

INCARCERATED FOR LIFE: UNDERSTANDING THE SURRENDERED MAOIST IN GADCHIROLI DISTRICT OF MAHARASHTRA, INDIA

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Abstract:

In 2005, government of India introduce the ‘Surrender and Rehabilitation Policy’ for surrendered Maoist in conflict zones. Since then, we have a seen increasing numbers of Maoists surrendering to the state. Given that the Maoist insurgency is key internal-security challenge, the surrenders are seen as efforts towards peace-building as well as conflict resolution. South Asia Terrorism Portal (SAT) estimated that, since, 2005 to 2016 total 4910 Maoist surrendered across India.

This paper aims to investigate the post-surrendered life of the ‘lower cadres’ Maoist insurgent, using empirical as well as case study. This research attempts to conduct a primary data collection and analysis, in the district of Gadchiroli, Maharashtra. This paper argues the post surrendered life is a triage of stigma, security and livelihood, resulting into deep impoverishment as well as parlous journey of life. The paper further argues that stigma operates as attribute of discrimination in everyday life of surrendered individual, which causes dispossession and dislocation of livelihood. We argue that besides a modicum rewards and promises, the state driven ‘surrender policy’ is inadequate to address the grievous issues concerning the post-Maoist life of individual. The paper observes that the society, as network materialized through the police, the state and the citizens acts as a situational deviance, which causes a systemic discrimination, animated stereotypes and deprivation. Many times these factors exist on both sides, amongst the surrendered and other individuals. In summary, the paper suggests that the stigmatize are those who bears stigma as well as insecurity while others play a crucial role in carving a incarcerated ion in surrendered life of individual.

Key words: Surrender and rