Shows the under-spending of the allocated money from Centre by the state of Bihar. Source: Government of Bihar (2006) in Mathew and Moore (May 2011) in *State Incapacity by Design: Understanding the Bihar Story*, p.10.

Bihar: Agrarian Relation, Politics, Caste and Economy:

Analysis of development and its corollary processes in Bihar is closely related to its agrarian relation and its impact on the society and politics. Bihar economy which is characterized as agrarian, is deeply entangled (intensity of the impact of criminal forces guiding its economy) with politics as well as culture, thereby leaving no place for each of these domain to maintain a particular distinctiveness. This results in a mixture and deformation of the complex whole. This state has its own peculiarity; with politics which has close affinity with the agrarian relation and which in turn draws heavily from caste relation. This defines the kind of life people of this State live. To start with, let us have a look at the brief history of agrarian relation of the State in the pre and post-independence period. This section is divided into two parts for a vibrant understanding of the State (i) politics and socio-agrarian relations in Bihar (ii) Industrialization in Bihar: A pre-bifurcation overview.

(i) Politics and Socio-Agrarian Relations in Bihar:

This section is important because politics in the State begins with agrarian relation, which forms a base. However this section would be further sub-divided

into three that is (a) Bihar an overview (b) Bihar during pre-independence period: land conflict and caste violence (c) Bihar after independence: perpetuation of caste violence. The importance of revisiting the pre-independent period of the State lies in the fact that it serves a formative ground for all the chaos which follows the later stage of independence and which took the shape of casteist politics. Bihar with a population of 8.29 crores is divided on caste line, the constitution of which in the current population is shown in table: 2 for details of percentage of major communities left in Bihar after bifurcation, out of total population. The importance of knowing the percentage of major community lies in the fact that it is on the basis of the caste communities that the political game is being played by the leaders which, in popular term is called, the 'politics of vote' bank. However, in the later part of after this section we will also look at some of the datasets on industrialization, as one cannot ignore the fact that it was a State once with huge industrial potential- the one dominated in terms of mineral and mines which was 42 per cent of the country's total reserve which included coal, iron-ore, copper, manganese, and uranium among others, which has displayed a bad show in economic sphere.

Table 2: Percentage of major communities in out of total population in the state of Bihar

Caste	Percentage out of total population in Bihar
Upper-caste	13
Brahmans	4.7
Rajput	4.2
Bhumihar	2.9
Kayasthas	1.2
Yadavs	12.7
Koerikurmis	7.7
Other OBC's	35
Dalits	15.7
Chamars	5
Dusadh	5.5
Musahars	3.9
Adivasis	0.9
Muslims	16.5

Source: MahendraRana Singh, *India Votes: Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha Elections 2001-2005*, (2006), Sarup and sons, New Delhi, p.172.

(a) Bihar an Overview:

Bihar which came into existence in 1912 along with Orissa⁸, is the one which gives an impression of Hobbesian state of nature with violence, economic backwardness, political avarice, caste politics and cultural erosion. A society; also being characterized by Pradhan H. Prasad as 'semi-feudal'⁹ has always marked its presence felt for all wrong reasons. Once famous for Ashoka's non-violence and Bodhi Vriksha, Bihar of today is famous for its social political and social savagery. The state constitutes about 3 per cent of the total geographical area and about 8 per cent of India's total population 8.29 crores of people (as per 2001 census). This makes it the third populous state of its country¹⁰. The State was divided in 2000 and a new state of Jharkhand came into being, leaving Bihar with no major industries in its name and no major mineral resource in its share. It has the lowest literacy rate at 37.49 per cent as per 1991 census and 47 percent as per 2001 census and highest percentage of poverty (see table given below)¹¹. As per the report of the World-Bank in 2005, the State has the highest income inequality¹². It survived with the slowest growth rate in the country. In 1990's it was just 2.69 per cent per annum from 1991-92 to 1997-98 as against 6 per cent for the major States of the country¹³.

⁸Saibal Gupta, Non-Development of Bihar: a case of retarded sub-nationalism. *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 16, no. 37, September 12, 1981, p.1496.

⁹Pradhan H. Prasad, in Arvind N. Das and V. Nilakant, 'Agrarian Relation in India', New Delhi, 1992. In this book he defined the Society of Bihar as Semi-feudal, which is behind its adversity of uneven and underdevelopment. He says that firstly informal bondage provided quality of exploitation. Secondly the dominant class remains unenthusiastic about rapid development and hence an insufficient system has taken birth compared to semi-capitalist, capitalist and other higher historical stage of means of production and lastly the system of ownership of means of production (for conduct of husbandry) by poor who receives only bare subsistence operates as a drag on technological improvement'. p. 36.

¹⁰ Economic Survey (2005-2006). Government of India: Ministry of finance. Economic division, p. s-117

¹¹ ibid., p.S-114

¹²*Bihar: Towards a Development Strategy*; A world Bank Report (2005). Pp. 12 and 18. This report shows the poverty per cent among various classes, based on caste group. The highest poverty rate was among SC/ST's which is 59 per cent, 42 per cent among OBC, 40 per cent Muslims in the State are poor and 17 per cent of upper caste are poor.

¹³Montek Singh Ahluwalia, 2000, as quoted in A.N. Sharma, 2005, Agrarian Relation and Socio Economic Changes in Bihar, p.960

Poverty and inequality in four state of India from 1993-94 and 1999-2000

State	Urban	Rural	Overall	Urban	Rural	Overall
Bihar	26.7	48.6	45.9	24.7	41.1	39.0
Orissa	15.2	43.5	39.9	15.6	43	38.5
Punjab	7.8	6.2	6.6	3.4	2.4	2.7
Tamil Nadu	20.8	38.5	32.3	11.3	24.3	19.8
All India	17.8	33.0	29.2	12.0	26.3	22.7

Table 3: Shows poverty and inequality in India in four States of India. Source: World Bank Report 2005, p.12

Bihar being an agrarian economy, agriculture forms the fulcrum of its stagnant wheel. To start with, a brief overview of the history of the pre-independence picture of the State is necessary, in which we will see, what has been the fertile ground for the current situation in Bihar, which had precast the society as such that it took the shape of social conflict and economic under-development.

(b) Bihar During Pre- Independence Period: Land conflict and Caste Violence

During British rule, Bihar was one of the regions where Permanent Settlement Act 1793, was being introduced, along with Bengal, some parts of UP and Madras. As per the act, Zamindars were the intermediaries for the collection of the land revenue from the peasant and they were made obligatory to pay fixed revenue to the state¹⁴. However the revenue demand was fixed at ninth-tenth of the rent that Zamindars were to collect from their tenants. Under this system no protection was given to the actual cultivator and the right over land was given to the landlords. This act turned out to be weapon of exploitation for the tenants and the actual cultivators. The agrarian structure in Bihar due to Permanent Settlement reinforced caste hierarchy and thus we see that the root cause of the entire problem in Bihar relating to land and caste.

The agrarian structure- the intricately stratified system of relationship of people to land- as prevalent in the state during the period of the permanent settlement between 1793 and 1950 when the zamindari system was abolished, has been captured by Jannuzi (1974:11) in the following order: the state (the 'super landlord'), the zamindar and the tenure-holder (an intermediary of the state for

¹⁴ ibid. p.961

collection of rents), the occupancy raiyat (a rent paying holder of land having the occupancy on the land held by him), the non-occupancy raiyat (a rent paying holder of land not having the right of occupancy on land temporarily in his possession), the under-raiyat (a rent paying holder of land having temporary possession of a holding under a raiyat) and mazdoor (a wage labourer having no rights in land)¹⁵.

In course of time we see that the former Bengal Tenancy Act, which later became, with some amendments, the Bihar Tenancyact-act 19 of 1859 and act 8 of 1885, recognized the legal right of the tenants. However the increasing demand of land became highly exploitative for tenants. Peasants tenant who paid low rents were evicted. The idea behind introducing Permanent Settlement was to promote development in agriculture and through investment or leasing it out, for increasing revenue¹⁶. An important feature of this arrangement was that the Zamindars and the tenure holders were exclusively drawn from the upper caste. Peasants and tenants were mostly Bhumihar. The upper middle castes were mostly peasants, non-occupancy raiyats and also though small in number, traders and agricultural labourers, while the lower middle castes were mainly agricultural labourers and to a lesser extent artisans and peasants. The scheduled castes were mainly agricultural laborers. Thus, we see how dominant feature of feudal agrarian structure was retained even during pre-independence period. ¹⁷Pradhan H. Prasad says that the British agrarian policies were exploitative and tilted the terms of trade against agriculture with negligible public investment in irrigation, flood control, and drainage along with the old feudal set up¹⁸. According to P.H. Prasad;

These policies robbed agriculture of private investments. Almost negligible public investment in irrigation, flood control and drainage kept agriculture highly dependent on the vagaries of nature, tied to primitive techniques and a highly inequitous agrarian structure, except in some pockets. In spite of the colonial policy aimed at promoting industrialization in the home country at the cost of the colonies, there was some industrialisation in some parts of the country, especially in the Bombay- Ahmedabad belt, dominated by Indian merchant capital. Thus, colonial India witnessed the phenomenon of uneven process of development where large parts of this country were deprived of any industrialization and could survive

¹⁵ibid. p.961

¹⁶ ibid p.961

¹⁷ A.N. Sharma (2005). Pradhan H. Prasad (1987)

¹⁸ P.H.Prasad. Agrarian Violence in Bihar. Economic and Political Weekly. Vol. 22. No. 22. May 30. 1987. p847.

only on agriculture with primitive technique and outmoded agrarian structure. Bihar was one such region on the eve of independence.¹⁹

There was also a rent decree known as the 'Bakasht' Land, according to which tenants were evicted from lands that were unable to pay rents. Another class of tenants known as 'tenants-at-will' (Baitaidars), who were employed on zamindars' 'Khas' or Bakasht land and were without any right on land. This system was present in southern Gangetic plains in Patna, and Gaya districts²⁰. Another system of rent which was prevalent in Bihar was the 'Bhaoli system', which is a system of payment in form of produce, by number of group of peasants like share croppers. These groups too did not have any legal right on the land which they cultivated on a crop sharing basis. The period from 1915 to 1933 was a period when the tenants were financially squeezed by the landlords. Thus the expropriation of owner-cultivator resulted in the proliferation of proletarianisation of the labourers in the state²¹. It was during this period we see efforts made by the agricultural labourers to dismantle the permanent settlement act. The outcome was in the form of organizing Kisan Sabha and also the militant peasant movement which was mostly constituted by the peasants and tenants of Bhumihars caste in 1920's and 1930's against the upper caste Zamindars. As most of the social struggle faces the problem of heterogeneity, so is the case with the Kisan Sabha. Arvind N. Das, accordingly points that 'since this peasant movement was not an undifferentiated and homogeneous mass; one section of the peasant struggled unto the time of Zamindari abolition and the other section is in revolt even today'²². Thus, feudal exploitation was worst in Bihar. Migration was another aspect of it. The laborers migrated to jute mill of Bengal, Calcutta and tea garden of Assam in large numbers, due to large scale alienation of the peasant from their land, which went into the hands of Zamindars was the main source of tension. Thus in 1930's the issue of Bakasht land along with high rates of rents, fury against system like *begars*, the conversion of produce rent system into cash rent and above of all, evolve into

¹⁹ *ibid.*

²⁰ A.N. Das, *Agrarian Unrest and Socio-Economic Changes in Bihar: 1900-1980*. Delhi. 1983, p.39

²¹ *ibid.*, p.36

²² A.N. Das, *Republic of Bihar*, New Delhi. 1992, p33.

protest against the Zamindari system itself in the later stages. All these issues resulted in mass mobilization of the peasant and Swami SahajanandSaraswati under the banner of Bihar Pradesh KisanSabha, provided the organizational frame to this protest. An important feature of KisanSabha was that it mainly comprised of upper caste and Bhumihar, under raiyats/agricultural labourers were not the part of this movement²³, thereby creating another fraction in the agrarian struggle which fragmented the united protest. Thus, we see how permanent settlement and the agrarian relation which was resulted from it created an exploitative social relation which ultimately resulted in violent caste rivalry which continued and exasperated after independence.

(c) Bihar After Independence: Perpetuation of Caste Violence

After independence, in 1950's, we see a shift in the political position of the traditional rural oligarchy which started making its place in the ruling classes due to its powerful privileged position in its sphere of control, earlier facilitated by the Permanent Settlement Act. It was the period of 1960's, when we see shift in the political position of the middle class peasantry as a political force and ruling oligarchy as a ruling class. Thus we see all stop on the all land reforms measures. The result of the political domination of the upper and the middle class oligarchy led to the bad performance in agriculture sector due to crop sharing as a major pattern for agriculture. Thus a 'semi-feudal'²⁴ production relation arose which operated as a powerful slog on the process change in Bihar. It was in the midst of this political change that, abolition of Zamindari system in 1950 took place, and Bihar was the first state to do away with it²⁵ where upper caste Zamindars were completely against the bill, as Arvin N. Das says

In caste terms , which are necessarily approximate, this meant replacement of the landed power of most of the Kayasthas and many Rajputs by Bhumihars, Yadavs, Kurmis etc. this had the obvious political consequences in a caste dominated society. Those at the bottom of the agrarian hierarchy-mainly Harijans and Adivasis-of course stayed in the same place following the consolidation of the rich

²³ A.N. Sharma, *Economic and Political Weekly*: Vol. 40, No. 10, March 5-10, 2005, pp.962-63

²⁴P.H Prasad (1987), p.848

²⁵ Arvin N. Das, (1992), Pp. 34-35, where he explains the political drama of castes in the legislative assembly.

peasantry, conflict manifested themselves between the powerful new element in the country sides and the rural poor²⁶.

Even when Zamindari system was abolished, zamindars' were not deprived of their private large chunk of land. The decade of 1960 saw the emergence of few agrarian struggle under the banner of CPI, along with a separate agriculture movement, which was also running side by side against, irrigation rents, demand for famine relief measures, homestead tenancy, Bataidar's right in areas especially famine prone Purnea and Champaran region, but the effect of all these movements were localized²⁷. Façade of land reform created by the state, led to a sense of consciousness among the backward and weaker sections of agricultural labourers, thus these circumstances along with peasant exposure to the rest of the country side created a sense of right in them. 'Bhoodan' under the leadership of Jayprakash Narayan was important step in this direction. 1960's was also a period which again saw a shift at political stage of Bihar. Congress witnessed its first defeat which also meant emergence of the upper middle caste particularly Kurmis and Koeris, who were the major beneficiaries of the so called Green revolution in the state. Green revolution led this section to produce more and corner most of the institutional credit. As a result this upper middle caste became politically strong as well. According to Sharma 'the rates of dispossession of land among the upper caste was faster than the other caste. Thus a shift in the agrarian relation is visible here. The plight of the backward, the lower backward and the SC's remained the same. Thus natural calamity, unequal benefits of green revolution and on top of it, faulty land reform policy along with sexual abuse of the poor women belonging to lower caste and social oppression can be attributed to be the major reason behind the exploitation and deterioration of the poor peasants and agricultural tenants during this period- thereby creating a fertile ground for rise of militant movement in Bihar. As Januzi points out, in 1968, 'a new capacity for even the lowest in the traditional hierarchy, the landless laborer, articulated the need for change and to become the agent of change'²⁸. The decade of 1970's was the peak period of such rising under

²⁶ibid.

²⁷ A. N. Sharma. Agrarian relation and socio economic change in Bihar. Economic and Political Weekly. Vol.40. No.10. 2005 . p.964.

²⁸ F.T Januzi. Agrarian crisis in India: the case of Bihar. Sangam book. New Delhi. 1974

the leadership of socialist party and communist party, when they launched the 'Land Grab movement'. Bhojpur was the first one to have got hit by the uprising in Bihar. J.P movement was seen as a missionary Zeal to win over the Naxalites to switch to peaceful ways of protest. The contribution of the J.P movement is important because in most of the areas the mainstream politics and politician were completely vanished from Bihar's Naxal infested areas. They like in other parts ran parallel government. Till 2008, Bihar government had identified 32 out of 40 districts as Naxal infested and out of these 32 districts, 11 were declared as highly affected areas²⁹.

In the course of understanding post-independent agrarian relation in Bihar there has been quite often mentioning of land reforms in the text, these land reforms act came in forms of many acts. Act for the equitable distribution of land came into being in 1962, in the form of first land ceiling act and again with some amendment in 1972 and 1973. But this too proved to be highly defective. In the words of Alakh N. Sharma, 'in the wake of Zamindari abolition and land ceiling acts, several lakhs of sharecroppers were evicted from the land in their possession'. This was not the end of the story; there were also amendment in the Bihar tenancy act of 1885 in 1970's, to ensure the laborers of their due rights in their land. Apart from these acts, there were also other set of act like privileged person homestead tenancy act, Bihar money lender act etc., in order to safeguard the interest of the tenants and laborers in Bihar. However the system of tenancy despite of formal laws for the protection of the peasant's interest was entirely concealed and informal with no security for the tenants. Apart from this there were legislation for the protection of land rights of SC's and ST's which includes Chotanagpur tenancy act 1908, according to which the transfer of land of ST's, SC's and OBC's. SanthalPargana act 1949, which restores the illegally alienated land beyond 12 years but within 30 years of its alienation. Bihar scheduled areas regulations 1969, according to which instructions were given to allot waste or vacant land in 'khasmahal' or acquired Zamindaris to SC's, ST's and OBC's³⁰. The above discussion shows the

²⁹ P.V. Ramana(eds). *The Naxal challenge: Causes, Linkages and policy options*. New Delhi. 2008. p. 18-19.

³⁰ B. B. Mohanty. Land Distribution Among Scheduled Caste and Tribes. *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol 36. No 40. Oct 6-12. 2001. Pp3857-3868.

complexities created by the colonial State in Bihar which ensued a kind of social relation characterized by violence.

All these land reform especially in the plains of Bihar were not successful, at the state level. A staggering leadership at the State level led to stage where we see a phase of anarchy especially during the period of former chief minister Jaganath Mishra, who represented a phase of upper caste dominated politics in Bihar³¹. It was during this period that Bihar saw the period of ‘criminalization of Politics and politicization of criminals’³². Social violence in Bihar became a way of life. Sri Kant Ghosh in his book *Bihar in flames* has given a very good summary of violent activity in Bihar and cult of Gun. He in his book gives an account of how inter-caste violence became the culture of the people of Bihar. According to him inter-caste violence started since 1970’s under the rule of Jaganath Mishra and it was during Laloo’s regime it became more pronounced. He attributed the root cause of it to land³³. He says that the landowners and the upper caste, and class neutralized the effect of land reform legislation by trickery, influence and corruption³⁴. There was not only violence by the state used as an instrument but also there are violence as a private instrument like for example private army in form of ‘lathait’ (armed retainers maintained by landlords) who were kept by landlords for the maintenance of laborers or in form of Sena like Kuer Sena 1979, to Ranveer Sena 1994. Between the two Senas lies the list of Sena’s which is given in the table: 4, below which shows the major caste militia of Bihar.

³¹S.K.Ghosh. 2000. p.9

³²Arvind N. Das. 1992. p. xv.

³³However if we take the point of view of some of the economist, who are interested in suggesting policies for development hold that it is futile to talk of land reforms and land distribution in Bihar. considering the fact that the pressure of population on this land is very high, as it is one of the most highly populated state of India (See Avinash Kishore. in understanding Agrarian impasse in Bihar. vol.39. no.31. Jul 31-Aug 6. 2004. pp. 3484-3491).

³⁴SrikantGhosh. 2000. p.9.

Major Caste Militia in Bihar

Senas	Caste affiliation	Year of foundation
Kuer Sena	Rajput	1979
bhoomi Sena	Kurmi	1983
Loriksena	Yadav	1983
Brahmarshisena	Bhumihar	1984
Kisansangh	Rajput Brahman	1984
Sunlight Sena	Pathan Rajput	1989
Savarna liberation Front	Bhumihar	1990
KisanSangh	Bhumihar	1990
KisanMorcha	Rajput	1989-90
Ganga Sena	Bhumihar	1990
Ranveer Sena	Bhumihar	1994

Table:4 Shows Major Caste Militia in Bihar. Source: Arun Kumar: violence and political culture: politics of ultra-left in Bihar. Economic and political weekly, vol 38, No 47, Nov 22-28, 2003 Pp. 4977-4983, p.4982.

A.N. Das commenting on the culture of violence in Bihar says that, 'in rural Bihar the advance of commodification has spawned new features. A more ruthlessly capitalist peasantry, which is fast giving up the pretenses of patronage and is interested in accumulation through exploitation, has replaced feudal landlords'³⁵. There are areas of virtual war zones for capturing land in the state which is known as Diara-comprising of 32, 390 sq.km, comprising of districts of Patna, Munghyr,

³⁵ A.N. Das, 1992, p.73.

Bhagalpur, Khagaria, and Katihar. Past police records shows that as many as 20 gangs operates in Bhagalpur Diara alone. According to Srikant, the conflict was not very intense during 1970's due to the control by the upper caste through their maintenance of muscle man but subsequently the cases of violent killings over land increased due to politicization of poor and landless farmers, which had lasted over a decade. However this together with poor leadership and mismanagement of the resources of the state led a stage where a person from Bihar refused to reveal its identity as a 'Bihari'. Thus we see a very worst image of this state and its people within Indian Territory. However this is not the end of the problem of this state with poor agriculture performance. For details see table no 5, given below. However, industrial sector too needed to be given a mention here. Let us see some of the facts about overall economic and industrial performance of the state.

Yield gaps for various crops in Bihar

Crops	State average yield	Potential yield	Yield gap average	Yield at all India
Rice	1.218	3.026	1.818	1.940
Wheat	1.816	3.052	1.236	2.703
Maize	1.844	4.052	2.212	1.810
Gram	1.017	1.380	363	792
Arhar	1.379	1.830	451	727
Rape-Mustard	1.360	1.850	190	1.002
Jute	1.409	2.010	601	1.823
Sugarcane	48.856	62.780	13.924	70.578
Potato	9.060	23.500	14.440	18.161
Mango	1.000	1.660	66.	-
Litchi	1.000	1.850	850	-
Banana	5.000	8.000	3.000	-

Table 5: Shows Yield Gaps in various crops in Bihar: Source: World Bank Report 2005, *Bihar Towards A Development Strategy, 2005*, p. 28

(ii) Industrialization in Bihar:

The agriculture side is not only the sector which suffered heavily due to the faulty policies of the State and the kind of social relation to the land. The overalleconomic, especially industrial strategy too has a similar story. As mentioned earlier Bihar before its bifurcation was a state which possessed 42 per

cent of the country's reserve of mineral resource which included coal, iron, copper, manganese, and Uranium among others. The period of 1970's was a phase when the whole of the nation was suffering from the industrial sickness and Bihar was the one which suffered the most in terms of uneven development. The State received large per capita investment in public sector remained the poorest. However, 1960's was a decade when the State received 25 per cent out of total investment in central government non-departmental undertaking, but these efforts could not divert the employment from the agriculture sector to industrial. Plans of setting up of heavy industries were also implemented due to the compulsion of the presence of the resources with an aim to promote state-directed, self-reliant industrial development. As Pradhan H. Prasad puts it 'the pool-price policies (particularly the freight and price policies followed in case of steel and coal) went against industrialization of industrially backward states like Bihar. These policies helped rather indirectly subsidized the industrially and economically developed areas'³⁶. In terms of industrial development in Bihar before its bifurcation in the presence of mineral resources made places like Ranchi, Bokaro and Jamshedpur as the industrial hub but none of them gave the kind of industrial output which was expected from it. A.K. Roy gives a good account of the industrial stagnation in the State.

Bihar has industrious human power which is found in every corner of India. It has very large mineral resources accounting for 42 per cent of the country's reserves, including coal, iron ore, copper, manganese and uranium, among others. The state also hosts prestigious research institutes like the PDIL and MECON and engineering units such as HEC. Here the problem is not lack of capital, but non-utilization of the capital. This is true of the whole of the country, including West Bengal³⁷.

The per capita plan outlay in Bihar earlier was very low during first to fifth five year plan and was lowest during sixth five year plan. It was lowest as Rs.456 compared to 1, 179 for Punjab, Rs. 600 for West Bengal and Rs. 536 even for Orissa. This State for several years has been unable to spend the total amount of money allocated to it in the annual plans. The investment is all time low in the

³⁶P.H. Prasad. 1987. p. 848

³⁷ A.K. Roy. *Industrializing Bihar: The Options*. Economic and Political Weekly. vol.30. no.30. Jul 9. 1995. p.1092.

State. Per capita budget expenditure in 7th plan was only Rs 310 and per capita plan expenditure was only Rs. 526. The credit deposit ratio by the scheduled commercial bank was at around 40 per cent, which was lowest of any State in India³⁸. The corrupt leadership, rent seeking, nepotism, non-merit appointment in the bureaucracy led this State into a stage that we see in the year 2000, the credit deposit ratio was 30 per cent which was lower compared to the past. This means that only 30 Rs. are available for Credit on every 100 Rs., being saved in the State.

Bipankar Bhattacharya makes a very good remark on NBFC (Non-Banking Financial Companies), when he says:

Crores of rupees have gone down the NBFC drain and Bihar knows it only too well how quite a few of these NBFCs were promoted by corrupt and discredited political leaders. While big-time 'national' leaders have their Swiss bank accounts and other inter-national channels of fast finance, leaders of a regional stature probably still have to rely more on fly-by-night NBFCs and other small-time money-laundering networks. Flight of capital also takes place in the form of numerous small, medium and large scams as well as systematic diversion and chronic non-availability or under-utilization of central and state funds for various development schemes. One must also keep in mind the phenomenal growth of the 'abduction industry', the all-pervasive network of protection money and 'rangdari tax', and of course, Bihar's own model of 'militarisation' of economics-the systematic diversion of agrarian surplus and other accumulated wealth to fuel feudal violence.³⁹

Here the point to be noted is that, a mineral resources rich State like Bihar was not only the outcome of the loose policies pursued by the State leaders in land reform as previously summarized, but also it is the result of the mal practices which is in the form of illegal smuggling in the areas of Jharkhand, corruption cases like for example Fodder Scam during Laloo and under-spending of planned expenditure, illegal taxes given by the criminal and mafias to the politician for running their informal economy⁴⁰. Bihar thus, can be said to be the epitome of white's 'shadow

³⁸A.N. Das. 1990. p.14-15.

³⁹Dipankar Bhattacharya. Bihar After Bifurcation a Challenging Future. Economic and Political Weekly. Vol.35. No. 43-44, Oct 21- Nov 3, 2000. p.3802..

⁴⁰ibid. p.3800. Bhattacharya refers the area of the Jharkhand as an area which has emerged as a 'mafia-infested islands' 'important scam root', and 'nexus of bureaucratic-politician -contractor-criminal'

state⁴¹ with state being one of the major player in running these informal and illegal economy with corrupt politicians and bureaucrats as a major agents. This State also fits well into the category of ‘Neo-patrimonial’⁴² state of Kohli. The debate of withering away of State of Bihar argument, started with the rule of Jaganath Mishra with goons and Bahubalis’ of upper caste forming the government, however it reached its height with the path of Laloo version of social justice, replacing goons and Bahubalis’ of upper caste by lower and backward caste. The next section of the chapter deals with the Laloo **Raj** as an important breakthrough in the corrupt politics of Bihar. Let us have a brief of this period.

Laloo’s Reign of Mal-Administration in Bihar (1990-2005):

Bihar’s development in the 14 year regime of Laloo Prasad Yadav was not even attempted as many political analysts opine. In the 10 years of Laloo-Rabri rule, the condition of law and order went extremely down. If we compare the data of total number of cognizable crime in Bihar of 1980 with that of 2002 and 2004, we will find that it was just 99261⁴³ in 1980, which rose to 101055 in 2002 and 115216 in 2004 respectively⁴⁴. Thus it shows increase in the aforesaid crime. In addition to it, the State in 2000, was placed sixth to have highest percentage of crime, which was 7 per cent⁴⁵ contribution to the total IPC crimes. If we compare this data of 2001-05 with the later part of the Nitish rule till 2009, we will find a declining rate of crime,

⁴¹Barbara Hariss-White. *India Working: Essay on Society and Economy. Contemporary South Asia. India Working: Eassy on Society and Economy.* New York, 2003.

⁴² Atul Kohli. *State Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialisation in the Global Periphery.* 2004.

⁴³ Government of India: National Crime Record Bureau. New Delhi. Also available at <http://ncrb.nic.in>. shows total number of cognizable crime across all districts in Bihar in 1980.

⁴⁴ Government of Bihar: Bihar police department. Patna. also available at <http://biharpolice.bih.nic.in/menuhome/crime-in-bihar.html>

⁴⁵ Government of India: National Crime Record Bureau. New Delhi. available at <http://ncrb.nic.in>. shows total number of cognizable crime in Bihar in 2000. In this data set the States which topped the list were as follows: M.P. with 12.2 per cent. U.P. with 9.9 per cent. Maharashtra with 9.8 per cent. Rajasthan with 9.1 per cent and Tamil Nadu with 8.5 per cent.

which is from 8668 criminal cases in 2001 to 4978 in 2009⁴⁶. Adding to the woes of the state, it is often said that he promoted sectional interest of Yadav caste⁴⁷, which often made him accuse of many years of underdevelopment. Srikant Ghosh in his book *Bihar in Flames* gives a very good account of Laloo rule. He says:

Laloo's brand of political management and social justice has proved to be cataclysmic catalyst. The state, ruled for centuries by the upper caste, was stunned by the February 1990 assembly elections in which the congress (I) dominated by Brahmins and Thakurs (Rajputs) was routed. The day Laloo contested the leadership of Janata party; he started mobilizing the militant upper-backward Yadavs. Organized crime, spiraled massacres multiplied, business paralyzed. Politics debased and democracy held hostage⁴⁸.

There was a complete degeneration of the democratic system as well with the elections become violent contest. No elections were held for the panchayats between 1978 till 2001. The Panchayat election in 2001 after 23 years was seen to be advantageous only for some OBC's especially Yadavs⁴⁹. However it was not that Bihar was a heaven on earth, before Laloo's rule, ever since 1970's Bihar has been suffering from the caste violence of the upper caste but it is no less to say that, during Laloo's regime it became more pronounced. According to the Srikant:

[O]rganised violence has become more vicious and widespread between November 1990 and October 1991, many as 175 people met a bloody end in poll violence, while 87 people were killed in 1990 and 1,231, booths captured, 56 died in the lok Sabha polls in 1991 and 8 in the bi-elections. Massacres have also seen gruesome spurt-30 major ones since Laloo became the chief minister. The perpetrators are usually the private caste based Senas that are unique in Bihar. In Laloo's Bihar might prevails and murders are committed to establish it⁵⁰.

The caste based recruitment of criminals for playing politics of violence against the structural violence deployed by the upper caste in the past- became the success mantra for Laloo Prasad Yadav and his party in elections and this also encouraged

⁴⁶Santosh Mathew and Mick Moore (working Paper). "State Incapacity by Design: Understanding the Bihar Story". *Institute of Development Studies*, Brighton: UK. Vol. 2011. No. 366. May 2011. p. 22. Shows the table of crimes in Bihar from the year 2000 to 2009.

⁴⁷Srikant Ghosh. 2000. Pp.3-4.

⁴⁸ibid.

⁴⁹'End of Laloo Raj'. *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol. 40. No. 48. 26 Nov – Dec 2 2005. p.4960

⁵⁰Srikant Ghosh. 2000. p. 5.

heavy inflow of criminals in Bihar politics like never before. Large scale of manufacturing of illegal guns flourished as a cottage industry in the full knowledge of politicians. This is not the end, reports on ‘Yadavisation’⁵¹ of the officials has also appeared and it confirmed that nearly 50 per cent of SHO’s belonged to Yadav community in the state police during Laloo’s two tenure as a chief minister⁵². The police had reduced into a unit of official criminals, who themselves are involved in all illegal and criminal activities.

All the development activity was completely dead during his rule. Mal-practices being another problem which stood in the way of development like for example, a former Water resource development minister Jagadanand Singh pointed out that ‘out of a budget allocation of Rs. 400 crores to his department in 1990-91, at least half was hustled by politicians and contractors. Whenever there is a contract, the dons using muscle and fire power hijack the tenders, driving away the genuine contractors’⁵³. Moving toward some economic performances of the state during his rule and especially if we look into data on fiscal deficit, revenue deficit and state debt, we will find that there has been growth of 9.4 per cent in state debt from 1991-92 to 2003-04. Revenue deficit per GDP went upto 2.6 per cent from 0.9 which means an increase 1.7 per cent of debt of the State. Gross fiscal deficit per GDP went from 3.1 to 5.0, which means increase of 1.9 per cent per GDP.⁵⁴ For details see the table 6 given below.

Deficit Indicator (1990-91, 1991-92 & 2003-04)

	Average 1990-91 to 1991-92	2003-04 RE
Gross fiscal deficit/GDP	3.1	5.0
Revenue deficit/GDP	0.9	2.6
State debt/GDP	19.4	28.8

Source: RBI state Finances 2002-03, Annual Report, Aug.2004

⁵¹ibid.. Pp. 6-7.

⁵²ibid.. p.6.

⁵³ibid. p-6

⁵⁴World Bank Report. *Bihar Towards Development Strategy*.2005. P.37.

Table 6: Shows the deficit indicator of the state of Bihar: Source: World Bank report, 2005, *Bihar Towards Development Strategy*.P.37.

On the question of the incomplete land reform Laloo threatened that he would take legal action against the 85 families, who have land holdings 500 acres and above. If required he would nationalize those acquired land. A circular on recording the lands of all landlords was also brought out by his government but with the passage of time Laloo stopped saying such things and the circular was withdrawn. The factor was Jagannath Mishra's objections against the circular. He objected that the recording process would consume thousands of crores, perhaps four thousand crores rupees and secondly, this would create social tension this restricted Laloo and he withdrew the circular and a historic agreement took place between Laloo and Jagannath Mishra, and between RJD and Congress⁵⁵. Thus we see an association between RJD and Congress.

Laloo's dealing with the communist forces was very important part in his tactics of survival in Bihar's politics for so long. It needs a mention here because in a State having highly unequal land relationship makes the chances of the communist's propaganda to catch the imagination of the exploited and poor masses. Therefore, in dealing with the communist party in the state CPI and CPI (M), the Marxist ideology found itself completely unarmed on occasion when they were gathering huge support with their land grab movement. It was a protest against Laloo's government failure on the issue of land. Therefore Laloo used his castiest appeal and asked all the Yadavs in the two communist fold to leave their parties. In addition to it, it was also the time when Vinod Mishra led CPI (ML), was on his heights of popularity, which meant political insecurity for the other two communist fold. Thus this left them with no other options but to join the cadre of Laloo⁵⁶. Thus Wee see how his political strategy especially the socialist approach got weakened who claimed to speak for the laborers and peasants and surrendered before the Laloo's political game. Here the weak role of the left is reflected.

⁵⁵Bihar Vikas Convention (Excerpts of speech delivered at Vikas Convention (Convention on Development) in Patna. *Liberation*. November 1994)

⁵⁶ Caste Equation. 1995. p.189. Economic and Political Weekly. vol 30. no.4. Jan. 28. p189

Laloo's brand of social justice was initially praised for giving political stability, sense of security and affinity to the backward caste and the Muslims during the completion of his first term as a chief minister. Later on, he was charged with mismanagement, scams, and underdevelopment. Let us see some of the important figures related to Bihar in terms of poverty, literacy, infrastructure index, and human development, which are the indicators of development and underdevelopment in economic world; before and during his rule. In a data published by CMIE on infrastructure index for different states in India, Bihar infrastructure index was 97 in 1990-91 which dropped down to 86.85 in 2000-01. Haryana was the top in the list in 1990-91 with figure of 156; however this position went to Kerala in 2000-01 with that of 188.43. Madhya Pradesh was the lowest in infrastructure index which was only 72 in 1990-91 and 2000-01. Bihar was the lowest in infrastructure index in 2000-01⁵⁷ with the figure of mentioned above. Thus we see that infrastructural development of Bihar dropped down in Laloo's rule when compared at all India state level. In the case of human development Index for different states in India year 1990-91 and 2000-01, we see no different story, Bihar was 80.84 in 1990-91 which was the lowest in that decade and Kerala being at the top, in human development index with 155.12. we see a reduction in human development in Bihar in 2000-01 which got worst even then before, it was just 77.75 which was again the lowest when compared at all India state level. Here Kerala again topped the list with that of 135.17 human development index⁵⁸. In terms of head count ratio of poverty by major states in India, we see Bihar ranked the highest poverty ratio with a figure of 53.52 in 1990-91 and the lowest was of Punjab that is 12.46. In the year 2000-01 Bihar poverty ratio got reduced to 40.83 with Orissa topping the chart this year with 46.92 of poverty ratio. Punjab again maintained its low poverty ratio position with lowest of 5.53⁵⁹. The reduction in poverty can be attributed to Laloo's politics of his own style of giving social justice

⁵⁷Source : CMIE Basic Statistics. States. Sept 1994

⁵⁸Source: Economic Survey of India. 2003-04. Government of India. New Delhi

⁵⁹Source: CSO. Different Rounds of NSS Survey and Planning Commission. Government of India. New Delhi.

to the lower and weaker sections in Bihar. On the literacy front, Bihar had only 38.54 per cent of its population who were literate in 1989-90. Literacy rate in Bihar according to 2001 census is 47.00 which is one of the lowest at all India level. For details see the table 7, given below

State-Wise Literacy Rate (1991 AND 2001) (in per cent)

Sl.no	States/Union Territory	1991	2001
1	Jammu and Kashmir	NA	55.52
2	Himachal Pradesh	63.86	76.48
3	Punjab	58.51	69.65
4	Chandigarh	77.81	81.94
5	Uttaranchal	57.75	71.62
6	Haryana	55.85	67.91
7	Delhi	75.29	81.67
8	Rajasthan	38.55	60.41
9	Uttar Pradesh	40.71	56.27
10	Bihar	37.49	47.00
11	Sikkim	56.94	68.81
12	Arunachal Pradesh	41.59	54.34
13	Nagaland	61.65	66.59
14	Manipur	59.89	70.53
15	Mizoram	82.26	88.80
16	Tripura	60.44	73.19
17	Meghalaya	49.10	62.56
18	Assam	52.89	63.25
19	West Bengal	57.70	68.64
20	Jharkhand	41.39	53.56
21	Orissa	49.09	63.08
22	Chhattisgarh	42.91	64.66
23	Madhya Pradesh	44.67	63.74
24	Gujarat	61.29	69.14
25	Daman and Diu	71.20	78.18
26	Dadra and Nagar Haveli	40.71	57.63
27	Maharashtra	64.87	76.88
28	Andhra Pradesh	44.08	60.47
29	Karnataka	56.04	66.64
30	Goa	75.51	82.01
31	Lakshadweep	81.78	86.66
32	Kerala	89.81	90.86
33	Tamil Nadu	62.66	73.45
34	Pondicherry	74.74	81.24
35	Andaman and Nicobar Islands	73.02	81.30
36	All India	52.21	64.84

Table: 7. Source: Gol: Office of Registrar General in Economic Survey of India: Finance Department, New Delhi, p. S-114

Thus the result of this mismanagement under Laloo's leadership was that in 2000 assembly's elections. Here, we see downfall in Laloo's popularity. Laloo then applied his populist tactics by announcing that his government would buy land for distribution among the landless. This election was crucial because it saw the rise of parties like BJP and JDU in which BJP secured 23 seats out of 50 and JDU secured 17 in that elections. Rise of BJP and JDU on Bihar's political stage and decline of Laloo's popularity among his caste based vote banks, was a sign which meant that it was the result of the feeling of betrayal, the masses had after a decade of his rule 'which secured no social justice, employment, crime free society and development'⁶⁰. The table 8: given below indicates the vote share of RJD from 1990 to 2009.

Table 8: Vote Share of RJD

(1990-2009)	Vote Share (%)
1990 assembly	29.3
1991 LokSabha	40.7
1995 assembly	32.3
1996 LokSabha	34.8
1998 LokSabha	31.9
1999 LokSabha	33.9
2000 assembly	33.0
2004 LokSabha	30.7
2005 February assembly	25.1
2005 October assembly	23.5
2009 LokSabha	19.3

Vote share for RJD for all the elections is calculated for the present Bihar, which has 243 assembly constituencies or 40 LokSabha constituencies. The state got divided in 2000, the vote share for the RJD had been recalculated for the state in its present form in order to help comparative analysis of votes polled by the party.

Source: Sanjay Kumar and RakeshRanjan."Bihar Development Matters". *Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol. XLIV No. 39. Sept 26 2009.

Thus we see how the Laloo political career in Bihar declined from glory to ash, where in later course we saw him taking over railway profile in union government in alliance with that of congress with Rabri Devi taking care of State front as the C.M of Bihar. Laloo's rule changed the course of Bihar politics in two senses, first

⁶⁰Indu Sinha. Change of course indicated for RJD.*Economic and Political Weekly*. Vol. 34. No. 49. Dec 4-10. 1999. p.3417.

his understanding of politics of caste and using the same to pursue it for political purpose can be analyzed in terms of distributing and his overall understanding of the societal behavior of the state made him and his party rule for 3 consecutive elections. However a very important aspect of his rule needs a special treatment in this chapter which is the Bihar-Jharkhand divide. The next section is devoted to this historical divide for better understanding of the plight of the State.

Bihar-Jharkhand Bifurcation:

"Bihar will be bifurcated over my dead body" was the assertion made by the then C.M of Bihar, Laloo Yadav, however, it was during his tenure that the State got divided. The State of Jharkhand came into being on 15th November 2000, when it became the 28th State of the Indian Union territory. K.L Sharma's analyses that the pre independence factor which contributed to the rise of the identity movement, these are namely (i) Administrative feasibility of the region (ii) exploitation of resource rich region along with the tribal people by the outsiders known as *dikus* (iii) ethnic identity of the tribal people were seen as conducive ground which led the people to take on a movement for a separate state of Jharkhand⁶¹. During the colonial period it was the hub of recruiting labor at a subsistence level, Ranchi and Hazaribagh were the best place for labor of various economic enterprises⁶². This led to a formation of an impression where tribals were stereotyped as someone that could provide revenue and labor and were treated socially undifferentiated mass. This process of integration as supposed civilized them led to reinforce an attitude which in course developed into identity formation. As Dr. AmitPrakash in his book *Jharkhand* puts it, the series of legal measures and official reinforcement, which had contradictions of tribal versus *dikus* contributed to identity formation in Jharkhand region⁶³. Role of the Christian missionaries also cannot be ignored as introduced western education and values to the population of Jharkhand region. Thus 'deculturalisation'⁶⁴ of the tribes took place. The Christian missionaries also contributed to the Adivasis versus *dikus* dichotomy. This exposure to the western education was comparable to the national movement for freedom in India, which can be discerned in Jharkhand⁶⁵. More over establishment of the larger industries in the region, like Tata iron and steel plant also contributed to Jharkhand identity

⁶¹K.L Sharma. Reconceptualizing Caste. Class and Tribes. Jaipur. 2001. p.127.

⁶² Jharkhand movement: a post movement analysis of ethnic and Jharkhand identity by KalinathJha. in the unrest axle: ethno social movements in Eastern India eds.. Gautam Kumar Bera 2008. Mittal publication. pp. 236 page taken 76

⁶³ AmitPrakash. *Jharkhand*. Hyderabad. 2001. p. 90.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

⁶⁵ *ibid.*

movement as most of the *dikus* were concerned with the more lucrative jobs in the industrial sector, rendering small and lower level jobs for local inhabitants.

Bihar before its bifurcation from Jharkhand, was the richest State in terms of mineral resource in India, with 42 Percent of mineral production in India as mentioned above. It had two Steel towns in TISCO's Jamshedpur and SAIL's in Bokaro, to provide raw material source of variety of modern industries from automobiles to LPG cylinders. In collaboration with BIADA (Bokaro Industrial Area Development Authority, Bokaro Steel Plant was established in which out of 233 small scale industrial units registered with BSP, 81 had been accepted as ancillary. Bihar in 1989 had the largest number of registered working factories—50,800 in India⁶⁶. However, there were heavy displacements of tribal by development projects in the Jharkhand region. Like for example there were 3,546 acres of tribal land acquired by the state in TISCO (1907). In 1958 for HEC project about 9,200 acres was captured by the state, 25 villages, 12,990 tribals were displaced, for Bokaro Steel Plant about 40 villages and , 12, 487 tribals were displaced and in Subarnarekha Project about 80 per cent and 87.92 per cent of tribal families were displaced from Icha and Chandil region. In Neharat field firing range and Koel-Karo project nearly 90 percent and 70 per cent of tribal families were displaced respectively⁶⁷

Bihar in the period before its division emerged as a 'mafia-infested islands in an ocean of economic backwardness, social displacement and environmental degradation'. Present Jharkhand was an important scam root where there was nexus of bureaucratic-politician -contractor-criminal. Bifurcation has made the politicians to start firing development salvos and has become the slogan of the discredited political class. Bihar in dominant framework of economic development has always been figured as an agricultural State therefore, industrialisation with an exception of few islands of Jamshedpur, Bokaro and Ranchi, was never given a priority. There is an argument on Bihar State of it's as withering away. Privatisation in

⁶⁶SrikantGhosh, 2000, p3

⁶⁷Sharat Kumar and Sanjay Jha (eds). Development of Bihar and Jharkhand: problems and prospects . 2001. Delhi, P.61.

Bihar means its own version of privatisation with a group of competitive mafia gang specialised in it⁶⁸.

Laloo's flamboyant claim of division of Bihar and Jharkhand over his dead body, we see him playing politics of package for compensating Bihar. After Laloo's roar over making of Jharkhand, Deepankar Bhattacharya says that;

He then switched over to tall talk of a vague Bihar package of a mind-bog-ogling magnitude like Rs 1, 79,000 crores. Well, apart from giving us some idea about the RJD's understanding of comparative human economics -for example, the going rate of compensation for poor victims of Ranvir Sena is Rs 1, 00,000 while the opportunity cost of keeping Laloo Prasad alive is estimated at Rs 1, 79,000 crores - the package really gave us little clue as to how it might help mitigate Bihar's economic plight. Also, there was never any political indication as to how, if at all, Laloo Prasad proposed to secure a package of that order from the centre. And now, before any bargaining could really begin, the state government has already scaled down its demand to Rs 30,000 crores⁶⁹

Thus we see the growth of 'politics of package'⁷⁰ after bifurcation. When we look into the growth performance of Bihar from the period of 1981 to 2002 we will find that the from 1981 to 1991 we see a GDP of 4.9 which went to 0.0 in the period between 1990 to 1995, this was not only the time when there was a huge agrarian uproar in the State with the emergence of Ranvir Sena, where this State witnessed mass massacres. As an agrarian economy one of the reasons for the sudden null performance can be attributed to it. Divided Bihar again gives a figure of 3.8 per cent of GDP, in the period between 1994 to 2002. This means that the bifurcation did not have heavy dent on the state of Bihar as held by Deepankar Bhattacharya. Also see Table no 9 (a) and (b) given below for post bifurcation growth performance and revenue performance, for better understanding of the performance of the state after its division.

⁶⁸Dipankar Bhattacharya. 2000. pp.3800-3804.

⁶⁹ibid. p. 3802.

⁷⁰ ibid.

Growth performance of Bihar: 1981-82 to 2001-2002

	Former Bihar 1981-82 to 1990-91	Former Bihar 1991-92 to 1995-96	Divided Bihar 1994-95 to 2001-02
GDP	4.9	0.0	3.8
Agriculture	4.6	-2.0	0.8
Industry	5.2	0.5	10.5
Services	5.6	2.2	6.4
	Former Bihar 1981-82 to 1990-91	Former Bihar 1991-92 to 1995-96	Divided Bihar 1994-95 to 2001-02
GDP	5.6	5.4	6.1
Agriculture	3.6	2.3	3.0
Industry	7.1	6.3	6.4
Services	6.5	7.0	8.0

Note: Period growth rate is the average of annual growth rates over the period.
Source: central Statistical Organization, Gol.

Table 9 (a) : Shows growth performance of Bihar before and after its bifurcation: Source: Bihar Towards a Development Strategy: A World Bank Report (2005) p. 42.

Post Bifurcation Revenue performance 2002-03

In Rs. crore	2001-02	2002-03	2002-03 share (%)	Growth
Total own revenues	2606	3022	27.5	19.1
Taxes	2334	2761	25.0	19.0
Sales tax	1413	1647	15.0	15.1
Stamp duty	304	348	3.2	31.4
Excise	239	242	2.2	4.6
Other taxes	378	524	4.6	32.8
Non taxes	469	261	2.4	-31.1
Transfers from center	7234	7946	72.4	17.0
Shared taxes	6177	6549	59.7	8.6
Grants	1057	1397	12.7	66.2
Total revenues	9839	10968	100	17.6

Table 9 (b): Shows Revenue Performance of the State after Bifurcation: Source: World Bank Report 2005, Bihar: Towards Development Strategy

The making of Jharkhand is not viewed as a very big threat to Bihar's economy for two reasons (i) as it was treated as agrarian economy despite of all its

potential to become a successful industrial hub of the nation (ii)The bifurcation did not have a heavy dent also due to its already stagnating economy. However, from the historical point of view of the State- Bihar's bifurcation was definitely one of the most important break from the past, where we see Bihar only for Biharis, devoid of Adivasis, mineral resources and left with half shared historical past. As in the starting of this chapter it has already mentioned about the emergence of Nitish politics of development with his very own category defining the poor and the weaker sections with the terms like 'Mahadalits', making it possible for him to get popularity among poorer sections of the state and the ones who felt deceived by Laloo version of social justice. Thus it becomes important to go through the works and politics being played by Nitish in the state, which earned its name for underdevelopment and violence in the past.

Nitish's Vision and Bihar (2005- Present):

When Nitish became the C.M of Bihar it was the large number of NDA support came from the forward castes which included OBC's including Kurmis and Most Backward class (MBC), see the tables 9 (a), (b), (c), (d) and Muslims, which also included backward Muslims- who later on found themselves excluded of RJD's social justice plank⁷¹. The agenda which made JDU and BJP alliance to win in elections was development and governance, which can also be attributed to last minutes decision like dropping of 'Bataidari bill'⁷². Nitish Kumar in an attempt to protect the vote bank of high castes dropped the 'Bataidari bill' at the last minute and did not implement other major elements of the Bandyopadhyay's Report on Land Reform. Nitish Kumar correctly calculated and decided that if he goes for land reform, he would lose the votes of high castes (who own most agricultural land) to Congress. He consolidated his core support base of Kurmi-Koeri alliance

⁷¹RanjanKumar .*Bihar Development Matters*. Economic and Political Weekly. Vol. XLIV. No.39.September 26. 2009. p. 142.

⁷² Bataidari Bill is a Share cropper bill which is seen against land-owning the upper caste mostly Rajputs and Bhumihar. It is seen as the most controversial bill and the issue of Bataidari or right of the tenants. It is basically against absentee landlordism. For detail see Government of India. "Development Challenges in Extremist affected areas". *A Report of an Expert group to Planning Commission*. GoI. New Delhi 2000. Pp. 45-48.

who were, once the main beneficiaries of the Green Revolution of the state⁷³ (as mentioned elsewhere in the chapter).

However this government had and has to face problem coming from every area of governance, along with the problem of presence of criminal profile legislators. The 2009 election in Bihar was remarkable because it was seen that caste no longer remained the potent factor in electoral win in Bihar. If we look into some of the voting patterns of some of the groups such as Koeris and Kurmis votes for JDU from the beginning, we will find that there was 69 per cent in 1996 Lok Sabha elections which fell down to 62 per cent in 2009 Lok Sabha elections, it was highest in 1999 with 71 per cent of support to JDU. If we look into the upper caste vote in 1996, it was highest with 77 per cent of votes went on falling in the subsequent elections and stabilized at 65 per cent in October assembly elections of 2005 and Lok Sabha elections in 2009 respectively. It was the decisive vote contribution by the lower OBC's in 2009 Lok Sabha elections which gave both JDU and BJP alliance, a historical victory after 14 years of Laloo's rule, it was highest ever with 58 per cent of vote went to JDU and BJP alliance and only 12 per cent remained with RJD. This is significant to note because the sudden backlash of Yadavs in the elections, shows that Laloo's Charisma based on his manipulation of caste factor by his assurances to provide social justice to the lower caste especially Yadavs after post-Mandal developments, did not work anymore. In the case of dalit support, RJD has always enjoyed the support of this community, which is also the case in 2009 Lok Sabha elections in which 29 per cent went into the side of JDU and BJP alliance and RJD was able to beg 31 per cent of their votes⁷⁴. However, one is to mark that, the voting turn outs were very low both in cases of Dalits and Yadavs, when compared to voters of other social groups. However, if one analyses the given table 10 (a), (b), (c), (d) below one cannot deny that it was the development by Nitish in his previous term which has worked for Nitish' JDU-BJP alliance in the election of 2009.

⁷³Syed Shahabuddin. Mainstream. Vol. XLIX. No. 6. January 29. 2011. Thoughts on Bihar Assembly Elections 2010.

⁷⁴Ranjan Kumar .2009. Pp.142-44.

Table 10 (a): The Polarised Kurmi+Koeri Vote for JD(U)+BJP (in %)

1996 LokSabha	69
1998 LokSabha	–
1999 LokSabha	71
2000 assembly	50
2004 LokSabha	64
2005 February assembly	40
2005 October assembly	61
2009 LokSabha	62

Table 10 (b): Upper Caste Stood Behind the JD (U) + BJP since the Very Beginning (in %)

1996 LokSabha	77
1998 LokSabha	75
1999 LokSabha	71
2000 assembly	49
2004 LokSabha	63
2005 February assembly	50
2005 October assembly	65
2009 LokSabha	65

Table 10 (c): The Decisive Shift in the Lower OBC Vote from RJD+ to JD (U) + (in %)

	RJD+	JD (U) +BJP
1996 LokSabha	37	36
1998 LokSabha	26	41
1999 LokSabha	30	45
2000 assembly	35	25
2004 LokSabha	38	36
2005 February assembly	24	26
2005 October assembly	22	48
2009 LokSabha	12	58

Figure for 1996 refers to vote share for JD since RJD came into being in 1998.

Figures reported in the table are vote share for the RJD with its allies amongst Muslims. The RJD contested various elections in alliance with different political parties.

[1996, RJD+ CPI+ CPM, 1998 RJD+INC+JMM, 1999 RJD+INC, 2000 RJD+CPM+M-COR, 2004, RJD+INC+LJP+NCP, 2005 February RJD+CPI+CPM+NCP, 2005 October RJD+INC+CPM+NCP, 2009 RJD+LJP.

Table 10 (d): Fragmentation in the Dalit Vote (in %)

	RJD+	JD (U) +BJP
1996 LokSabha	31	28
1998 LokSabha	32	22
1999 LokSabha	39	44
2000 assembly	31	29
2004 LokSabha	42	28
2005 February assembly	23	20
2005 October assembly	20	15
2009 LokSabha	31	29

Source: Economic and Political Weekly, vol. XLIV, No, 39, September 26, 2009.

The agenda which worked magical for Nitish that is 'development and good governance', in the assembly election of 2005 needs a mention here. When Nitish came into power, as told earlier, he was hobbled with the mal-administration, criminal legislator in Bihar legislative assembly and police force and corruption as a regular normalized practice. However he started with the basic by promising the people of Bihar with an environment of peace and harmony, development with Justice for all sections and classes of society. In addition to it, gaining a respectable identity for Bihar and Biharis in Indian State and rebuilding the collapsed administration and establishing good governance in the State. According to a report card published by the government of Bihar named '*NyayKeSath: VikasYatra, PanchvaVarsh*' 2010, in the past four and a half year more than 47,000⁷⁵ criminal got punishment for their crime. The growth rate of Bihar in Nitish Kumar's rule, as claimed in the report card is stable at 16. 59 per cent and annual growth rate at the current rate is 24.33 per cent⁷⁶. The plan size which was Rs.1, 471 crores in 2001-02 has gone upto Rs. 20, 000 crores in 2010-11⁷⁷. The plan expenditure which was Rs. 3196 crores in 2004-05 has gone upto Rs. 14, 179 crores in 2009-10⁷⁸. The State revenue which was Rs. 3,347 crores in 2004-05 went to all time high of Rs. 8,130 crores in 2009-10. There are as many as more than 40 policies running in the State in his five years of rule. Some of the names of the policies which are gaining huge popularity are: 'MukhyaMantriBalika Cycle Yojana', 'MukhyaMantriBalak Cycle Yojana', 'MukhyaMantriBalikaPoshak Yojana', 'MukhyaMantriPoshak Yojana', 'MukhyaMantriMaha Dalit PoshakYojana', 'MukhyaMantriAtyantPichada VargMedhavritiyojana', 'MukhyaMantriKanyaVivah Yojana', 'MukhyaMantri Gram Sadak Yojana', 'MukhyaMantriSetu Yojana', 'MukhyaMantriBeejVistar Yojana', 'MukhyaMantri Nagar VikasYojan and many more⁷⁹. All these policies

⁷⁵ Government of Bihar. *NyayKeSath: VikasYatra, PanchvaVarsh*. 2010. Patna. p.x.

⁷⁶ ibid.

⁷⁷ ibid., p. xi.

⁷⁸ ibid.

⁷⁹ ibid.

and programs run by his government are devoted for the purpose of educating masses, empowering women by giving fifty per cent of reservation, developing roads and communication. Nitish development approach is much wider and emphasize is on infrastructure and also technology development for attracting investment in the State. The problem of this state is that of electricity, the problem has got worsen after Bihar's division, as it is left with no other option. For the problem of electricity, Centre is the only available choice for aid; therefore Bihar needs to look out for some other possibilities apart from the popular ways of generating electricity. The State is demanding the 'Special Category Status'⁸⁰ for gaining better packages from the Centre, which is required for its development. He also ended M.L.A fund, which came into effect in the financial year of 2011. The idea behind ending this fund is to save a huge amount of Rs.318 crores annually, which will save Rs.1590 crores in five years⁸¹. Planning and development department has been made the nodule agency for planning of various projects. There has been large number of recruitment of policeman in all Thana of Bihar⁸². In an article published in *Mainstream*, 'Bihar: Triumphant Truncated Area Development', J. George gives some interesting Data related to agriculture. He says:

The facts that 12.5 per cent of the number of operational holdings and 6.6 per cent of the operational area—second highest in the country in both the cases—are in Bihar. Besides, 5.4 per cent of country's total area under food grains produces a mere four per cent here, while Haryana with a 3.5 per cent area produces about 6.6 per cent of the total food grains production in the country. The case of Punjab is also informative as with a similar (5.3 per cent) land area under food grains to the all-India total, the production contribution is a whopping 13 per cent. The key difference, however, is in the lives of the people, particularly 90 per cent belonging to the marginal and small farmers (1.16 million) category that are able to operate against heavy odds of tenancy arrangement only on about half of the 10.743 million operational hectares in Bihar. Hence, the inclusive approach needs to reach out to these bottom millions⁸³.

⁸⁰ S.P. Shukla "For Bihar. For India". in H.K. Sinha (ed.), *Development at the Crossroads: Impact on Rural Development*. New Delhi, p.3.

⁸¹ *MagadhVichar: Hindi MansikPatrika*. RNI No.-BIH/HIN/4991. Dec. 2010. p.3.

⁸² *ibid*.

⁸³ J.George. Bihar: Triumphant Truncated Area Development *Mainstream*. Vol. XLIX. No. 14. March 26. 2011

The planned spending of the State has been taken care during the first three years of his rule to improve the conditions of small farmers and tenants or bataidars. In addition to it the State's economic survey ratifies that nearly three-fourths of Bihar's expenditure comes from the Centre this was merely two fifth in the year 2003-04⁸⁴. The planned spending during Nitish Kumar's second term is helping to obtain encouraging environment for market. The planned expenditure which was 4466 crores in 2005-06 went up to 14179 crores of Rupees 2009-10⁸⁵. This would prompt correction in the marketing institution as private institutions, brought in as stakeholders by either retreating the State's institutions or by out-sourcing the public institution's critical role. However, this did not measure up to the challenge of the inclusive growth framework. J. George forwards that the mantra for running a successful administration in Bihar would be LOADS—leadership, ownership (I versus we), accountability, decentralisation (in an effective manner) and sustainability that will value regenerative principles of the Nalanda school of thought⁸⁶. This means that a good leadership will create an aura of generating cooperative way of thinking which would foster policies like cooperative farming, cooperative dairy-which is currently running successfully in many parts of the State, proper functioning and maximum participation from all section and proper and optimum use of available resources is required for Bihar to come back in the list developed States of India.

Earlier investment in Bihar was not a feasible option for the market gurus. But the environment has changed; the government is doing everything to change the maligned image of the State. The Government of Bihar has now new programs to attract investment in various sectors like for example, Investment in land for technical institutes will cost the investors only 50 per cent and the rest will be borne by the State including cutting the rate for registration to 50 per cent. This is done with an idea to bring investment in medical, engineering and management institutes

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

⁸⁵ *NayKeSath: VikasYatra, PanchvaVarsh*, 2010, p.46.

⁸⁶ J.George, March 26, 2011.

in the State⁸⁷. For improving infrastructure in the State, the Government has taken an initiative to restructure the loss-making Bihar State Electricity Board. The State Cabinet has given its approval for the proposal to split the BSEB into six separate companies. This includes creation of the Bihar State Electricity Company, Bihar State Production and Trans-mission Company, Patna Electricity Supply Company, North Bihar Production and Trans-mission Company and North-East Bihar Electrical Company⁸⁸. Let us see some of the figure reflecting some of the achievements given in his report cards published by his government in terms of revenue growth of the state. See table no 11 (a) and (b) for details.

REGISTRATION

SL.NO	YEAR	REVENUE	GROWTH RATE
1	2005-06	566.36	-
2	2006-07	540.37	-4
3	2007-08	694.37	29%
4	2008-09	771.00	11%
5	2009-10	1150.00	49%

Table 11 (a) Shows Average growth rate of revenue collection: 21 %. Source: Report card 2010, Government of Bihar, 'Nyayakesath: Vikasyatra, Panchvavarsh'

EXCISE

SL.NO	YEAR	REVENUE	GROWTH RATE
1	2005-06	319.70	17%
2	2006-07	383.87	20%
3	2007-08	535.56	40%
4	2008-09	749.15	40%
5	2009-10	1098.66	47%

⁸⁷ Subodh Kumar, "Nitish's Bihar Vision", *Mainstream*, Vol. XLIV, No.49, November 25, 2006.

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

TABLE 11 (b): shows average growth rate of revenue collection: 33 %. Source: Report card 2010, Government of Bihar, 'Nyaya Ke Sath: Vikas Yatra, Panchva Varsh'

Nitish government has flooded Bihar with too many policies. However, not to deny the fact that most of these policies were already running before his rule. Problem can come from many directions as he promises too many things at a time. His way of development can be characterized as 'multidimensional', which can prove to be biggest problem in governance as it demands lots of funds and efficient bureaucracy. Too many promises has tied hopes of million people in Bihar. Any analysis of Nitish's work, demands time to keep an eye over style of working. Moreover, it will be too early to give any critical analysis at this stage. The reason behind it is two: (i) looking at the time and condition of the State, Nitish strategy seems to be appropriate at present (ii) Results of his achievement can only be measured in the coming time. As for now it can be said that, a ray of hope has been instilled among the masses with the change in the Leadership of State.

Conclusion:

The political economy of Bihar is a product of agrarian problem in the initial stages and caste problem in the middle stage, topped with the early exploitative social relation and finally debauched leadership. The spell of underdevelopment in the state is such that it has gradually and unconsciously been accepted as a normal state of affairs. Being the richest in resource, no length of acts and land reform policies helped it out of the 'Hobbesian state of nature'. Charles Tilly in his attempt to define the causes of violence stated 'exploitation and opportunity hoarding'⁸⁹, as the main source of violence in the society because it the result of social inequality. The capacity of the State in Bihar (see figures related to it, given in the chapter) is basically marred by its corrupt leadership, who may be charismatic but had no plans for proper running of the state. Laloo's case is considered the worst among all; when the state witnessed all time high rates of violent activities, non-development and non-utilisation of resources, and bad caste based political and

⁸⁹Charles Tilly. *The Politics of Collective violence*. Cambridge. 2003. p.10.

administrative management. With the rise of JDU, some hope among the economists and political analysts has awakened for some good performance in economic and social development. However Nitish's problem of implementing the projects is very different from what other States face because population density is the second highest in the country, there is absence of a market mechanism, large scale migration from the state also means heavy loss of human resource which can be used in reconstruction programs. The problem of Naxalism has gradually engulfed the State. Rural poverty very high, while the all-India average landless agricultural workers come to 66.52 per cent, it is 79.07 per cent in this State. What is more surprising and problematic is that only four per cent of the population controls about 80 per cent of the total agricultural land. A need to carry forward the objective of socially comprehensive development is required. Also Bihar's decay can be located in the decline of its once-vibrant academic life. If steps are not taken in this direction speedily enough, then a State that John Houlton described as being "the heart of India" will die unsung⁹⁰.

⁹⁰Subodh Kumar. November 25. 2006

CHAPTER 4:

Interrogating Development and Violence:

A Case Study of Bhojpur

The previous chapter, examined the avenues through which, development deficiency which itself is the product of the state incapacity, creates a condition where societal violence be it in form of Senas or Naxalites, becomes inevitable. This chapter endeavor to substantiate this line of argument by presenting a case study of Bhojpur. Bihar, wherein it will be demonstrated how the institutions of the state like bureaucracy, actors like political leader and their *aides-de-camp* in the form of SHGs and NGO's, in pursuance of the goal of development; the meaning of which involves not only equity and growth but question of recognition and redistribution, especially in a caste divided society like Bihar,- can be seen within the spectrum. The politics of this State is very central for the socio-politico and economic outcomes. Bihar is enduring in accordance to its own political understanding, societal norms, which in turn has got mixed with other arenas thereby giving birth to caste politics, socio-political factors influencing economic performance, 'blurred boundaries' between local bureaucracy and common masses etc. In context of Bihar state's 'legibility' of its population does not come for administrative convenience but for survival of its political actors. Therefore, in its constant fight for survival, political actors had successfully hit on the identity appeal in the past. Thus we see caste politics and political violence as an outcome, where one is constantly trying to outshine the 'other'- be it through the call for social justice, or land right for the poor tenants, thus ending it up in an obnoxious vote bank politics. This is how postcolonial societies has been characterized, by many scholars like Hamza Alavi, Joel Migdal¹, whose proposition can be applied to the initial stage of leadership in Bihar and later on a shift which can be seen in the form of leadership been taken over by the suppressed and the exploited; thereby creates a

¹ Hamza Alavi. (1972). 'The State in Postcolonial Societies: Pakistan and Bangladesh'. where he speaks of over developed state apparatus based on historical specificity of post-colonial societies (i) structural changes brought about by the colonial experience and alignment of classes and super-structure of political and administrative institution established in that context (ii) radical realignments of class forces which have been brought about in the post-colonial situation. p.145. Also see Joel Migdal (1988). p.4.

disjuncture from their proposition. This chapter is an attempt to show the actual ground realities vis-a-vis on three important variables of the research-state capacity, violence and development. The rationale behind selecting Bhojpur District, as an area of study is that, it lies in that part of Bihar which witnessed early uprising of the Naxalite movement in late 1970's. The place witnessed a direct clash between the exploiters and the exploited which occurred under the guidance of political ideology of the left, but soon came to acquire a clash between the lower castes and the upper caste instead of maintaining a class based understanding of the society. As the socialist leader Dr. Rammanohar Lohia puts in his 1955 *Wheel of History*: 'Class is mobile caste. Caste is immobile class. Every society has or civilization has known this movement from class to caste and vice versa'². This study attempts to revisit the place after 40 years of violent social struggle in the district of Bhojpur. However, one needs to know that these 40 years has been the years of intense struggle of the labouring tenants against the land-owner and the land-owner against the politically powerful group for upward mobility. Formation of Senas since the 1970's, till the early 1990's, along with the formation of Ranvir Sena and the political killings is an example of this prolonged struggle. The 'immobile' classes of Bhojpur were the prima facie of a strong revolutionary movement in the state- where we see Ranvir Sena took birth in Belaure (Bhojpur), in of protecting the interest of the landowners against the Naxalites- who were fighting for the poor lower caste'³.

If we look at the statistical backdrops of the district of Bhojpur, we see that it comprises of a total area of 2,424 square.kilometers (955 square. miles), inhabited by a total population of 2,243,144 (as per the 2001 census), of which the SC population was 15.3 and the ST was 0.4 per cent. Literacy rate of Bhojpur was 59.71 per cent, while the sex ratio was 902. The proportion of the urban population was 13.9, which is one of the highest among the districts of Bihar along with Patna, Nalanda, Sheikhpura, Lakhisarai, Munger, and Bhagalpur. Rural population of the district was 1, 930,730 and urban population was

² Kalyan Mukherji and Rajendra Singh Yadav. *Bhojpur: Naxalism in the Plains of Bihar* , New Delhi. 1980. p.10.

³ Arun Kumar. "Violence and Political Culture: Politics of Ultra-Left in Bihar", *Economic and Political weekly*, Vol 38. No 47. Nov 22-28. 2003 . p.4977

312,414. Total number of literates was 1, 073,010 and total number of illiterates' was 1,170,134 in which 74.3 per cent were male and 41.8 per cent were female⁴.

This chapter is divided in five parts. The first part delineates the methodological frame of the study, including details of the respondents interviewed and the rationale behind choosing the area of study. In the second part we will look at some of the datasets which would include development in the sphere of agriculture. The third part will see some of the datasets related to industrial and infrastructural development. The fourth part will be based on the analysis of the work done by Nitish government (2005-present), in the sphere of social sector. The last part will focus on some of the datasets related to violence and crime in the State in general and Bhojpur in particular. This would be followed by data on some important issues of development and violence based on the interviews conducted from general population, which in turn will be followed by overall observations.

Methodological Note:

Area of the field work was Bhojpur. Two Blocks were selected Bihiya and Sahar. The rationale for choosing Bihiya was that it was found to be developed and peaceful. This block is connected with a main road and there is railway line connecting it to the rest of the Bihar. Thus there is easy communication and developed market. Moreover it is peaceful in terms of caste violence. Moreover it was found to be secure. The rationale for choosing Sahar was that it was found to be remote and less developed when compared to Bihiya. The history of peasant revolution shows that Sahar is a place that witnessed many violent incidents. Ekwari village was called the 'Naxalbari of Bhojpur'. In terms of communication and development this block is behind Bihiya and an environment of mistrust prevails here due to presence of big landlords constituted mainly by Bhumihar and Rajput.

On a comparative note, Bihiya's road and communication system is better than that of Sahar. People trust each other in Bihiya which I found missing in Sahar. However if we

⁴ Government of India, "Primary Census Abstract: Census of India 2001". *Office of the registrar General*. New Delhi, 2001.

compare the statistical data of both the Blocks, we will find that there is hardly much difference in both the Blocks. In terms of literacy rate and employment (For details see table. 2 (a) and (b) given below). If we look at the Bihiya Block, the total population of this block is 139,374 with 78 villages and 1 town. The literacy rate is 57.04 per cent out of which female literacy rate is 39.86 per cent and male literacy rate is 72.42 per cent. Sahar with a total population of 99,585- is constituted by 51 villages and 0 towns. The literacy rate is 57.12 per cent. The female literacy rate is 38.98 per cent while male literacy rate is 74.24 per cent⁵.

The total working population of Bihiya is 32.8 per cent out of which which 53 per cent is the men are working population and 10.41 per cent are women. The Main workers constitute 26.7 per cent out of the total population; 46.32 per cent of the men are Main workers and 4.8 per cent of the women are Main workers. While the Marginal workers are 6.18 per cent out of the total population, 6.68 per cent of them are men while 5.61 per cent of them are women. The total non-working population is 67.13 per cent of the total population, out of which 47 per cent of them are men and 89.59 per cent of them are women⁶.

If we compare the statistical data of Sahar Block, we will find that the number of households in Sahar is 15,547 per cent (based on 2001 census). All the households are rural and there are no urban households. Female to male ratio of this block is 94.35 per cent compared to the State's female to male ratio 91.93 per cent. It is unsatisfactory and the people should drive some campaign to improve this. The literacy rate of the Block is 47 per cent compared to the literacy rate of state 47 per cent. The literacy rate of this Block is very low and needs immediate attention of Union and State Government. The female literacy rate is 38.98 per cent, compared to male which is 74.24 per cent. The total working population is 46.06, out of it 60.32 per cent of them are men and 30.95 per cent of them

⁵ Government of India, "Bihiya Block Demographic statistics report". *Census Report of India*, office of the Registrar. New Delhi. 2001.

⁶ *ibid.*

are women. The Main working population is 29.57 out of it, 48.01 per cent of them are men and 10.04 per cent of them are women. While the Marginal working population constitute 16.49 per cent of the total population out of which 12.31 per cent of them are men and 20.91 per cent of them are women. The total non-working population is 53.94 per cent out of it 39.68 per cent of them are men and 69.05 per cent of them are women⁷. See table 1 (a) and (b) for a detailed statistical data on the Block;

Statistical Data of Bihiya Block, Census Report 2001

Parameters	Total	Male	Female	Rural	Urban	Rural Male	Rural Female	Urban Male	Urban Female
Population	139,374	73,062	66,312	118,633	20,741	62,082	56,551	10,980	9,761
Population Below 6 years	26,365	13,456	12,909	22,744	3,621	11,612	11,132	1,844	1,777
Scheduled Caste	21,627	11,449	10,178	19,596	2,031	10,409	9,187	1,040	991
Scheduled Tribe	1,079	581	498	636	443	348	288	233	210
Literate	64,455	43,166	21,289	51,865	12,590	35,548	16,317	7,618	4,972
Working Population	37,148	31,591	5,557	32,224	4,924	27,181	5,043	4,410	514
Main Working Population	30,169	27,608	2,561	25,752	4,417	23,556	2,196	4,052	365
Marginal Working Population	6,979	3,983	2,996	6,472	507	3,625	2,847	358	149
Non-Working Population	102,226	41,471	60,755	86,409	15,817	34,901	51,508	6,570	9,247
Main Working Agricultural Laborer Population	9,459	7,962	1,497	8,846	613	7,536	1,310	426	187
Main Working Cultivator Population	11,745	11,203	542	11,473	272	10,941	532	262	10
Main Working House Works Population	977	861	116	750	227	649	101	212	15
Main Working Others Population	7,988	7,582	406	4,683	3,305	4,430	253	3,152	153
Marginal Working Agricultural Laborer Population	4,304	2,383	1,921	4,145	159	2,306	1,839	77	82
Marginal Working Cultivator Population	1,371	716	655	1,361	10	707	654	9	1
Marginal Working House Works Population	317	153	164	260	57	110	150	43	14
Marginal Working Others Population	987	731	256	706	281	502	204	229	52

Table 1(a). Shows, the Statistical Data of Bihiya Block. Source: GoB, Office of Registrar, *Bihiya Block Demographic statistics report*. Source census report, Patna, 2001.

⁷ ibid

Statistical Data of Sahar Block, Census Report 2001

Parameters	Total	Male	Female	Rural	Urban	Rural Male	Rural Female	Urban Male	Urban Female
Population	99,585	51,239	48,346	99,585	0	51,239	48,346	0	0
Population Below 6 years	19,516	10,057	9,459	19,516	0	10,057	9,459	0	0
Scheduled Caste	18,323	9,583	8,740	18,323	0	9,583	8,740	0	0
Scheduled Tribe	8	5	3	8	0	5	3	0	0
Literate	45,732	30,574	15,158	45,732	0	30,574	15,158	0	0
Working Population	36,878	24,842	12,036	36,878	0	24,842	12,036	0	0
Main Working Population	23,677	19,773	3,904	23,677	0	19,773	3,904	0	0
Marginal Working Population	13,201	5,069	8,132	13,201	0	5,069	8,132	0	0
Non Working Population	62,707	26,397	36,310	62,707	0	26,397	36,310	0	0
Main Working Agricultural Laborer Population	10,339	7,818	2,521	10,339	0	7,818	2,521	0	0
Main Working Cultivator Population	9,532	8,530	1,002	9,532	0	8,530	1,002	0	0
Main Working House Works Population	672	541	131	672	0	541	131	0	0
Main Working Others Population	3,134	2,884	250	3,134	0	2,884	250	0	0
Marginal Working Agricultural Laborer Population	8,996	3,514	5,482	8,996	0	3,514	5,482	0	0
Marginal Working Cultivator Population	3,002	1,003	1,999	3,002	0	1,003	1,999	0	0
Marginal Working House Works Population	427	153	274	427	0	153	274	0	0
Marginal Working Others Population	776	399	377	776	0	399	377	0	0

Table 1 (b): Shows, the Statistical Data of Sahar Block. Source: GoB, Office of Registrar, *Sahar Block Demographic statistics report*. Source: Census Report, Patna, 2001.

The total number of respondent from general population interviewed in each Blocks was 15. It was a snow- balling method of selection. However, the age limit of the interviewees was between 18 to 65 years. The interviews were conducted on the class basis as it was found that many of the backward caste people with good income. Number of panchayats members interviewed, were three out of which, two were women mukhiyas, who were from Bihiya and one sarpanch was interviewed in Sahar. Bureaucrats interviewed were constituted by D.M of Bhojpur Dr. Pratima Verma, District Development Commissioner

Amar Chatterji and Naxal ADM of Bhojpur Rajiv Chauhan along with Steno of D.M Dubeji.

Political actors were also interviewed, constituted M.L.A of Shahpur Munni Devi Bisheshwar Ojha local bahubali of Shahpur and also brother-in-law of Munni Devi, a Chief of one of the leading Sena, Chairman of cooperative bank in Bihiya Block Shri Rajender Ojha (he was former State chairman of BJP) and former SUCI worker Shri Bhagwan Ojha. NGO's contacted and interviewed were BAIF's chairman Shri Rajendra Ojha , Karma Bhoomi, an NGO in which project manager cum protection officer Ms. Anupama Shrivastav was interviewed. As an agrarian economy the importance of agriculture of the state cannot be ignored for the study. Agricultural development constitutes a very important part in this study, so let us see some of the dataset to analyze its implication on this study.

Agriculture in Bihar:

Agriculture is the backbone of the Bihar's economy. Although, the share of the State GSDP in agriculture sector has been falling over the years and at present it forms only one-fifth of the GSDP. However, agriculture nevertheless would be the mainstay of the people of Bihar⁸.

As per economic survey of Bihar 2010-11, the average annual rainfall in Bihar for the past decade i.e. 2000 to 2009 was assessed to be 1091.08 mms. However in 2005, the rainfall was 897.40 mms and in 2009 it was 868.61 mms. This is an indication of severe nature's mar on the agricultural economy of Bihar and the drought situation in 2005 and 2009 is an example of severe loss. The area under cultivation has undergone a marginal change. In the year 2007-08, the total net sown area was 60.5 per cent which is higher when compared to 59.4 per cent in 2005-06. Thus, an increase in net sown area of 109 thousand hectares can be seen. The crop intensity has also increased marginally i.e. From 1.33 in 2005-06 to 1.37 in 2007-08. This implies an additional 368 thousand hectares of land

⁸ Economic survey of Bihar 2010-11, GOB: Finance Department, p. 30

under cultivation in 2007-08 over 2005-06. A decrease in the fallow land has been registered in 2007-08. This indicates that, with growing population, the pressure on land is now higher than ever before. This also indicates that with the growing population the pressures on the land is growing higher making policies related to land reforms ineffective. For policy makers distribution of land resource to resolve the issue related to land reform must take this point into account. At the moment cooperative agriculture seems to be an effective solution, however caste division is a problem which comes in its way⁹.

Switching over to the irrigation, one can see that there has been an increase in the total irrigation area from the period since 2000-01 to 2008-09, from 44.6 lakh hectares to 49.2 lakh hectares. In 2008-09, about 55.3 per cent of the total irrigated area came from tube-wells (both private and state). These tube-wells mostly run on diesels which is expensive, in the absence of adequate supply of power. Irrigation from surface canals, both major & minor, is significant in 8 districts – Rohtas, Kaimur, Bhojpur, Buxar, Aurangabad, Banka, Munger and Lakhisarai. These areas are rice producing districts. Farmer's training through Farmers Field Schools (Kisan Pathsala) has gained importance in recent times. Krishi Vikash Shivir, is a programme for interaction between agricultural scientists and farmers. This programme is also providing a platform for technology-transfer in Bihar. One of the major steps in this regard is arrangement of mini-kit distributions at the Panchayat or village level. This mini-kit programme covers as many as seven crops in both kharif and rabi cultivation. In 2008-09, 3028 power tillers were provided to farmer on subsidy. The number of power tillers given to farmers rose to 4041 in 2009-10. In last two years (2008-09 and 2009-10) a total number of 7069 power tillers were given to farmer on subsidy. As a part of the process of modernization of agriculture in Bihar, the state government is providing subsidies to farmers over and above the subsidy admissible under the centrally sponsored schemes for acquisition of tractors, harvesters etc. In 2009-10, around 13.40 lakh farmers of Bihar were provided with the facility of Kisan Credit Card. For the years

⁹ This was the problem being pointed out by the DDC of Bhojpur. Mr. Amar Chatterji. According to him, 'the attitude of the people in Bihar which is characterized by 'Mera tumahara' and the severe division of caste and ownership of land in hands of few is a big problem. Thus cooperative farming is difficult in Bihar.

2004-05 to 2009-10 the actual credit flow as percentage of annual targets has been around 80 per cent¹⁰.

Cropping Pattern in Bihar

Crops	Percentage of Area								
	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09
Food grains	94.47	94.34	94.42	94.28	94.37	94.35	94.29	94.47	94.52
Cereals*	90.00	90.15	90.15	90.27	89.91	91.31	91.09	91.56	91.55
Pulses*	10.100	9.85	9.85	9.73	10.09	8.69	8.91	8.44	8.45
Oilseeds	2.04	1.98	1.84	1.90	1.91	1.99	1.97	1.95	1.89
Fibre Crops	2.25	2.16	2.31	2.41	2.24	2.15	2.12	2.12	2.06
Sugarcane	1.24	1.52	1.44	1.40	1.47	1.51	1.61	1.47	1.53
Total Area	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source : Department of Agriculture, GOB

Note* : % relate to area of Cereals & Pulses to total area under Food grains

Table 2: Shows the cropping pattern in Bihar. Source: GoB, Finance Department, *Economic Survey of Bihar*, 2010-11, Patna, p.42.

During the period 2000-01 to 2008-09, the total irrigated area has increased from 44.6 lakh hectares to 49.2 lakh hectares. A growth of 10.4 per cent over a period of 8 years in total irrigated land has been registered over the period from 2000-01 to 2008-09 i.e. an increase from 44.6 to 49.2 lakh hectares has been achieved. One of the major problems which comes in the way of spread of irrigation is that of the non-completion of major irrigation projects. This hinders the growth of canal irrigation in the state. In 2008-09, about 55.3 per cent of the total irrigated area in Bihar came from tube wells (both private and state). These tube-wells often run on diesel, which is cost a lot, due to absence of adequate supply

¹⁰ Economic survey of Bihar 2010-11, GOB: Finance Department, p.xxv-xxvii

of power. However, with the improvements in the power sector, irrigation coverage through tube-wells is likely to improve in future. There are six major sources of irrigation in Bihar, these are surface canals (major), surface canals (minor), tanks (including *ahars* and *pynes*), tube-wells, other wells along with other source. In 2009-10, canals (major and minor) provided 27.47 percent and tube-wells provided 61.39 per cent of total irrigation. Tube-wells are an extremely important source of irrigation, at present it is providing more than 50 per cent of the total irrigation in 30 districts. However, irrigation from surface canals (both major and minor) is also an important source of irrigation in 8 districts – Rohtas, Kaimur, Bhojpur, Buxar, Aurangabad, Banka, Munger and Lakhisarai. In each of these districts, surface canals provide more than 50 per cent of the irrigation facilities. All these 8 districts are notable rice producing districts of Bihar. Though the irrigation availability is decent and not so high in Bihar, however, the utilization of the available resource is very high¹¹. At present about 52 per cent of total land has irrigation facility¹².

On the concern of irrigation facility, it was informed that in Bhojpur the major thrust is given on the surface canal system for irrigational purpose; however, the problem lies in the discharge of the water from Sone canal system, which gets its share of water as a part of arrangement made between Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. The problem with this arrangement is that, both the dam and reservoir exist in M.P. and as a result Bihar does not get its specified quota of water as per the demand in the cultivation season. Bhojpur which lies in the downstream of the irrigational canal system thus deprived of its share of water. The problem does not ends here, it was informed that the water supply from the river Sone is being blocked by Rihand Dam in M.P., most of the time the water is available only when the cultivation period is over in the District. Thus, during cultivation period, Bhojpur suffers the water scarcity as there is no release of water from there. In addition to it, most of the tube wells in Bhojpur are not functioning properly due to lack of electricity

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.58.

¹² *ibid.*, p.55. For detail data see table 4.27 in p.168 of the report.

supply¹³. As per the district development official, Bhojpur has a huge potential in terms of agriculture, so much so that it can even beat Punjab and Haryana in its agriculture production, only if these problems are met and concern is shown by the central government, this problems can be sorted out. This is one of the major loopholes in the policy of agriculture in the region. As the economic Survey of Bihar depicts-Bhojpur comes under eight major districts which have a surface canal system of irrigation catering just 50 per cent of its needs¹⁴. Thus we see that there is a severe need to avail this basic facility which is an aid to increase growth in agriculture productivity.

Moving ahead on another facility in Bihar-credit to the farmers also comes as a chief concern. However, if we look at the data on the credit flows from the sources, we see quite a decent increase in the targets of the various banks (see the table given below). However if we look at the data on the target and achievement of the central cooperative bank we see that it is lesser than the rest of the banks each years and the achievement per cent is also less than the rest of the bank which is near to half of its target. In 2008-09 and 2009-10 we see a much lesser achievement i.e., 35.23 per cent and 32.58 per cent respectively.

¹³ The source of the information was DDC of Bhojpur, who was asked about the problem in agricultural development

¹⁴ Economic survey of Bihar 2010-11, GOB: Finance Department, p.168.

Agriculture Credit Flow (2004-05 to 2010-11)

Year		2004-05	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	21108-09	2009-10	2010-11, Sept 10
Commercial bank	Target	1386.39	1645.57	2274.16	3003.58	4155.15	5425.14	9111.14
	Achiev.	1325.06	1489.11	1915.91	2447.04	1942.67	4959.62	2819.20
	%age	95.58	90.51	84.24	81.47	90.52	91.42	30.94
RRBs	Target	550.86	644.26	918.67	1256.34	1821.69	2219.87	5228.25
	Achiev.	431.30	450.09	797.07	952.36	1418.24	1851.09	1178.52
	%age	78.30	69.86	84.91	75.80	78.95	81.19	22.54
CCB	Target	4112.71	407.65	509.34	619.75	898.69	1082.16	1528.72
	Achiev.	271.75	214.61	271.04	155.85	316.58	152.55	277.19
	%age	67.98	57.55	5.141	57.42	35.23	12.58	18.15
Total	Target	2119.96	2697.48	1722.17	4879.67	7075.71	8727.17	15868.11
	Achiev.	2030.11	2174.01	2985.04	1755.25	5697.49	7163.26	4275.11
	%age	86.76	80.59	80.19	76.96	80.52	82.08	26.94

Source : Department of Institutional Finance, GOB

Table 3: Shows sources of agriculture Credit flow in Bihar. Source: Gol, Department of Finance, *Economic Survey of Bihar*, Patna, 2010-11, p.68.

Another source of credit inflow in Bihar is Kisan Credit Card (KCC); it is one of the most important sources of credit inflow in recent years. It was introduced in 1999, which gives a maximum credit of Rs. 50, 000 to farmers in order to provide agricultural inputs. In 2009-10 about 13.40 lakhs farmers were the beneficiaries of this credit facility. The achievement level of KCC has been 60 per cent in 2008-09 out of the fixed target which rose up to 89.30 per cent in 2009-10. The idea behind providing credit facility is to give farmer financial assistance as well as protect them from the haunting interest rates of informal credit lending market¹⁵.

Data on District wise credit availability shows the district wise achievement of KCC in which three districts have shown remarkable work in KCC are Samastipur (79, 075), East Champaran (74,330) and West Champaran (70,194). Also, the Districts which are lagging behind are Sheohar (6, 036), Sheikpura (6,315) and Arwal (6, 691)¹⁶. In response to the

¹⁵ Government of Bihar, Finance Department, *Economic survey of Bihar*, Patna, Feb 2011, Pp.70-71.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.71.

credit availability in Bihiya, the chairman PACS (Primary Agriculture Credit Cooperative Society) provided the following information:

1. There are state cooperatives at state level, decentralised cooperative at District level. Another decentralised body is in the form of Block cooperatives which has been constituted by cooperative inspector and officer as its member, and finally there is PACS at Panchayat level constituted by a chairman and paid employer for the help. Earlier the cooperative unit use to choose its chairman. However it is from Nitish's government that the selection of chairman is done through elections under the supervision of the election-commission.
2. Credit is to be given on one acres of land is Rs. 14400 (100 Dismil) on Kharif, and on Rabi Rs. 12,100/acre thus, a total of Rs. 26,500 amount is given on one acre and total of Rs.50,000 is to be given on two acres of land. But since farmers are not so well off therefore a maximum of 25,000 is released at the ground level, as most of the farmers are unable to return it back.
3. The credit available for lending is public money and no amount is sanctioned or given by the state government or central government. For membership it is mandatory to join the cooperative community by at least one member from every household of the village. However, it was informed that since the membership is open to all, in most of the cases it has been joined by every member of the family, who are required to pay Rs.10 as a membership fees. In case of SC, ST, and OBCs, Bihar government has announced that it will pay the membership amount on their behalf.
4. There are district cooperative officer, inspector and auditor, at District level. At Block level there are Block cooperative officer, inspector and auditor and finally at the level of PACS (Primary Agricultural Credit Cooperative Society), there is only one head to look after the work. No other post for the help of chairman of PACS, for administering the work¹⁷.

¹⁷ The information was collected from the chairman of cooperative bank Shri Rajendra Ojha, Bihiya Block.

On the Credit availability, one can come to the conclusion that since land is the basis of giving credit to the farmers; therefore it means that it is of no help for the Bataidars, who cultivate most of the land in Bhojpur. As per Bataidari in Bihiya and elsewhere in Bhojpur most of the land is cultivated by these tenant farmers who are known as 'Bataidar' in which they either bear full cost of cultivational input or half of it. The availability of the credit is only for those who are the owner of at least one acres of land, thus, the category of the tenant farmer or landless farmer, does not comes under the credit lending criteria. Politics of protection of the vote banks can be identified here, as owning of a minimum of one acre of land is the basis of lending credit by the cooperative bank, which signifies that the beneficiaries will only be those who own land which are mostly constituted by upper and middle caste section. Also to save the backward caste vote the state government has announced to give membership amount of Rs.10 on behalf of every household belonging to the category of SC, ST, OBC and Mahadalit. In addition to it, whenever there is any natural calamity during cultivation season the whole cost of loss is borne by these tenant farmers and the insurance money fills the pocket of those who are the owner of that land¹⁸. Let us see some of the data based on the interview conducted from general population in relation to farmer's loan waiver.

¹⁸ This conclusion was arrived at, after the interview with the cooperative bank chairman in Bihiya Block.

Percentage Table 4: Shows the percentage of Farmers who are aware of the farmer loan waiver and who are beneficiaries

Farmers loan waiver	Heard in %	Not heard in %	Benefitted in %	Not benefitted in %	Not Applicable in %
Total % per cent of responses in both the blocks	96.7	3.3	30	10	60
Bihiya	100	-----	53.3	6.7	40.0
Sahar	93.3	6.7	43.3	13.3	43.4

Table 4: shows awareness and benefit percentage of farmers loan waiver. Source: field work survey conducted in April-May 2011.

On comparing the data of the general population between Sahar and Bihiya the following results has been found, out of the total number of respondents in Bihiya all the 100 per cent of respondents have heard about the program. In Sahar on the other hand 93.3 per cent people have heard which is near to 100 per cent. If we compare the number of beneficiaries of the farmer loan waiver we will see that total per cent of beneficiaries in Bihiya are 53.3 per cent and in Sahar it is 43.3 per cent. The total numbers of people who have not benefitted from the program are 6.7 in Bihiya and 13.3 in Sahar. Rest of the figures which are under N.A (not applicable) are those who do not come under the program.

Moving ahead to animal husbandry, we see a huge progress in Nitish Kumar's government if we look into the data on the lives stock production in Bihar, we see that there has been a considerable increase in its productivity especially in the productivity of milk which is 12.92 in annual growth rate. See the table 5 given below:

Year wise annual productivity of milk, egg and wool in Bihar (From 2001-10)

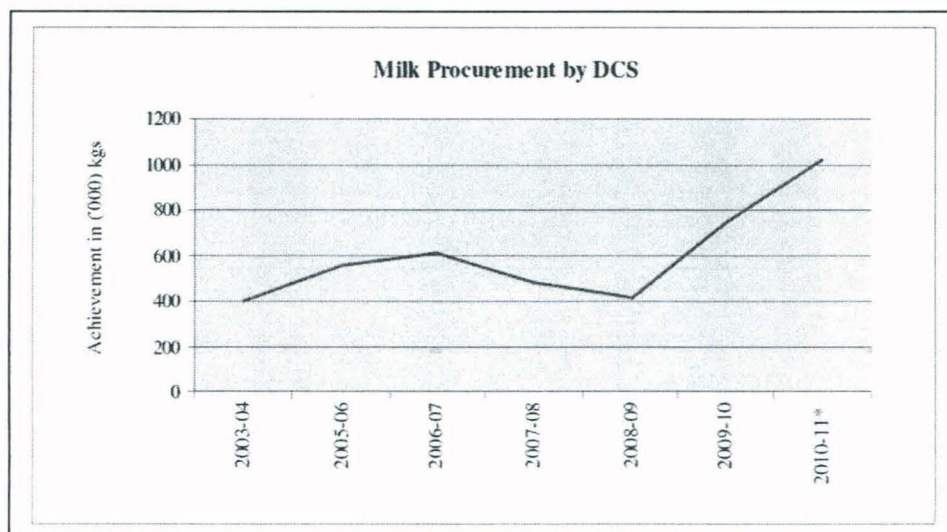
Year	Total Milk (In 000 Kg)	Egg (In Crores)	Wool (In lakh kg)
2001-02	2631790.00	74	4.24
2002-03	2869320.00	74	3.62
2003-04	3175720.00	78	3.94
2004-05	2974000.00	79	3.78
2005-06	5059529.00	100	2.20
2006-07	5449678.00	94	2.31
2007-08	5585000.00	105.50	2.42
2008-09	5933923.00	107.93	2.50
2009-10	6124018.01	110.13	2.60
Annual growth rate	12.92	6.01	-7.28

Table: 5, Shows: Year wise Annual Productivity of Milk, Egg and Wool in whole of Bihar. Source: Department of Animal Husbandry, in Government of Bihar, Finance Department, *Economic survey of Bihar*, Patna, Feb 2011.

In its attempt to improve the GoB is working in collaboration with BAIF. BAIF is a project sanctioned by the government of India, Ministry of Rural Development for setting up of 100 Cattle's Development Centres (CDC), each in Bihar and UP. This project initially covered 18 districts in UP and 13 in Bihar. Pune is the project implementing agency. The total cost of the project is 13.61 crores for each State, to be expanded over 5 years. Ministry of Rural Development has designated NABARD as a facilitator of the project for fund channelizing and monitoring. The project started in 2004-05. The plan of the project is that, each CDC (Cattle Development Centres) will take care of the area having 1500-2000 breed-able cattle population spread over 10-15 villages. The aim is to produce improved cattle's out of local non-descript, low productive animals and generation of income through production and marketing of milk under the care of CDC's. This envisions the creation of Dairy farmer's association (DFA), which is comprised of Dairy farmers, which would be instrumental in implementation of the CDC. It provides services such as artificial insemination, pregnancy diagnosis, deworming mineral supplement, and technical input on management¹⁹. As far as the productivity of the milk in

¹⁹ The information was provided by the chairman of BAIF, Bihiya Block in a face to face interview in the month of May 2011.

Bhojpur is concerned- at present the cooperative Dairy of Shahabad has come up as a huge success ranking 5th in the list with Patna at the top in milk procurement²⁰.



*upto Sept., 2010

Table 6: Shows milk procurement in Bihar. Source: Government of Bihar, Finance Department, *Economic survey of Bihar*, Patna, Feb 2011 P.101.

Thus we see that the status of agriculture has under-went decent change during Nitish Kumar's government. The achievement in agriculture can be measured from the above given data. However in context of Bihar, which was once seen as a huge potential of industrialization, a change after bifurcation is witness in terms of its potential for industrialization. Let us see, the present condition of industrialization in Bihar, after bifurcation. This is important because of the fact that industrialization is regarded important for economic growth.

Industrial and Infrastructure Status in Bihar:

In this section the focus will be on the industrial status of Bihar. The analysis will be based on the official data of the Government of Bihar and some of the data collected during field

²⁰ This information was provided by DDC of Bhojpur and also see economic survey of Bihar 2010-11, GOB: Department of Finance, p.100.

work. In addition to some of the industrial development datasets, a focus on the infrastructural development will also be given as industrial development is very closely related to the infrastructural development. The development of infrastructure creates an important base for the former. The focus in the infrastructural development would be on road and power sector.

After the Bihar and Jharkhand divide, a major concern of the policy makers in Bihar was the loss of the mineral wealth from the State. No doubt with the divide Bihar lost not only the mineral resource but also the hope for industrialization potential on larger scale. This problem on the question of the Bihar and Jharkhand bifurcation came out as major concerns for most of the bureaucrats and political leader. However, before delineating it, let us first have a look at some of the figures related to the industrialization in Bihar. In the enterprise sector, Bihar contributes a minimum part in whole of the country with only 1.22 per cent of the country's share. The industrial sector contributes only 16 per cent to its GSDP as against 26 per cent for the national average. After bifurcation Bihar is left with only 17.9 per cent of share net value added to the industrial unit in 2002-03. The remaining 82.1 per cent went to Jharkhand, thus leaving Bihar with less number of large, medium and small scale enterprises²¹. In the manufacturing sector, it contributes only 5 per cent to the GSDP. However the construction sector proved to be an important sector in the growth of the State. The construction sector is almost double in its performance in 2009-10 which is 11.18 per cent compared to 5.52 in 2004-05²².

²¹ GoB, Finance Department, *Economic survey of Bihar 2010-11*, Patna, feb, 2010-11, p. 80.

²² *ibid.*, p.80.

Proportion of Mining/Quarrying, Manufacturing, Construction and Electricity, Water Supply and Gas Units to the GDSP of Bihar

Sector	2004.05	2007-08	2009-10
1. Mining/ Quarrying	0.06	0.06	0.05
2. Manufacturing	5.79	5.31	4.16
(a) Registered	1.48	1.17	0.86
(b) Unregistered	4.30	4.14	3.31
3. Construction	5.52	1.76	11.18
4. Elect./Water.Sup./Gas	1.52	1.36	1.27
5. Total GSDP (Rs. crore) at constant prices (2004-05)	75608 (100.0)	98648 (100.0)	123489 (100.0)

Source: Department of Statistics and Evaluation, GOB

Table 7 (a): Shows proportion of Mining/Quarrying, Manufacturing, Construction and Electricity, Water Supply and Gas units in Bihar. Source: GoB, Finance Department, *Economic Survey of Bihar 2010-11*, Patna, p. 80.

Annual Survey of Industries (2005-06 and 2007-08)

Characteristics	2005-06			2007-08		
	India	Bihar		India	Bihar	
		Total	% share		Total	% share
Number of Factories	140160	1669	1.19	146385	1785	1.22
Fixed Capital (Rs. lakh)	60694028	292352	0.48	84513209	301470	0.36
Working Capital (Rs. lakh)	18446260	141541	0.77	31695306	163563	0.52
Total Persons Engaged	9111680	67447	0.74	104525.15	73676	0.70
Value of Output (Rs. lakh)	190835548	1678498	0.88	277570904	2187362	0.79
Net Value Added (Rs. lakh)	31186419	42223	0.14	48159268	115947	0.24

Source : ASI, 2005-06 and 2007-08

Table 7(b): Shows a comparative figure on Industries in India and Bihar. Source: *Economy Survey of Bihar 2010-11*, Patna p.81.

If we look at table 7 (a) given above we see that construction business has risen with 11.18 per cent in 2009-10 from 5.79 in 2004-05. Manufacturing sector has declined from 5.79 per cent in 2004-05 to 4.16 per cent in 2009-10. In addition to, if we look at the table 7

(b), we will find that share of Bihar in industrial sector has increased from 1.19 per cent in 2004-05 to 1.22 per cent in 2007-08. We also see a gradual increase in total per cent of factories in operation in Bihar, which was higher than that of the figure related to India i.e. from 85.08 per cent in 2005-06 to 90.36 per cent in 2007-08, which is higher than the percentage rate of India that is 94.80 per cent in 2005-06 to just 96.03 per cent in 2007-08, (See table 7(c) for more details). However looking at the permanent registered micro, small and medium Unit in Bihar from the year 2000-01 till the present, we see rise in artisan and tiny/micro industries. See table 7 (d) for details. Thus an overall increase in the year 2008 is seen which shows decline in 2009-10²³. Thus an overall conclusion can be made that Bihar is on a gradual track of industrialization especially when we compared data from 2001 till 2011, which shows an optimistic result.

Number of Factories in Operation (2005-06 and 2007-08)

Categories of Industry	No. of factories			Factories in operation			Percentage in Operation	
	India	Bihar	Bihar's share %	India	Bihar	Bihar's Share %	All India	Bihar
2005-06								
Agro based	61936	470	0.76	57863	440	0.76	93.50	93.62
Non-agro based	78224	1199	1.53	75028	978	1.30	95.79	81.73
Total	140160	1669	1.19	132891	1420	1.07	94.80	85.08
2007-08								
Agro based	62189	466	0.75	59124	404	0.68	95.07	86.70
Non-agro based	84196	1319	1.57	81443	1209	1.48	96.73	91.66
Total	146385	1785	1.22	140567	1613	1.15	96.03	90.36

Table 7 (c): Shows various category of factory which are in operation in India and Bihar. Source: Economy Survey of Bihar 2010-11, Patna., p.82.

²³ *ibid*, p.81-83.

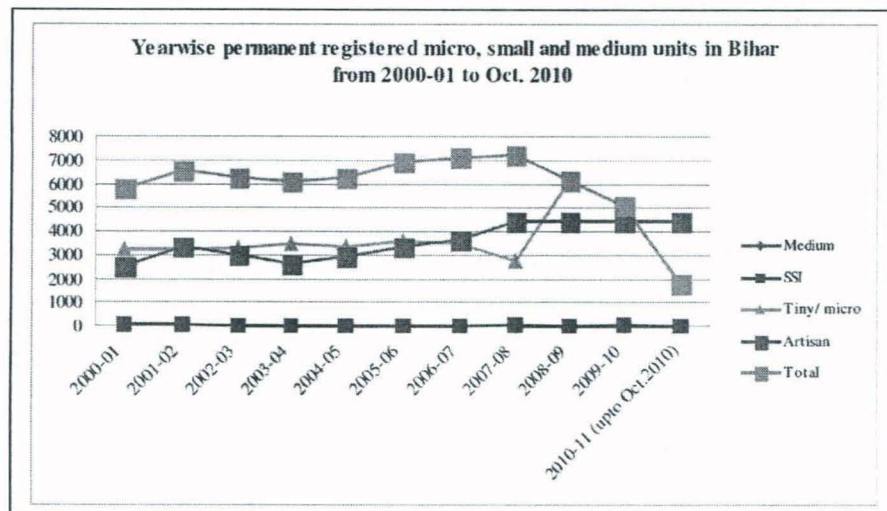


Table 7 (d): Shows registered Micro, Small, and Medium Units in Bihar. Source: Economy Survey of Bihar 2010-11, Patna., p.87.

If we look at some of the large scale units in Bihar in 2010, we can find only few of them are working. See the table 7(e) given below:

List of Large Scale units in Bihar (2010)

SL.NO	Name of the unit	Promoter	Location
1	Refined oil unit with 2.25 lakh metric tonnes capacity	M/s Jhunjhunwala Vanaspati Ltd, Varanasi.	Dehri-on-Sone Rohtas
2	Cold storage, agri-marketing yard and dry warehouse.	M/s Meera comtrade Pvt. Ltd , Patna	Narkatiyaganj, E.champaran
3	Cold storage and fruit and vegetable processing and packaging unit	M/s Sushila cold storage Pvt. Ltd, Ara	Ara, Bhojpur
4	Extra neutral alcohol plant	M/s MJ and Sons Distilleries and Breweries Pvt. Ltd, Patna	Amarpur, Banka

Table 7(e): Shows Lists of Large Scale Unit In Bihar. Source: ibid Economy Survey of Bihar 2010-11, Patna, p.84.

Besides the datasets, an important point which came out in sphere of industrial development in Bihar, is the fact that the potential of Bihar in general and Bhojpur in particular lies in its development of agro based industries like cold storage which we can see in the table. 7 (e) given above. Rice mills are also good options since the region is known for its rice production. As per the official data, Bhojpur has 286.24 thousand hectares under fruit production and output was 3252.38 thousand tonnes and 2008-09 there was decent increase in the production of the 3722.82 thousand tonnes, with 290.71 thousand hectares increase in the cultivation area²⁴. Bihar is fast growing market for food production. It has enough scope for agro based industries like cereals pulses, oilseeds, fruits, vegetable and cash crops which includes sugarcane, potato, tobacco, jute, and spices. It is the third largest vegetable producer in India after West Bengal and U.P. and sixth largest producer of fruits. However owing to the low standard of input use and technology, the overall per capita agriculture productivity of the state is lowest in the country²⁵. Lack of proper infrastructure apart from technology has been found to be major constraint in industrial development in Bihar. However information regarding some industrial initiatives in the District was sought and one such endeavor is in Koelwar, where investment by the IPL, HPCL have been done but then again electricity is a major hurdle²⁶.

In the next sub-section road and electricity will be the area of focus. The reason behind choosing these two variables as a focus area is that during the field work road construction has turned out as a major achievement of Bihar government on one hand and on the other hand, electricity has turned out to be a major problem in its way to development²⁷.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.93.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 91.

²⁶ This information was provided by the DDC of Bhojpur.

²⁷ This view is based on the field work and interview of some of the Major state and non-state actor which include bureaucrats, political leaders, Panchayat members and general population..

From the field: Information about the establishment of asbestos industries in three places of Bihar was sought, these areas were Muzzafarpur, Gidha and Bihiya. However if we look at the WHO report on asbestos, the reports says that after a prolong period, a person living under asbestos roof or workers, working in asbestos industries gets incurable cancer. This point was important because in the course of the interaction with one of the respondents in the field it was known that the Canada is the country which exports asbestos to India. The State has banned the use of it in its own country. This shows the negligent attitude of the State and also lack of concern for its people. When asked by the political leader about it, the response was that, 'before setting up of any industries in any area, one is to take NOC from the central environment body. If any such industries are being set up, it is clear that the Centre has given the permission for it'. This information is an example of poor state capacity.

Infrastructure in Bihar:

On the field, what was the most noticeable fact in Bihar at present is its road construction, which is a very important and important step towards improvement in physical infrastructure. When people were asked about the current development change, nearly 90 per cent of the respondent said that construction of road is the most important developmental change in their respective areas. Bihar, which was once known for its bad roads has now earned a reputation of good road connectivity especially under the leadership of NDA. When people were asked about the major developmental changes in Bihar nearly 36.7 per cent people took Mukhhyamantri Gram Sadak Yojana. The views of the top bureaucrats and politician were also very similar to it, when they were asked the achievement of NDA. To substantiate this let us see some of the data available on road construction in Bihar. If we look at the data given below, we see a long jump in road construction in Bihar, which has turned out to be 3473.88 kilometers in 2009-10 from 384.60 kilometers in 2004-05. See table 8, given below:

Physical Achievement of Road Construction Department

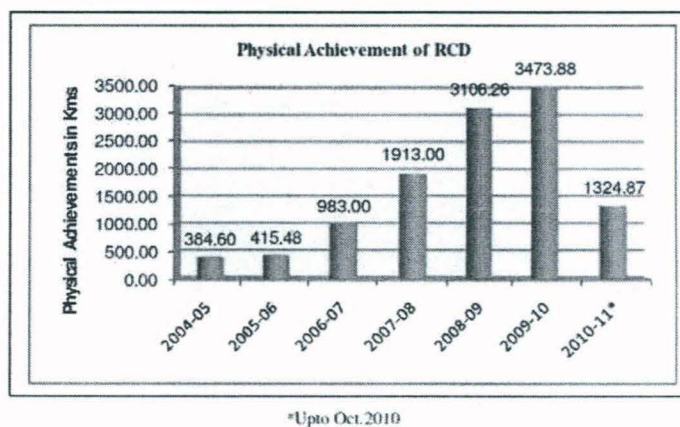


Table 8: Shows physical achievement of RCD in Bihar. Source: Economy Survey of Bihar 2010-11, Patna, p.141.

In contrast to road construction the problem of electricity came out to be a major problem in Bihar, which is also been considered as a major hurdle in its way to development. As per the information provided by the district development commissioner of Bhojpur, the district requires 32 megawatts of electricity per day but it gets only 12-14 megawatts of supply per day. When the general population was asked about the problem of electricity about 96.7 per cent responded to it as the major problem in their area. Let us substantiate this with some of the official data on the status of the power supply in Bihar. After bifurcation Bihar is left with only old thermal generating station, thus the state is lagging much behind, of the other states in the country in terms of availability of power and thus it needs to purchase 90 per cent of its power requirement from central utilities. As per the economic survey of Bihar 2011, at the end of 2009, the BSEB had 2.96 million consumers and the total sale in the year was 5253 Giga Watt hours (GWh) of which 33 per cent of the

supply is for domestic purpose, 27 per cent is provided to industrial consumer and 15 per cent to the irrigation consumer²⁸.

In an attempt to improve the condition of power supply and meet the demand in the rural areas policies like Rajiv Gandhi Grameen Vidyutikaran has been implemented. According to the plan, this programme is being implemented in all the districts of the State with a target of 29,862 villages. However 20,526 villages were either electrified, or benefitted from upgrading. Apart from BSEB, PGCIL (Power Grid Corporation of India), and NHPC (National Hydroelectric Power corporation Plays a vital role in supply of electricity in the rural areas²⁹. However supply of equipment for electrification of the village was sold at a very high price as against the prices being fixed by the government, to most of the villages in Bhojpur. This equipment was either not sold or was sold by the concerned departments at high rates, and the money they made went in the pockets of those officials, who were held responsible for it. This shows how the working of the state in Bihar gives an impression of a 'shadow state' where we can see the informal economy running side by side using state's resources, rendering the legitimate state to be illegitimate³⁰. For details on the demand and availability of power in Bihar see the tables 9 (a) and (b) given below.

²⁸ Economic Survey of Bihar 2010-11, GOB: Finance Department, p.155

²⁹ *ibid*, p.161

³⁰ This information was provided by a local political leader in Sahar Block.

POWER SUPPLY POSITION IN BIHAR

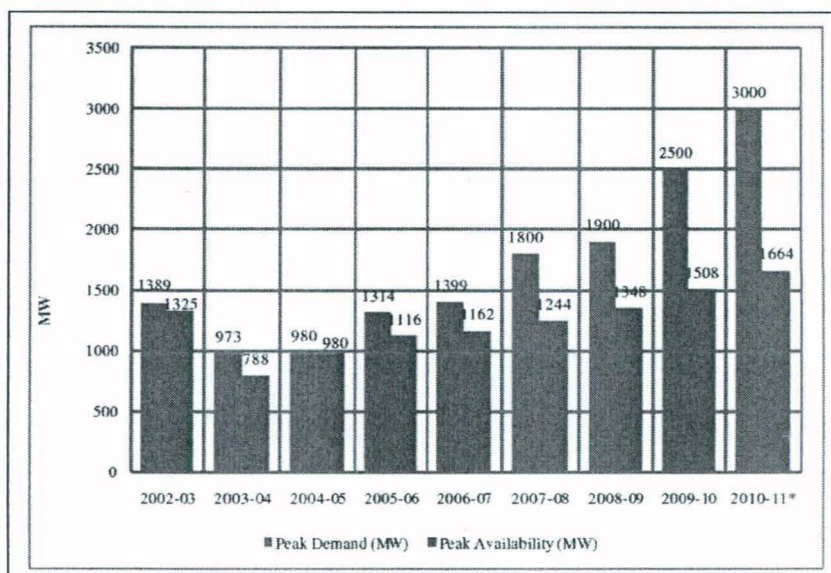


Table 9 (a): Shows position of power supply in Bihar. Source: Economy Survey of Bihar 2010-11, Patna, P.157.

Districtwise Status of Rural Electrification

PGCIL (24 districts)				
Patna	Nalanda	Bhojpur	Buxer	Rohtas
Kaimur	Gaya	Nawadah	Aurangabad	Jahanabad
Arwal	Munger	Lakhisarai	Jamui	Bhagalpur
Banka	Vaishali	Muxaffarpur	Saran	Siwan
Gopalganj	Purnea	Kishanganj	Araria	
NHPC (6 districts)				
Darbhanga	Sheohar	E Champaran	W. Champaran	Sitamarhi
Madhubani				
BSEB (8 districts)				
Samastipur	Saharsa	Supaul	Madhepura	Khagaria
Katihar	Begusarai	Sheikhpura		

Source: Bihar State Electricity Board, GOB

Table 9 (b) Shows district wise rural electrification in Bihar. Source: Economy Survey of Bihar 2010-11, Patna, P. 161.

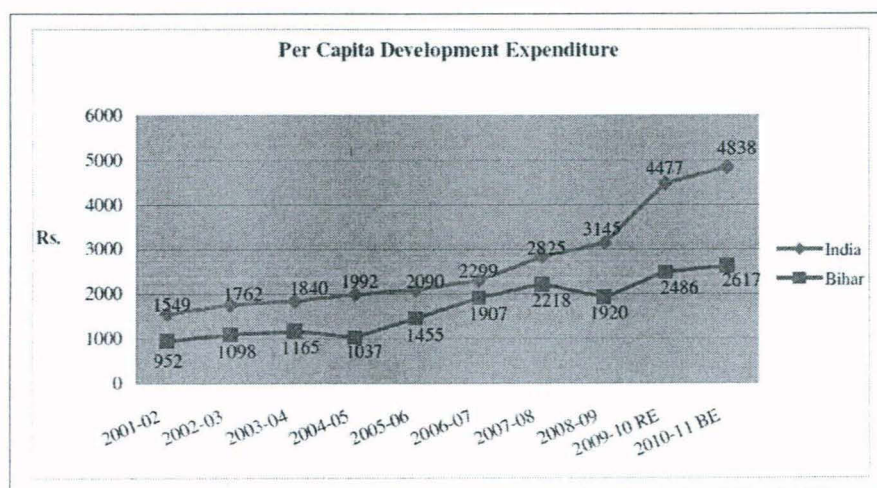
The above data substantiating the economic performance of the state which has come out more as a comparison of the period from 2001 to 2005 and 2005 to 2011. The former period represent Laloo- Rabri rule of Social Justice. The later period signifies Nitish

agenda of development in Bihar. Thus we see a gradual increase in the entire indicators which were taken for this study. Since we have also taken Human development as an important indicator of development, let us see some data on it.

Social Sector:

The government of NDA under the leadership of Nitish Kumar claimed to have worked a lot in social sector, especially in the field of education, women empowerment, employment generation, improvement in public delivery system like, providing food grain to the people who are placed under BPL category. This section is devoted to interrogate and analyze the same to see how it has helped the people in Bihar to create a peaceful environment. This section will not only include official data by GoB but it would also be delineated by some of the field work results. The per capita development expenditure between India's all state average and post bifurcation Bihar is given in table 10 given below:

Per capita Development Expenditure in Bihar (From 2001-11)



Source : RBI

Table 10: Shows per capita development expenditure in Bihar. Source: Economy Survey of Bihar 2010-11, Patna., p.204.

Starting with the education let us see some of the important data on the district who have been categorized as, above average, average and below average in literacy rates. See the

table 11 given below. If we see the districts which falls in the category of above average, we see that the district of Patna (Urban), Rohtas, Munger, Bhojpur, Aurangabad, Buxar, Jehanabad, Kaimur, Nalanda have above average literacy rate. The districts which falls in the category of average are Saran, Siwan, Patna (Rural), Vaishali, Gaya, Bhagalpur, Sheikhpura, Muzaffarpur, Lakhisarai, Begusarai, Gopalganj, Nawada, Samastipur, Darbhanga, Banka, Jamui, Madhubani. And lastly the district having below average literacy rate are Khagaria, Saharsa, W.Champaran, Sitamarhi, East Champaran, Supaul, Madhepura, Sheohar Purnea, Katihar, Araria, Kishanganj. The data is reflecting the uneven distribution of the benefits of the literacy programme in the State. The question arises, that why within a state there is uneven and unequal beneficiaries of the governmental programmes and policies. Here one factor which can be attributed is the social set up within a particular area, in addition to it, one can notice the development deficiency and incapacity of the state to enforce the working of its programme evenly and equally within the area of its purview.

District wise Classification of Literacy Rates

	Above Average	Average	Below Average
All community	Patna (Urban), Rohtas, Munger, Bhojpur, Aurangabad, Buxar, Jehanabad, Kaimur, Nalanda	Saran, Siwan, Patna (Rural), Vaishali, Gaya, Bhagalpur, Sheikhpura, Muzaffarpur, Lakhisarai, Begusarai, Gopalganj, Nawada, Samastipur, Darbhanga, Banka, Jamui, Madhubani	Khagaria, Saharsa, W.Champaran, Sitamarhi, East Champaran, Supaul, Madhepura, Sheohar Purnea, Katihar, Araria, Kishanganj
SC	Patna (Urban), Munger, Rohtas, Kaimur, Bhojpur, Buxar, Aurangabad , Siwan	Bhagalpur, Saran, Jehanabad, Gopalganj, Begusarai, Patna (Rural) , Nalanda, Vaishali, Muzaffarpur, Kishanganj, Banka, Lakhisarai, Gaya, Katihar, Sheikhpura, Samastipur	Darbhangha, Jamui, Khagaria, Nawada, W.Champaran, Madhubani, Sitamarhi, East Champaran, Supaul, Araria, Saharsa, Purnea, Madhepura, Sheohar

ST	Patna (Urban), Begusarai, Muzaffarpur, Aurangabad , Darbhanga, Gaya, Saran , Bhojpur, Khagaria , Sheikhpura, Buxar, Siwan	Sheohar, Kaimur, Gopalganj, Munger, Bhagalpur, Madhubani, East Champaran , Madhepura Jehanabad, Sitamarhi, Rohtas	Vaishali, Nalanda , Supaul, Jamui, Saharsa, Purnea, Katihar, W. Champaran, Banka, Samastipur, Araria, Nawada, Patna (Rural), Kishanganj, Lakhisarai
Minority	Patna (Urban), Aurangabad, Gaya, Nalanda, Jehanabad, Sheikhpura, Bhojpur, Rohtas, Patna(Rural), Munger, Kaimur, Buxar, Nawada, Siwan, Vaishali	Saran, Gopalganj, Muzaffarpur, Samastipur, Darbhanga, Lakhisarai, Jamui, Bhagalpur, W.Champaran, Begusarai	East Champaran, Banka, Saharsa, Khagaria, Madhubani, Sitamarhi, Supaul, Sheohar, Araria, Kishanganj, Madhepura, Katihar, Purnea

Note: 1) All communities – Above Average (Group Mean – 31, Standard Deviation (SD) – 1, Coefficient of Variation (CV) - 2); Average (Group Mean – 27, SD – 2, CV - 6); Below Average (Group Mean – 22, SD – 3, CV - 12); 2) SC – Above Average (Group Mean – 32, SD – 3, CV - 9); Average (Group Mean – 24, SD – 1, CV - 6); Below Average (Group Mean – 20, SD – 2, CV - 10); 3) ST – Above Average (Group Mean – 31, SD – 4, CV - 13); Average (Group Mean – 24, SD – 2, CV - 7); Below Average (Group Mean – 10, SD – 15, CV - 156); 4) Minority – Above Average (Group Mean – 27, SD – 1, CV - 5); Average (Group Mean – 20, SD – 2, CV - 11); Below Average (Group Mean – 15, SD – 2, CV - 17).

Table 11: Shows district wise classification of literacy rates in Bihar: Source: Economy Survey of Bihar 2010-11, Patna., p. 208.

As per the report released by the finance department in 2011, about 40 lakhs of women between the age group of 15-35 years have been covered under Mukhya Mantri Akshar Anchal Yojana. In addition to it a let us see the present availability of the school in relation to population. See table 12 given below:

Availability of Schools in Relation to Population

INDICATOR	2002	2009
1)No of primary and upper schools /10,000 population	6.05	6.98
a) No of primary school/10, 000 population	4.88	4.68
b) no of upper primary school/10, 000 population	1.17	2.29
2)No of secondary and senior secondary schools/10,000 population	0.41	0.41
a)No of secondary school/10,000 population	0.37	0.28
b)No of senior secondary school/10,000 population	0.04	0.13

Note: Calculations Based on data from 7th and 8th All India School Education Survey, NCERT; Department of Human Resource Development, GOB; Census of India, 2001; Department of Planning and Development, Economy Survey of Bihar 2010-11, Patna., 2010-11 p. 209.

Number of Institutions Opened since 2001 till 2009

	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009
Universities	11	11	11	12	12	12	12	13	13
Open Universities	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Research Institute	11	11	11	11	14	14	15	15	15
Colleges/ Insitute	742	742	742	743	800	800	815	815	815
Government Colleges	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	431	431	431
Local Body Colleges	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	97	97	97
Other Collesei	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	268	267	267
Education/Teacher Training Centres	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	15	23
Engineering/technical College	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	8	8	10
Others	63	63	63	63	63	36	62	164	164

So many opened each year?

Department of Human Resource Development, GOB

Table 13: Shows number of institution opened since 2001 till 2009. Source: Economy Survey of Bihar 2010-11. Patna., p.225.

If we look at the table given above we can see that there is a tremendous increase in the number of government colleges, local body colleges and other colleges including engineering/ technical colleges. For figure see table 13, given above. This data is an aid to the observation in the sphere of education during the field work.

Expenditure on Education

Year	Plan			Non-Plan		
	12/13 th FC Target	Expenditure	Percentage of Utilisation	Budget	Expenditure	Percentage of Utilisation
2007-08	4581.02	300.44	656	4581.02	4700	102.60
2008-09	5016.00	1129.99	22.53	5256.89	509945	97.01
2009-10	5492.76	142042	25.86	6600.00	574500	87.05
2010-11	5719.72	1091.22	1908	5719.72	21.1978	37.41

Source : Department of Human Resource Development, GOB

Table 14: Shows planned and non-planned expenditure in Bihar from 2007-08 to 2010-1, Source: Economy Survey of Bihar 2010-11, Patna., p.216.

If we look at the expenditure on education we find that a considerable amount has been allocated for education in the State. This is followed by many policies being introduced in the state like Mukhyamantri cycle Yojana, Mukhyamantri Poshak Yojana Mukhyamantri Scheduled caste Scholarship Plan, mid-day meal scheme etc. The response of the people in the sphere of education was very positive for example the success of the mid-day meal can be measured in Bhojpur by its coverage per cent which is 80.39 with 1 per cent increase in the current year of 2011³¹.

Switching over to the participation for the empowerment of the backward classes in general and women in particular, satisfaction among the people belonging to lower caste was observed. Participation at the Panchayat level was also noticed. Most of the respondent were either ward commissioner or working in Self Help Group. Women in particular are very much into participation. However the other side of it also cannot be

³¹ Government of Bihar, Finance Department, *Economic survey of Bihar 2010-11*, Patna, 2010-11, p. 220.

ignored as this participation is only in the name and not in true sense³². The impact of the feudal lords is quite strong in this village where it was found that people are quite loyal to one family, which was once Zamindars in the area, thus a 'semi feudal' character of the society was also witnessed.

The field work investigation was during Panchayat elections. Elections were held under tight security and in a free and peaceful manner, however not to deny the fact that there was incident of planned booth capturing in Sandesh block (there is doubt about its fairness). The bureaucracy should be given full credit for it, as whenever there was election to be held a team of all the top officers of Bhojpur which included D.M of Bhojpur and development commissioner and many top officials from police force used to visit that particular district for a day and run their office on that particular day of election. The elections for Panchayat were not on party line and all the candidates were independent. Visit on the polling booths were also made people belonging to lower caste participating and using their voting rights. However participation of the people from the backward caste was high but if we look at the voting behavior of these section the decision to vote for a particular candidate was influenced either by the feudal lords in case of the backward caste or male family members in case of the women. Both women and backward caste, voted blindly. On the question of which candidates they voted, most of them were clueless, they were just asked to cast their vote on a particular symbol.

On the question of women though there are many useful policies being implemented by the state government like Mahila Samakhya Yojana etc. The domination of male in every bit of women's decisions was observed. This was higher in case of the interviews conducted with some of the women Mukhiyas in both the blocks. Bihar is the first state in India which has given 50 per cent of reservation to women. However in course of the interview with these women Mukhiyas, it was found that they are completely unaware about their powers, policies and politics of the state. Most of them were unable to answer

³² One woman interviewee was a ward commissioner, who only knew that she will get 700 Rs per month as a ward commissioner.

questions related to their power and functions. The interview was often intruded by their husband or any of the male members of their family³³.

Employment is another vital indicator of human development which came out as an important concern in the field work. So let us see some of the observations and data on the condition of employment in Bihar in General and Bhojpur in particular. Policy related to employment like MNREGA is a success story in Bhojpur which is generating not only employment but also checking migration of human resource from the State³⁴. However, high degree of corruption at the ground is a major problem. In relation to the NREGA, a system of wall writing has been introduced which means that in a particular year, the muster roll is pasted on the wall. If anyone has got work and if it does not match the name pasted on the wall then, it can be challenged. Again there is also a system of social audit in NREGA. The calendar of social audit is released every six months and report on the selection and completion of the scheme is released. Let us see some of the official data of Bhojpur released by the district development authority. If we look at the data on the employment generation under NREGS and beneficiaries of land reform till 2008-09, we see that the total number of job cards issued to the households in the district of Bhojpur was 178159 out of which 78789 were SC, 492 were ST, 98878 were others. The total number of accounts opened in both bank and post office is 33817 till the month of July 2008. This data shows that 82930 household demanded employment and all of them got employment that means 82930 were provided employment. In addition to the demand and fulfillment of demand 18798 were working under NREGS. This data also gives the number households who are the beneficiaries of land reform/IAY which is 3511 and 43 are

³³ In relation to the question of women's subjective participation in Panchayat as a Mukhiya a question was asked to the locale political leader of Shahpur Bisheshwar Ojha from BJP (he is a criminal over whom more than 60 cases of murder has been charged and all the cases are pending in court). accepting the male domination in Bihar, he answered that it is just the beginning of the an attempt to encourage women participation in Panchayat level.

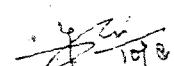
³⁴ This view is of DDC Bhojpur, According to him out of the many policies running successfully in Bhojpur he named MNREGA and Indra Awas Yojana as the most successful ones. However, problem of corruption was not denied by the officer.

disabled individuals who have benefitted from the land reform /IAY³⁵ (see a scanned picture of the report in the next page).

In relation to the rural housing scheme, it was informed that the government has started giving benefits through single window system. According to this system the government has organized many camps in which the bank officials and the clients are called and then and there the account is opened and entry is made instantly. The idea behind these camps is to create awareness among the needy people and provide them the benefits without much hassle, thus corruption is also being checked through this arrangement

EMPLOYMENT GENERATION UNDER NREGA MPR-1

2	3				4			5	6	7	8	9	10					11	12	13
	a	b	c	d	a	b	c						Cumulative Persondays generated (in Lakhs) (Till the reporting month)							
	Cumulative No of HH issued jobcards (Till the reporting month)				No of Account opened								Cumulative No of HH demanded employment (Till the reporting month)		Cumulative Labour Budget estimated /if employment provided (Till the reporting month)		Cumulative No of HH provided employment (Till the reporting month)			
SC	ST	Other	Total	Bank	Post Office	Total	Cumulative No of HH demanded employment (Till the reporting month)	Cumulative Labour Budget estimated /if employment provided (Till the reporting month)	Cumulative No of HH provided employment (Till the reporting month)	No of HH working under NREGA during the reporting month	Cumulative labour Budget estimated /if persondays (Till the reporting month)	SC	ST	Others	Total	Women				
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Bhojpur	78789	492	98873	178159	20963	12914	33817	82930	74836	82930	11779	2973200	70474	3151	584029	1291921	207233	386	3511	43


 Dy. Development Commissioner
 Bhojpur, Ara

³⁵ GoB, District Development Office, 'A Report: District Awareness and Invigilance Society: Office and Related Report', Bhojpur, 26 August 2008.

Report released by district development office, “District Awareness and In vigilance Society Office and related report”, 26th August 2008, District Bhojpur, Bihar.

The role of NGO’s and especially SHG’s in all the policy endeavors in programs like Swarna Jayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana which is:

a scheme to promote self-employment among communities through Self-Help Groups (SHG). It also has a share of individual self-employment schemes which is now being phased out. A total of 1,58,061 persons were assisted through SHGs under SGSY in 2009-10. About 40 per cent of beneficiaries were women, while 62 per cent were persons belonging to SC communities. A total of 6090 individual *swarogaris* were also assisted through SGSY in 2009-10, of which 32 per cent were women and 21 per cent were persons belonging to SC communities. Under SGSY, 2,38,359 SHG members were trained in 2009-10. Of these, 38 per cent were women and 66 percent were persons belonging to SC communities. The corresponding figures for individual *swarogaris* were 43 per cent and 24 per cent respectively, out of a total of 1349 trained *swarogaris* in 2010 (Appendix XVIIIA)³⁶.

Thus many SHG’s are of great help not only in educating, training, and linking the masses with banking facilities but also in empowering women in Bihar. If we look at the district report of fund allocated in the district of Bhojpur, shows that the fund allocated for Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana by the central government is 482.08 lakhs out of which 27.854 lakhs were received by the district of Bhojpur till July 2008(see the scanned data table of fund allocated for SJGS from the district development office. Also see the data given below on the achievements of SJGSY (the data is scanned and has been attached along with this report).

³⁶ GoB. Finance Department. *Economic Survey of Bihar 2010-11*, Patna. Feb 2011. p.244.

Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana - Financial Achievements

Format 1

Details of Funds Received

District-Bhojpur

Year : 2008-09

Month : July, 2008

(Rs. in lakhs)

Sl.No.	Name of DRDA	Central Allocation	OB as on 1st April	Central funds received				State share received				Total Funds Received (8+12)	Misc. Receipts		Total Funds Available (4+13+14+15)
				First	Second	Addl.	Sub-total	First	Second (06-07)	Addl.	Sub-total		Interest accrued	Return of Subsidy	
				Instl.	Instl. (06-07)	Instl.									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
1	Bhojpur	482.06	380.624	203.89 (2007-08)			203.89	67.964 (2007-08)			67.964	271.854	1.00	20.60	676.218
Total															

L.D.M
Bhojpur, Ara

9/10
B.D.C
Bhojpur, Ara

Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana - Physical Achievements

FORMAT 2

Self-Help Groups (SHGs)

Year : 2008-09

Month : July, 2008

Sl. No.	Name of the District	No. of SHGs Formed		No. of SHGs that have defunct since inception	No. of SHGs that have Passed Grade I		No. of SHGs that have Passed Grade II		No. of SHGs that have Taken up Economic Activities				No. of Women SHGs Formed		No. of Women SHGs that have taken up Economic Activities during the Year	No. of BPL families that have crossed the poverty line
		Total since 1.4.99	During the Current Year Upto the Month		Total since 1.4.99	During the Current Year Upto the Month	Total since 1.4.99	During the Current Year Upto the Month	Total since 1.4.99	During the Current Year Upto the Month	Total since 1.4.99	During the Current Year Upto the Month	Total since 1.4.99	During the Current Year Upto the Month		
		1	2		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12		
1	Bhojpur	1816	81	185	1372	67	589	47	761	42	977	38	645	18	70	24

L.D.M
Bhojpur, Ara

9/10
B.D.C
Bhojpur, Ara

Report released by district development office, “District Awareness and In vigilance Society Office and related report”, 26th August 2008, District Bhojpur, Bihar.

If we look into the data on the financial achievement of the SJGSY, we see that in total of 422 members of SHG members, who were assisted for economic activities 151 are SC's, 6 are ST's , 93 are minority group and 174 are women. In addition to the data there are no individual Swarozgaris who were assisted for economic activities. As per DDC mentioned above, there is a great help in SJGSY from SHG's. The working of the SHG in Yojana's like IAY (Indra Awas Yojana), SJGSY (Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana) and NREGS (National Rural Employment Guarantee scheme) can be substantiated by data collected from District development office (See the scanned data named-no of SHG formed and its physical achievement and employment generation under NREGS and beneficiaries of IAY). So far till July 2008, Bhojpur has 1918 total number of SHG formed since the year 1999, out of which 81 were formed during the financial year of 2008-09 are defunct and 645 of which are for women-out of which 39 are formed in 2008 and only 16 out of SHG, which were formed for women has taken up economic activity. The number of SHG which has taken up economic activities is only 761 and the achievement is shocking- only 54 families has crossed poverty line, which means that the large number of SHG could not help enough number of families to cross line above poverty³⁷. The question arises, where does the money allocated for helping the poor goes?

³⁷ Report released by District Development Office, 'District Awareness and Invigilance Society: Office and Related Report'. District Bhojpur, 26 August 2008.

Swaranjayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana - Physical Achievements

FORMAT 2 A

Self-Help Groups & Individual Swarozgaris - Assistance provided for pursuing Economic Activities

District-Bhojpur
Year : 2008-09

Month : July, 2008

(Numbers)

Sl.No	Name of the Block	No. of Members of SHGs assisted for Economic Activities						No. of Individual Swarozgaris assisted for Economic Activities					
		Total	SC	ST	Minorities	Women	Disabled	Total	SC	ST	Minorities	Women	Disabled
1	2	4	6	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1	Ara	44	15	-	10	44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	Barhara	62	24	-	11	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	Bahiya	36	12	-	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	Charpaihi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	Jagdishpur	36	14	-	5	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	Kopwar	22	10	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	Piro	36	14	-	12	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	Shapur	36	12	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	Sahar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	Sandesh	22	8	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	Tarani	32	14	-	5	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	Udwantnagar	74	20	-	24	24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	Agiaun	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	Gathar	22	8	-	6	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Total	422	131	-	93	174	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

L.O.M.
Bhojpur, Ara

9
D.D.C. 8
Bhojpur, Ara

Report released by district development office, “District Awareness and In vigilance Society Office and related report”, 26th August 2008, District Bhojpur, Bihar.

Data on the number of account opened under the scheme of NREGS was also collected, see table 15, given below, which shows maximum number of account opened in the block of Agiaun, under the scheme of NREGs in the year 2008. The Blocks in Bhojpur District like Agiaun, Tarari, Sandesh, Sahar, Udwantnagar, Jagdishpur, Piro, has been declared officially as disturbed, which are Naxalite inflicted³⁸. This data shows that all the above mentioned districts has been given special care while providing employment to the people in these areas thereby engaging them in developmental work and restricting them not to involve in any violent activities. If we analyze the total number of account being opened in the district of Bihiya (which was observed as peaceful and comparatively developed than Sahar), it shows that there is less number of accounts opened in this Block which is 911 compared to Sahar Block i.e. 2144. See the table given below on the details of account opened under NREGS.

³⁸ This information was provided by the D.M's Steno of Bhojpur in a face to face interview with him.

District Rural Development Agency, Bhojpur

Details of the block wise account opened in the bank /post office under NREGS.

Serial Number	Name of the block	No of account opened in bank	No of account opened in post office	Total
1	2	3	4	5
1	Ara	1532	700	2232
2	Udwantnagar	983	1565	2548
3	Koelwar	541	411	952
4	Sahar	1484	660	2144
5	Sandesh	1255	1442	2697
6	Agiaun	3273	400	3673
7	Badhahraa	2155	1260	3415
8	Tarari	2140	1176	3316
9	Piro	1984	1800	3784
10	Charpokhri	593	360	953
11	Gadhahani	1270	340	1610
12	Bihiya	650	261	911
13	Jagdishpur	1576	1046	2622
14	Shahpur	1467	1493	2960
Total		20903	12914	33817

TABLE 15: Source : District Development Office, Bhojpur, july, 2008.

In case of the Indra Awas Yojana in Bihar, let us see some of the data released by the economic survey of Bihar 2010-11, then we will move ahead with some of the data collected from the district development office of Bhojpur. As per the report on Bihar it is stated that in 2009-10, 59 per cent of the targets were achieved under the scheme with a fund utilisation of 69.4 per cent. The share of SCs and STs in the total houses completed

under IAY was 51 per cent in 2009-10³⁹. Moving to the district level, see table 16 (a) for details:

District-Bhojpur

Financial Development Report

Serial no	Name of programme	Financial year	Financial aim	Remaining amt of last financial yr.	Amount received in present financial year			Total amount available	Total expenditure	Remaining amt	% tage
					Central allocation	State allocation	total				
1	IAS (new construction)	2005-06	335.25	225.260	559.998	---	559.998	785.258	646.0300	139.22800	82.27%
2	IAS (new construction)	2006-07	919.00	139.228	505.098	414.089	919.187	1058.415	632.60500	425.81000	59.76%
3	IAS (new construction)	2007-08	1793.51	425.810	1711.742	570.574	2282.316	2708.126	1266.20000	1441.92600	46.75%

Table 16(a): Shows financial Development Report of Indra Awas Yojana. Source: District Development Office, Ara, Bhojpur, Bihar, July 2008-09.

³⁹ ibid p.244.

The table shows that the financial allocation both by central and state government and its expenditure and remaining amount and percentage used for new construction under Indra Awas Yojana. The data shows the State's capacity to use its fund allocated for a particular policy. If we look at the data it shows that the capacity to use the fund for new construction in the subsequent year has fallen down from 82.27 per cent to 59.76 per cent to 46.75. This is important to note that the agencies failed to fully utilize the funds for the maximum benefit of the people. Also if we look at the total materialized units per cent of Indra Awas yojana for new construction, we will find a similar figure from 65 per cent of achievement to 26.20 in 2006-07 to 28.53 per cent in 2007-08, which is a poor achievement of targets set by the implementing agencies itself.

Material Development Report

serial no.	Name of the programme	Financial yr.	Material aim	Pending unit in this financial year	Unit undertaken in present financial year	Total unit	Total complete unit	Pending unit	Percentage
						total	total		
1	IAS (NC)	2005-06	2240	2068	1923	3991	2594	1397	65.00%
2	IAS (NC)	2006-07	3676	1397	2931	4328	1134	3194	26.20%
3	IAS (NC)	2007-08	7174	3194	4923	8117	2316	5801	28.53%

Table 16: Shows material report on Indra Awas Yojana. Source: District Development Office, Ara, Bhojpur, Bihar. 2008-09. This table shows the achievement and pending work under Indra Awas Yojana, 2008-2009. *NC refers to new construction.

The official data do not show a very encouraging figure in terms of implementation and achievement of the programs set for the benefit and welfare of the poor and the targeted needy section of society.

In the context of this study of the state and society, one cannot forget the role of the NGO's. There are various NGO's in Bihar who are just in name and is just working for making money in the name of social work. They maintain fake records and accounts to

show it to the audit department for more funds. There are many SHG's like Asha, Sanjeeka, these are private groups working with an aim of women empowerment. One of the ex-workers of Asha and Mahila Samakhya named Shanti Devi of village Teghra informed, that none of the two are working because of lack of fund and corruption at the top level. In an interview with Anupama Srivastav, project manager cum protection officer of Karma Bhoomi NGO, collaboration with the district administration in the field of domestic violence was also known. It is a women helpline sponsored by Mahila Vikas Nigam. D.M of Bhojpur is the chief of this helpline. It is working in collaboration with the district administration. The aim of this NGO is to help women who have been tortured for dowry, domestic violence; cases like dowry deaths, physical harassment, women trafficking are also handled by this group. It comprises of project manager, two councillors, 3 advocates. The councillor must have the qualification of B.A in psychology and the project manager must be masters in social work or M.A. in Sociology. They listen to the problem of the client (victim) and then issue a written application on behalf of the victim. After the procedure of application there is an issue of notice against the culprit. Then information regarding the case is sent to the culprit and a joint meeting is arranged for a hearing. Then they also visit the field for investigating the case and gather evidences. After this a stamp paper is issued with details of the case under domestic violence act 2000. The protection officer within 3 months has to submit its report under the domestic violence act. They issue three times notice for hearing. They send a progress report to the district magistrate. There is also monthly meeting of the team of Karma Bhoomi with that of D.M and in every meeting at least two case histories are submitted. Thus role of the NO in Bhojpur was observed to be limited and it was observed on the basis of the interaction NGO actor that many of them work in name for earning money. Here we see how the concept of shadow state applies in Bhojpur.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ The following information was collected from members of three NGO's namely. BAIF chairman: Shri Rajendra Ojha 2. Manav Sewa Sansthan's director: Mr. Arvind Kumar Pandey 3. Karma Bhoomi: project manager cum protection officer: Ms. Anupama Shrivastav was interviewed.

The data provided on the development indicators which included economic as well as human development shows an improved performance of the present government of Bihar when compared the figures of 2005-06 to that of present year. However under-spending is still a major problem. The section also offered information about the area of the study, thus we can conclude that the though the figure related to the mentioned indicators are quite encouraging there are difficulty at the ground level which is pointed out to be i) the problem of corruption as has been pointed out in the case of sale of electric equipment in much higher price than what was fixed by the government ii) problem of capable and genuine participation-as has been pointed out that the reservation to the women is only in name as they do not have enough training and knowledge about their power and functions due to hierarchal structure of the society, and iii) caste based division which restricts cooperative endeavors in the State like for example cooperative farming can be a viable solution under the supervision of the State with greater and equal participation in agriculture and iv) problem of under-spending in most of the social welfare schemes to be attributed for poor performance in social welfare sector and v) Lastly, Lastly, NGO's needed to be also scrutinized by the State due to the corrupt practices

However if this problem are cured or met it will not only foster equality and lessen exploitation but pressure of the growing population on land can also be met. However the next section is devoted to the violence in the state of Bihar, which is very much part of the third problem of caste divides in the State.

Violence Contextualizing Spatially

As stated in the methodological notes that Bhojpur is the district in Bihar which saw the resilient uprising of the Naxals. Village Ekwari in Sahar Block of Bhojpur registered its name in the history of left uprising and became popular in one night as a 'Naxalbari of Bhojpur'⁴¹. The ideological understanding of the left itself has its own peculiarity in Bhojpur; it has changed from class understanding to caste understanding and a clear cut

⁴¹ Kalyan Mukherji and Rajendra Singh Yadav, *Bhojpur: Naxalism in the Plains of Bihar* . 1980. p. 7

diversion from the original has been witnessed and adjusted with the time and need of the place. To comprehend leftist ideology placed in a particular context of Bhojpur one can say that there is a very thin line between the violence resorted by the Senas and that of left. It has been reduced to be more of a kind of any other social violence than that of so called claimed revolution by the left. What one can notice is that there is a sharp caste conflict than ideology based conflict. However this point would be substantiated in the later part of this section with data. Let us see some of the recent data on violence in the State in general and Bhojpur in particular. If we look at some total number of crimes in Bihar since 2001 till 2011 we see a steady growth of in cognizable crime across Bihar for details see table 17 given below: the claims of NDA that the crime rates has gone down during their rule show a complete contrast. The total number of the crime rate which was 95942 in 2001 during Laloo-Rabri rule has gone up to 137572, which falsifies the government claims.

Total Cognizable Crime From 2001 TO 2011 (up to February)

Year	Grand total of crime in each year
2001	95942
2002	101055
2003	98298
2004	115216
2005	104778
2006	110716
2007	118176
2008	130693
2009	133525
2010	137572
2011(up to February)	20394

The table 17: Shows the number of cognizable crime spread over eleven years in Bihar. Source: GoB official website:<http://biharpolice.bih.nic.in/menuhome/crime-in-bihar.html>, P.1

In addition to the presence of leaders like Bisheshwar ojha on whose name an handsome amount was declared during Laloo's government, identifies himself as a worker in BJP. Today he moves freely in Nitish government. His Sister-in-law is MLA of Shahpur and it is him to be given full credit for her victory in two consecutive elections in this constituency. The reason for the win is intimidating criminal profile. Speaking of the presence of political-criminal nexus a class I officer in railways informed that, there is support to Nitish Kumar from Suraj Bhan, a rich powerful railway contractor, who is also a big name in crime. He gives heavy tax to Nitish government. This indicated that the political-criminal nexus is a still a way of running government in Bihar which has underwent no change during the present government.

Coming on to the two blocks, in an interview with the DDC of Bhojpur on the condition of law and order situation and development of Sahar Block, the DDC of Bhojpur replied that the Sahar block of Bhojpur is considered as a remotest Block of the two, in terms of development. However the law and order situation is very good compare to previous decade and especially under the rule of NDA. In terms of communication Sahar lags behind because of the lack proper communication. He told that a bridge is under construction linking Sahar, Aurangabad, and Arwal. On the question of violence he answered that Bihar in general and Bhojpur in particular is peaceful for the past 5-6 years. Crime rate is less than what it used to be before. However if we look at the crime data this statement shows a contradictory picture.

FROM THE FIELD: During Sahar elections many people were interviewed in the polling booth. It was observe that there is a strong casteist divide among the people in Sahar, this was different from what I sensed in Bihiya block. Sahar lies in the southern part of the Bhojpur district and the areas allied to it, is known as the rice bowl of Bihar. The land is characterized as highly fertile but violent due to upper caste and Naxalite violence of the lower caste. This part of Bhojpur is dominated by Rajput and Bhumihaar with large possession of land. Though Sahar is officially in the list of Naxalite infested area, in course of an interaction with the DDC and general population it was known that there are no cases of Naxalite violence or any sort of violence

in the area for the past 5-7 year. Though the people from the upper caste still feel the threat, one of the respondent informed that he received a letter of threat from a Naxalite group, which he averted by giving them a handsome amount. The Naxalite has been reduced to be a mere kidnapers and extortionist. The goal and the ideology has been completely lost and they under the tag Naxalite movement trying to make their terror felt by the people on the name of fighting for the poor. The Steno of D.M who was also earlier involved as a party worker of MA.LE (Marxist and Leninist party) told that the southern part of Bhojpur is a fertile area in which a survey was conducted by ford foundation and it was found that it is the most fertile land in whole of India⁴². After this survey, a programme known as the intensive agriculture district programme was started in which the area of old Shahbad came under this programme. This area is high yielding and rice is exported. The movement has its root in the exploitation of the agricultural labourers, who were given very low wages, this was also a period when of West Bengal government made a successful attempt to wipe out Naxalite from there. The loss of the movement in west Bengal on one hand and exploitation of the tenants and labourers belonging to lower and backward caste on the other, gave a fertile ground for the Naxalites to start a revolution in Bhojpur. Thus the movement took its birth in Sonatola which comes under Narayanpur Thana according to Steno. The reason was not only exploitation of the labourers but also that the landowners in this area were not dependent on the labourers for cultivation. The people who own land were richer than any other landowners of Bhojpur. The Naxalite took the advantage of mobilising people on the ground of exploitation of poor tenant, at the hands of the big landlords who were not only paying of low wages but also most importantly raping of the women from lower caste. The Naxalite also had an agenda of stopping migration of labourers from outside in order to handicap the landowners, who were the main exploiter to stop cultivation on their land. Thus this took in the shape of caste war where class was hidden. They dig a tunnel and started an operation in which lots of people along with police lost their lives. The aim and objective of that was to murder big landlords and this operation was controlled by the state headquarters. According to Steno, the Naxalite basically took advantage of the divide between the upper caste and lower caste people. This led to establishment of the Kisan Sabha by Bir Bahadur Singh, who was the then, the MLA of Jagdishpur. In course of time we see various Senas emerging in which the strongest of all emerged was the Ranvir Sena, whose current chief is Brahmeshwar Mukhiya. This was formed in 1994 against the Naxalite violence which conducted counter violence to save the upper caste big landlords. The counter violence of Ranvir Sena was powerful and this also resulted in checking of the

⁴² As per the District Statistical Report published by the District Administration of Bhojpur in the year of 2001 shows the area of different crops production i.e. Paddy-1, 05,155 hectares, Wheat-67,259 hectares, Maize- 2,779 hectares, Barley-1,154 hectares Gram-5,017 hectares Peas-2,016 hectares, Arhar-919 hectares Masur-8,115 hectares Khesari-8,989 hectares Oil seeds (Sarsa) 2,866 hectares Spices 31 hectares Vegetables 5,119 hectares, Fruits 2,651 hectares and Sugar cane 209 hectares, out of total land area of 2,474 sq.km, which means that a pressure in land for agriculture purpose is heavy and it is one of the most fertile land of the India

working of any Naxalite group in this part of Bhojpur. This was not the sole reason for the weakening of the Naxalite movement in Bhojpur, the other reason was that whenever there were any massacres of the poor lower caste in the block or any village, the compensation which were given to the victim was forcefully taken by the Naxalite group in the name of 'chanda' or protection charge from the victim's family. This changed the people's mind and opened their eyes due to the internal exploitation by the party cadres. Today the Naxalite and their ideology are just in the name and not in practice. They work for wealth and not for protection of the lower caste against the upper caste landlords. There is breach of leadership rule and they have started road robbery, dacoity and kidnapping. During Laloo's rule, the Naxalite were supported somewhere due to vote-bank politics.

AS for the Naxalites in Bihar we see that there is collaboration of these Naxalite groups with the Maoist party which has given a new strategy and life to the movement as a result of it we see them operating in Gaya, Jehanabad, Palamu and Aurangabad. Today they have again started working underground but there are no such incident happened in this part of Bihar at present. Information is there that threatening letters are being given to the big landlords by this new re-invigorated group. There are records of incidence happened in the past, which include Ekwari, Bathani Tola, Nonaur, Sarathua and Belaur. In Bathani Tola there was massacre of 32 people during Rabri Devi's rule. Nitish rule has changed the face of Bihar. Today there are lots of development policies working for the poor.

As told earlier since the field visit was during Panchayat elections, the areas were declared to be sensitive and the administration was on alert. A day after the elections were over for the block of Sandesh and Sahar, a local newspaper 'Ara' reported incidence of booth capturing in Ekwari's booth number 36, 37, and 38, where people of the weaker section were reported to have been intimidated by local goons and *Dabangs*. Apart from these villages there were incidences of booth capturing and booth management by the goons in areas of Nastarpur, Jamua Panchayat. Sahar and Sandesh officially declared naxalite areas but no such incidence of Naxalite violence occurred during elections. People came in huge numbers to cast their votes. There was 56 per cent voting in Sahar and 59 per cent voting in Sandesh. The whole of administration were on their foot for security reasons. However many incidence of illegal voting was denied by the district administration-reported the newspaper⁴³. The newspaper report of intimidating the lower or weaker section of society was further substantiated by a data which was collected from superintendent of police

⁴³ Ara, Patna, 7th May, 2011, p.03.

office. This was the data of number of cases being chosen for compensation in the year 2008 and 2009. According to the data there were 84 cases of atrocities under SC-ST prevention of atrocity act 1989; 84 being chosen for compensation in the year 2008 and 16 cases of atrocities to be compensated in 2009. A precautionary and monitoring agency is being formed with special police station and court to handle cases of violence and atrocities of various kinds against SC's and ST's. Here, we see that the state has created a mechanism of compensation for all kind of victims of violence; prevention of atrocity act is one of them. For state social violence is understood as a category out of many, the solution of which lies in compensating the victims. The following is the table 18 which shows the number of cases being approved for compensation amount.

Table Shows the number of cases under SC and ST prevention of atrocities act 1989, for compensation

Year of cases of atrocity against SC and ST to be compensated	No of Cases proposed for Compensation under the act	Total no of cases considered in 2008 and 2009
2004	01	84(2008) +16(2009)=100
2005	08	
2006	14	
2007	44	
2008	31	
2009	2	100

Table18: Shows number of cases considered for giving compensation to the victims who suffered losses under SC, ST prevention of atrocity act 1989. Source: superintendent of police office, Bhojpur: code 3291/C.R. Dated: 2.09.2009.

Most of the cases were selected from the following blocks of Bhojpur: Piro, Udwantnagar, Sandesh, Shahpur, Tarari, Agiayaun, Jagdispur, Ara, Koelwar, Sahar. These blocks are not only sensitive to the atrocities cases but are also officially declared Naxalite infested blocks. In addition to it this report also says that out of 38 districts of Bihar 32 are declared as highly sensitive to these kinds of cases. These districts are as follows: Gaya, Sitamanhi, Nalanda, Shivhar, Madhepur, Buxar, Saran, Banka, West-Champaran, East-Champaran, Supaul, Lakhisarai, Vaishali, Darbhanga, Samastipur, Saharsa, Kisanganj, Begusarai, Rohtas, Jehanabad, Bhojpur, Muzzafarpur, Sivan, Madhubani, Nawada, Bhagalpur, Patna, Gopalganj, Purnea, Munger, Aurangabad, Shekhpura, Bhabua. However substantiating the responses and the views of DDC of Bhojpur and the finding of the field-if we look at the number of cases of riots in Bihar in General and Bhojpur in particular we find that in 2001 there were 8520 incidence of riot took place in Bihar and which rose to 9199 in 2004. However we see a decent fall in it from the year 2005 till the current year of 2011, which is 7704, 8541, 7996, 8207, 8554, 8809 and 1101 respectively. Similarly, if we focus on the figure of Bhojpur in particular, we see that there were 134 cases of riots in 2001 which increased to 243 in 2004 and in 2006 there were 256 cases of riots in Bhojpur. However decline in the number of the cases of riots can be seen from 2007-11 which is 146, 123,

172, 204 and 40 respectively⁴⁴. Thus, it can be concluded that there are changes in the development figure with the change in leadership and its agenda has some bearing over the decline in the violent cases in the State.

Views of General Population:

The respondents who were chosen for the interviews, comprised mostly of local people. Questions regarding development, state and violence especially Naxal violence were asked. Let us see some of the views on some important question regarding the issues, which is chosen for this study. The category of respondents were constituted by profession, education and caste are as follows:

Snow balling sampling technique was applied and the size of the sample was 30 in total. In an interview conducted in total in both the blocks, about 6.7 per cent were doctors, 3.3 per cent were ward commissioners, teacher constituted 10 per cent, laborers constituted the highest per cent which is 40 per cent (which includes both tenant farmers and labors carrying loads). A separate category of tenant farmers was kept, as most of them solely engaged in farming. Big farmers constituted 13.3 per cent, Anganwadi workers constituted 6.7 per cent, black smith 3.3 per cent, vegetable sellers 6.7 per cent, in total out of 30 interviews these were the category of respondent based on occupation. On the basis of education 20 per cent were illiterate, 6.7 per cent went to primary school, 26.7 per cent were high school educated, 13.3 per cent went to senior secondary school, 13.3 were graduates, and 6.7 were professional degree holders. Similarly on the basis of the caste out of this 30 interviews SC constituted 30 per cent, ST constituted 10 per cent, OBC's were 30 per cent, and 30 per cent were of general category. For respondents which were interviewed based on the income category, see the table 5: given below for each block.

⁴⁴ GoB's official website. <http://biharpolice.bih.nic.in/menuhome/crime-in-bihar.html>. p.7.

Percentage Table: For Income Category in Bihiya and Sahar.

income category	Bihiya block	Sahar block
Upto 3000	33.3	46.7
3001-7000	46.7	20
7001-20,000	13.3	13.3
Above 20,000	6.7	20.

Table 19: shows the percentage of income of the respondent interviewed. Source: Data collected during field work: April-May 2011

When asked about the present financial condition from the respondents about 30 per cent were fully satisfied, 33.3 were somewhat satisfied, 13.3 were somewhat dissatisfied, and fully dissatisfied were 23.3 per cent, and these fully dissatisfied were mostly respondents from Sahar block, which implies that the benefit of the flooded policies does not reach to the mostly needy. These people were those belonging to the lower caste with poor income and were mostly people belonging to Sahar block which has been, characterized as less developed and violent. On the question of the comparison of the past financial condition with the present 5 years financial condition, about 53.3 per cent respondent that their present financial condition is better the past 33.3 per cent said that it is much better and 10 per cent said it is same as before and only 3.3 per cent said it is worse. Thus we can see that the people are satisfied with the present financial condition compared to past 5 years.

To know the level of awareness about the policy running in Bihar and whether the respondents have benefited from it or not, see table 20 for details, it was asked to the respondents about the policies like IAY, SJGSY, NREGS and many other common policies. The results were that most of the policies except few like Para teachers and Mukhya Mantra Kshetriya Vikas Yojana are quite popular and heard. The policy from which the people has benefitted the most is integrated child's development program which is 83.3 per cent, Mukhya Mantra Kanya Suraksha Yojana which is 63.3 per cent and mid-

day meal scheme in the school which is 53.3 per cent. If we look at the figures of farmers loan waiver we will see that 30 per cent have benefitted from it 10 per cent have not benefitted and 60 per cent were not applicable, which implies that 60 per cent of the respondent do not have any land holding to be suitable for credit in farming. They are tenants or laborers. There is decent achievement in NREGS in which is 40 per cent people have benefitted from it. This is an important gauge to have a fair idea of the working and success of the state policy and measuring the state capacity for implementing and creating awareness for the policy or program to work for the benefit of the people.

Percentage Table: Level of Awareness and Benefit From the Welfare Policies and Programmes.

Name of the programme	A		B		
	Heard in %	Not heard in %	Benefitted in %	Not benefitted in %	Not Applicable in %
Indra Awas Yojana	100	-----	13.3	53.3	33.3
NREGS	96.7	3.3	40	23.3	36.7
Farmers loan waiver	96.7	3.3	30	10	60
Mid-Day Meal scheme	96.7	3.3	53.3	16.7	30
Mukhya-Mantri Kshetriya vikas Yojana	50	50	20	23.3	56.7
Mukhya-mantri Gram Swarozgar Yojana	83.3	16.7	33.3	26.7	40

Integrated child development program	90	10	83.3	6.7	10
Para Teacher	36.7	63.3	10	20	70
Mukhya-Mantra Kanya Suraksha Yojana	90	10	63.3	23.3	13.3

Table 20: Shows the level of awareness and benefits of policies. Source: Interview of the field work April-May 2011. N.A refers to not applicable which means people who do not come under the specified policy.

On the question of how regularly the people get 'anaaj' or food grain from government ration shop. The responses were as following 10 per cent said that they get regular as much as their family needs, 10 per cent said that they get it regularly but less than their family needs 30 per cent said that the supply is irregular, 3.3 per cent responded that they rarely get food grain from government ration shop. On this matter the problem of corruption was also known during group discussion. Many APL card holders are benefitting by making a fake BPL card through unfair means. About 40 per cent out of the total number of respondent belonged to middle class so they were not applicable for it. Moving ahead question about the availability of basic facility in an agrarian society such as irrigation, tube well and water supply, medical facility, electricity, and school in or nearby area was asked. The following were the results: Availability irrigation, water supply or tube well in the area: about 93.3 per cent said that there is no irrigation facility and about 6.7 per cent responded positively. This 6.7 per cent were those who owned private irrigation or tube well facility. On the availability of medical facilities in the village or nearby area, about 56.7 per cent responded positively and 43.3 per cent said no. The negative responses were particularly from Sahar block as Bihiya block has most of the basic facilities available in its main market known as 'Chaurasta'. Electricity has been a major problem in Bihar the responses were no different in this case too. About 40 per cent responded that there is electricity, however a point is to be noticed that the responses were mostly from Bihiya block were people and Panchayat has made a commendable effort to gather light from

solar energy. In Bihiya block 6 to 7 hours of electricity supply whereas in Sahar there were 60 per cent negative responses and supply of electricity is also very poor. There is huge problem of electricity in the village of Koni and Ekwari. Availability of schooling facility in or nearby area was also asked strictly to confirm the state government's importance of its agenda, which has flooded Bihar with various schemes in the state like cycle Yojana, school uniform Yojana in which 96.7 per cent of respondent said they have school nearby their area and only 3.3 said no. Most of these schools are opened during last 5-6 years. Thus we see that the current government is taking special interest in educating masses, which is also been confirmed by the official data above in the chapter. One thing which was marked in this whole effort of educating masses is that the teachers which are employed in the primary or middle schools are not competent and qualified enough to teach, they themselves needs training. This condition is especially in the primary schools where teachers are mostly high school passed out.

When asked about their views on development in the area a comparative response between Laloo regime and Nitish Kumar's government was found. Most of the respondent compared that in Laloo government, the whole situation was worst and crime rate was very high but Nitish government has changed scenario. Nitish government has instilled hope in the people of Bihar and that Bihar too can develop like Punjab, Haryana. 86.7 per cent responses were positive and only 13.3 percent responses were negative. To know the popularity of a policy respondents were asked about the name of a policy which is been introduced in the area in past 5 years. The responses were highest for Mukhyamantri Sadak Yojana which is 36.7 per cent and 20 per cent of the responses were for cycle Yojana, 6.7 spoke of Mahila Samakhya Yojana and 16 per cent were of no opinion and 10 per cent replied don't know or can't say. On the question of the policy which has been introduced in the area in the past five years for generation of employment, the responses were as follows: in favour of Swarna Jayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana and NREGS there were nearly 70 per cent of response were there. Rest 20 per cent was in favour of Mukhyamantri Sadak yojana. 10 per cent were of no opinion.

On the question of what is the major change which has taken place in terms of development in the area, 83.3 per cent of responses were for education and rest constituted either by infrastructure related like road construction or bridge construction. Relating development with the agency respondents were asked that who best understands problem related to development in the area, the responses were 73.3 per cent in favor of Panchayat members, 10 per cent took local political leader's name. 6.7 per cent were in favor of government official and every one each (which implies that the people take care of the problem by mutual discussion. This implies participation of the common people in the development related problems which the figure shows very less). On the question of their level of satisfaction on the role the agencies play for sorting out the problem most of them 43.3 per cent responded that they are properly functioning agency, 30 percent said that their performance is not satisfactory and there is always half done work. 10 percent said it is completely dissatisfactory. 16.7 per cent responded don't know. This shows that the level of satisfaction is not very high compared to dissatisfaction.

The major problem which the people in Bhojpur face in the area is given in the table below: we see that the electricity to be a major problem. Next to it was economic related problem along with health related concerns. It is interesting to note that in a caste driven society the social problem which majorly suffers caste bias and conflict only 20 per cent and 26.7 per cent of people responded yes to it. This is a positive indication as we see people major problem to be more infrastructural and economy related than caste and its related conflict. See table 21 for details.

Percentage Table for Major Problem Faced by People in Both the Blocks

Name of the problem	Yes (1) in %	No (2) in %	No opinion (88) in %	Can't say/don't know (96) in %	N.A (9) in %
Economic related problem	60	30	-----	-----	10
Conflict related problem	26.7	63.3	-----	-----	10

Social problem	20	70	-----	-----	10
Health related problem	60	33.3	-----	-----	6.7
Electricity	96.7	3.3	-----	-----	-----

Table 21: Shows major problem faced by the people of Bihiya and Sahar. Data collected during field work: April-May 2011.

On the question of feeling of insecurity about 40 per cent replies were that they feel insecure and 60 per cent replied that they do not feel insecure. When asked about the source of insecurity most of the replies were for local Bahubalis and goons which was 26.7 per cent and 3.3 replied Naxalite, this response came from the Ekwari village of Sahar, where Naxalite presence exists and the rest of 70 per cent were inapplicable as these were those who do not feel insecure against any one. This means that the threat of local powerful politician or bahubali is the major threat for the people in the area. When asked about the reason for insecurity most of the replies were that they are powerful than the government agency that is 20 per cent of respondent gave this reason and about 10 per cent responses were that they feel insecure because they are threatened and intimidated and 3.3 percent responses were that they are being blackmailed in the name of protection, rest of the 66.7 per cent were not applicable. When the respondents were asked about people's view on the giving part of land controlled by those who have large amount of land and property to those poor people who do not own any land and property, about 56.7 per cent responses were in favor of it and 40 per cent disapproved it. 3.3 per cent responses were of no opinion. This shows that a fair number of people are still in favor of land reform and redistribution of land from those who are the owners of large chunk of land as property. When the respondents were asked about the political system of Bihar the responses were comparative and the answers were in for the present condition of political system under Nitish Kumar. From the data given above one can observe a complete sweep in favor of Nitish Kumar which was 93.3 per cent and 3.3 responded negatively and 3.3 were of no opinion. Most of the respondent criticized Bihar's political system when Laloo- Rabri ruled. When asked that do you support caste politics in Bihar, the responses were

surprising; about 86.7 responses were no and only 10 per cent said yes and 3.3 per cent did not reply. In relation to the above question when the respondents were asked that who stands for poor and lower caste whenever there is any conflict between rich and upper caste and poor and lower caste? About 30 per cent said government, 10 per cent said Naxalites, 36.7 per cent Responses were that no one stands for the poor which is the highest percentage of response and 3.3 per cent responses were that intellectual and educated people stands for the poor and 10 per cent responses were that powerful person of that area stands for the poor and 10 per cent were of no opinion. This shows that there are conflicts between rich-upper caste and poor-lower caste and government agencies like police force has little role and the poor are still the victims of upper-caste atrocities. The table on the compensation for the victims under SC's and ST's prevention of atrocities act confirms that there are many cases where lower caste is being victimized.

When the respondent in both the blocks were asked about, that can you name any party which stands for common man and poor the responses were as following: 40 per cent took the name of political party, 6.7 per cent took the name of extremist party like Naxalite group, 16.7 per cent responses were that no one stands for poor and common man, 6.7 per cent responses were local big man and 23.3 did not take name of any particular party and 6.7 per cent did not give their opinion about it. Out of those responses who took names of a particular party, when asked the reason for their support for their party, the responses were that 23.3 per cent said they support the ideology, 23.3 per cent said that they support it because of their work in the area of development. 6.7 per cent supported because of the personal help given to the respondent by that party, rest were of no opinion.

When asked generally (in both the blocks) to know the opinion about the causes for the rise of Naxalism in Bihar the responses were as that 50 per cent said it is due to lack of development and land reform, 30 per cent said that it is because of exploitation, 10 per cent responses were due to poverty and 10 percent were of response that it is due to casteism and mutual conflict. When it was asked that thinking about your area who do you think Naxals are? 50 per cent of responses were inapplicable as in Bihiya block there is no Naxals effect. Out of the remaining 50 per cent the responses were that 20 per cent said

they are thieves dacoits and kidnappers, 10 per cent said that it is a pro-poor group working for the protection of poor's right, 6.7 per cent said that they are party of lower caste and 6.7 per cent unemployed poor people. 3.3 per cent did not give its opinion. Inquiring about the opinion about Naxalite from the point of view of general population I read out some statements about them to know whether they agree to it or not. It was a common question to people of both the blocks. The responses were that 36.7 said that their demands are right but method is wrong, 26.7 per cent said that they struggle for the right of the poor, 26.6 per cent responded that they spread needless violence and 10 per cent were of no opinion. This shows that there is support for their aim of securing justice for the poor but the violence part is strictly disapproved or disagreed by the masses. On the activeness of the Maoist in the area it was questioned whether their activity has increased or decreased compared to past. This question was restricted to the people of Sahar block only. The response was that 100 per cent people said that the Naxalites has become less powerful in the area for the past 6 to 7 years. Questions regarding loss of life and property or sexual harassment in the family or in the neighbourhood, in the past one year at the hands of Naxalites were asked; the responses were 26.7 per cent said yes to it out of 50 per cent and 16.7 per cent responses were no. This shows that the activities of the Naxalites in the Sahar block is lesser when compared to the past history of Naxalite movement in the area but it is definitely not less than the responses which were given by the respondents about their degree of involvement in violent activities.

To know the opinion about how frequently a person go to a particular agency to get their problem solved during last one year. The following were the responses: 60 per cent have gone many times to government officials to get their problem solved, 16.7 approached sometimes, 10 per cent have never gone to government officials, and 13.3 per cent has gone rarely. About 56.7 per cent still prefer to get to local political leader for getting their problem solved. About 43.3 per cent went rarely to Naxalites to get their problem solved and 13.3 per cent don't remember how many times they have gone to Naxalites. This figure indicates that most Naxalites are also of help for the people. This indicates not only their activity but also role they play in the social set up. About 50 go to Panchayat

members, 20 per cent goes sometimes and 10 per rarely visit, 13.3 per cent never went to Panchayat member. For more details see the table given below.

Percentage Table For approaching to an agency For problem solving in Bihiya and Sahar

Name of the agency	many times (4)	Sometimes (3)	Rarely 99	Never 95	Don't remember 97
Panchayat member	50	23.3	20	6.7	-----
Local political leader	56.7	20	10	13.3	-----
Naxalite activists	-----	-----	43.3	43.3	13.3
Government official	60	16.7	13.3	10	-----

Table 22: shows the people approaching to the agencies with their problems. Data collected through interview April-May 2011.

On the matter of conflict the percentage table given below shows that 30 per cent people responded that Panchayat best understands the problem of conflict in their area and 30 per cent responses were in favor of police. This data shows that whenever there is any violent conflict in the area, agency upon which the people relay is government for solving it. Here we can also analyze that it is the state that provides protection and solution to the problem related to conflict. Here the data related to Naxalites is nil, which also shows people's trust on government agencies. In relation to this question I asked the respondents whether they are able to solve the problem the responses were as follows: 63.3 per cent believes that the agency they supported for solving problem of conflict is able to solve it, 26.7 per cent believes that they could not solve the problem completely and 6.7 per cent believes that these agencies takes upper caste and powerful people's side. Since group discussions were also the part of the field study, it was known from many of the participants that 4-5 years back the police or even the Panchayat members use to take side of the powerful people whenever there used to be any conflict which is not necessarily violent. Caste bias was the major problem in which one section suffered at the hands of the other which is not

necessarily lower caste or upper cast. This shows how caste division is a major reason which affects the working or delivery of services by agents of services in a caste ridden society like Bihar.

Percentage Table of responses for the Agency which Takes Care of Problem Related to conflict

Panchayat members in %	Local political leaders in %	Naxalite activists In %	Government official in %	Police in %	No one in %	Big landlord of the area in %	Mutually in %	No opinion in %	Can't say in %
30	10	-----	-----	30	13.3	6.7	10	-----	

TABLE: 23 (a): Data collected through interview April-May 2011.

Percentage Table of Responses for Ability to Solve Conflict Related Problems

Solve	Could not solve completely	No conflict in the area	Takes upper caste or powerful side	Takes lower caste or poor side	No opinion	Don't know
63.3	26.7	-----	6.7	-----	-----	3.3

TABLE 23 (b): Data collected through interview April-May 2011.

Percentage Table of the Responses for the Agency which is Best in People's Opinion in Bringing Development and Peace in Their Area

Name of the agent	Person/party/association/organization who is best in development initiative in %	Person/party/association/organization which is best in working for peace in %
Political party	80	80
Extremist party/group	-----	-----
NGO/SHG	-----	-----
No one local big man	6.7	6.7
NO/DK	13.3	13.3

TABLE 23 (c): Data collected through interview April-May 2011. NO represents no opinion and DK represents Don't know.

The table given above shows that the people trust democratic agents for peace and development work in their area. This means that people have trust for the state agency for problem solving. Political party got the maximum, per cent of responses in its favor which is 80 per cent. To know the support of Maoism in Bhojpur asked that do the respondent think that Naxalites are threat or protector of the people. The results are following 50 per cent responded that they are protector of the people, 30 per cent said that they are threat, 13.3 percent and 6.7 percent responded that they do not know or gave no opinion on it. This shows support for their ideology. The last question which I asked and which is also crucial for this research is the question about the people's opinion on Laloo's and Nitish's rule. The data I got was a complete sweep in favor of Nitish government for his development work in road construction. Infrastructure development, work for educating masses and empowering women and policies for the advantage of SC, ST and Mahadalit and OBC's.

Overall Observations:

After the field work, one important thing which was known there is the fact that the bank Deposits of the people goes to the head offices, which are situated in Metropolitan cities like that of Mumbai. This money is used by the metropolitan cities for infrastructural development or beautification the city. This money should be used in Bihar itself for the development of infrastructure and welfare of its people. Participating in the development schemes by the people is also informed to be poor due to lack of awareness and benefit from it to the common people is also very low. The reason is lack of awareness among the target group mainly BPL. The money keeps on circulating in the hands of those who remain outside the schemes. Example of this can be cited from the cooperative bank corruption, and also about the corruption in government food grain distribution system, where most of the APL category people make a fake BPL card to get 50 Kg's of food grain per month⁴⁵. More over giving special status to the state of Bihar was emphasised by the political actors, bureaucrats and even some of the educated general population. This has been suggested as an indispensable need for speedy development in Bihar. Under-spending of allocated fund is another major problem, as we can see from the data on the fund utilised by the district administration for NREGS and IAY

Bihar in general and Bhojpur in particular has entered a new stage of evolving as a promising State, which has potential to become a developed agrarian state like Punjab and Haryana. Nitish Kumar government has instilled a new hope among the people by flooding Bihar with the policies, where it lags behind compared to other states like education, infrastructure and to utilize human resource of Bihar, he has also taken care of working of central government employment generation policies. After the interview I came to the conclusion that Bihar is rising after a long Dark period of Laloo's regime, where one can say that State was withering away. A new strength is visible at all the level in Bhojpur.

⁴⁵ The above are the view of DDC Bhojpur and also a political leader of BJP. The leader also suggested some measure for development in Bihar, which are the following: (i) first step should be towards character building (ii) chak-bandi and land levelling (iii) irrigation and canal facility is to be improved (iv) electricity is very much required-it is a basic need for development.

Since the state suffered set back in every field, it will take some time to recover from it. We can say that Bihar in general and Bhojpur in particular, is in a state of transition that is from being under developed to developing stage. The conclusions drawn from the field work are as follows:

- At the level of leaders: members are still many of the powerful goons who are given support by the political party. The support of Suraj Bhan, a rich powerful railway contractor, is a big name in crime, gives huge tax to Nitish government. Criminals like Bisheshwar Ojha working for BJP and his candidate winning election in Shahpur constituency. The phone interview with Brahmeshwar Mukhiya confirms that he is given all the facilities in jail. Thus this confirms that the criminalisation of politics is still haunting Bihar.
- At the level of Panchayat members: the reservation for the ST, SC and women needs lot of training, to make them aware of their power and function they perform. Most of the women candidates or the candidate belonging to lower castes, are still puppets at the hands of the powerful rich people or male members of their family. The participation is only in name and not in reality.
- At the level of bureaucracy there is heavy burden of work load an example can be cited from the field work experience when on public interview day it was noticed that no such public hearing has been done so far due to heavy work load on D.M. The public interview day is a way to address the grievances of the people and it is presided by the D.M. along with the head of every department. The main idea behind this is to know the problem of the common masses and address them instantly then and there. As per this meeting, the people are required to fill a form stating their grievances. There is a need to curtail the work load and more official to aid in work needed to be recruited. This ends up in non-performances in many areas like for example on the day of public interview, D.M was not available due to her engagement with the elections. The Nitish government has also enormously increased the power of bureaucracy, which means additional responsibilities, which follows it. This ends up in poor functioning of bureaucratic organization.

- There are huge number of NGO's and SHG working and large amount of fund is given to them for creating awareness and taking up economic activities but as the Data shown in chapter the performance is not satisfactory. Moreover there are many NGOs working only in name for fund by creating fake account and data for getting fund. This needs to be investigated.
- Policies which are running under Nitish government are many but their results are needed to be taken care. Some policies like state cooperative Bank Credit policy need some modification, so as to cater the need of the tenant farmers. However it would be too early to say about the results of these policies and programs. However these policies have definitely created a wave of positive energy. There are many policies which need a scrutiny and reformulation like reservation to the SC, ST and Women has to be aided with special training to the candidates after becoming members of Panchayat.
- Caste is a very important factor in Bhojpur. The violence of Naxalites and the caste violence have a very thin line of distinction, where one find one caste that is the lower caste being the part of Naxalite and the other being part of Senas like Ranvir Sena of upper caste. Ideology like Maoism has emerged in a new form in this society leading to a new version peculiar to Bihar.
- Finally if we look at the status of Naxalite problem in Bhojpur we see a decline in it. The response from all the categories of the respondents confirms it. Naxalism was a political force during 1970's, in today's Bihar out of its own party problems and corrupt practices has reduced them to be a mere kidnapers and thieves. The ideology has lost its fervor due to development efforts by the government under NDA in Bihar. Now it can no more catch the imagination of the poor are today benefitted from the policies of the government.

Overall if we look at Bihar we find that the new politics which Nitish Kumar claimed to be based on development work has given a new path to the Bihar. Caste and criminal factor though cannot be ignored due to its long past of casteist and criminalised politics being played by the former leaders of the State. Violence and crime has decreased in his rule and people feel secure and safer than before. This will divert the attention of people from

gathering security for themselves to greater participation in development works. Thus this proves that it was the poor state capacity and development deficiency which created support for ideology like Maoism and ideology based on caste.

On the connection between violence and development, it was observed that the present government has engaged the people with new thinking and policies. The responses of the people against Naxalites and Caste politics is an evidence of the positive flow of energy in the State though the overall crime rates has not been reduced, but the popular appeal on caste line by the state or non-state actors is on the verge of decline. Thus we see a different, if not completely changed, picture of Sahar and allied areas, which was once the witness of Naxalbari type of upsurge and Caste based violence of Senas in the State.

CHAPTER: 5

CONCLUSION

The state of Bihar, with its peculiarity of its own style of rule by its political leaders, is the product of the past societal culture. This culture is basically the result its past feudal set up, which created a culture of violence in the course of time. Societal violence-one version of which in the form of Naxalism, came up in 1970's, as a potent rival of the few feudal lords in the State. The seed of which was sown before independence due to the faulty and extractive policy of the colonisers. This brought this State into a juncture where division among the caste was intensified even greater due to the control of the agrarian economy went in the hands of few dominant castes. This created various categories of tenant farmers, which became tools in the hands of few landed gentry on one hand and coloniser on the other. Land came up as a major problem and cause of rivalry in the state, which continued to be a major problem even after independence. The real problem started when these few landed gentry in their attempt to maintain their social and political influence intervene in the political processes of the land reform. One example of it can be cited from the Arvin N. Das book '*The Republic of Bihar*', where he has depicted how the abolition of Zamindari system by the state was seen by the landed gentry as a challenge to their autonomy. This problem continued to be the major concern which forms the part of every report on Bihar, like for example the current Economic survey of Bihar report 2010-11 accepts the fact that 'most of Bihar's social problems are embedded in its important resource – land and the historical constraints on the optimised use of this resource for economic growth and social justice'¹. The question like social justice which became a buzz word during Laloo's regime, however in the name of bringing social justice got reduced to dirty vote bank politics. The ideology of the left tried to make its place, as the condition matched exactly with that of its pro-poor appeal. However, Laloo's political cupidity with caste as its backbone drove out leftist from the mainstream politics and we see Naxalite revolting higher against the upper landed caste during his rule. By this time the study shows that Naxalite movement lost its character in absence of organised party and leadership and operated fully on caste line. Naxalism.

¹: Government of Bihar:Finance Department, *Economic survey of Bihar (2010-11)*, Patna feb, 2011. See *Bihar: Toward a Development Strategy*, A Report, by World Bank, 2005.

as the history of the State depicts took up the lead in favour of the exploited tenants, in response of it we see a rise of various Senas for protecting their interest. These Senas as we see in the previous chapters were mainly formed by the Bhumihar's and Rajput's, who mainly belonged to the landed class. The Senas were mainly retaliators of the rising leftist power which grew influential among the poor with the land grab movement and mass murders of the upper caste in the State. However, in retaliation of the lower caste Naxalite's blood-spattered activity, we see the rise of Senas in 1994 like Ranvir Sena, constituted by landed gentry, especially of the upper caste. This Sena was a source of terror in the State until recently. Thus we see that the State, which was once called by Paul Appleby as the best administered province in India, changed its character. If we go by the development typologies of we see that the character of the state of Bihar comprises of both 'shadow state' and 'neo-patrimonial state'. Thus, it is a reflection of poor state capacity in attending its goal. To substantiate the proposition Laloo's regime was as an era where one can see all the character of neo-patrimonial state. Laloo Prasad Yadav tried to run the politics of the State in accordance of his own political understanding of social Justice. It was the result of his desire to keep himself intact in power that he employed the policy promoting sectional interest. Yadavisation is one of the results of it. What started with the goal of giving social justice and redistribution of resources Laloo, finally got reduced to be a mere 'politics of criminalisation' and 'criminalisation of politics', as put forth by Arvind N. Das. Rise of Nitish and his slogan of development and good governance, as a path of success to the State of Bihar, worked well for him giving JDU another chance of to rule the destiny of this State. Here one point becomes important which is creation of various categories by Nitish government signifying the degree of deprivation. The illustrations of these categories are 'Mahadalit', Extremely Backward Class. To elucidate this one can say that development processes has identified group within group, which is reflective of heterogeneous character of the post-colonial society at the down ward level. However if we critically analyse Nitish 'miracle' in Bihar we see that the claim made by his government in the sphere of crime rates has registered an overall increase, however fall in the number of riot cases is also noticeable. As the emphasis of the study owes much from political leadership, one can see it as an important factor for all the adversity of the state and Nitish work has been seen as a break from the past. However as the study in the field

work explores that there is still politico-bureaucratic-criminal nexus, this can be seen as Bihar's typical way of running politics.

Applying this heterogeneity with that of Naxalites in Bihar, we can say that partially fulfilled development efforts, targeting the poorer section generated categories of beneficiaries, partial beneficiaries and deprived. However, it is this section of deprived that supports extremist ideologies. The datasets collected after general population's interview shows no support for Naxalites in the region. There is a sense of security among people and faith in developmental endeavours of Nitish Kumar. This has created division in the group of the followers of the ideology based social uprising. Therefore it has helped to create a peaceful other than violent environment in the society. The result of the responses of the general population clearly shows that people are no more interested in caste politics, which is surprising for a caste ridden society like Bihar. In addition to it the huge support for the developmental efforts by NDA has gained momentum. The people's sense of security in the democratic institution during Nitish rule can be witnessed through the field study of the region of Bhojpur. People have instilled their faith in the agency of the state for getting their problem solved, which means the ideology which is based on violence and pro-poor no more allure poor people². Here the double-edge protection from the point of view of state and Naxalite can be analysed by the fact that when state in the name of protection provides people with security, it is accompanied by development services to the people on one hand. On the other hand the protection provided by the Naxalite group no more allure to the people as the responses of the people shows that poor need food and shelter instead of bloody revolution.

If we summarise the developmental work of Nitish Kumar we can say that his government has generated faith among the masses. However following are the problem of the state of Bihar being recognised from this study i) the problem of corruption as has been pointed out, like in the case of sale of electric equipment in much higher price than what was fixed by the government ii) problem of genuine participation-as has been pointed out the reservation to the women is only in name and on official papers and they do not have enough training and knowledge about

²These assertions have been made on the basis of field study and the responses collected.

their power and functions due to hierarchal structure of the society iii) caste based division restricts cooperative endeavors in the state like for example cooperative farming can be a viable solution under the supervision of the state with greater and equal participation in agriculture and iv) problem of under-spending in most of the social welfare schemes is to be attributed for sub-zero performance in social welfare sector and v) Lastly, NGO's needed to be also scrutinized by the state due to the corrupt practices.

Thus, we can say that social violence in general and social violence inspired by political ideology like Naxalism, is a creation of the development deficiency and poor state capacity. The improved governance and political leadership has created a democratic environment and weakened the tendency of the social elements to resort to bloody revolution like Maoism. The case study of Bhojpur in general and Bihar in Particular proves this with improved NDA rule. Legibility remains an important component in the whole of the study in which, the state is required to create-not in its own understanding but through the understanding of the need of society and ways it operates where the power of the state is exercised.

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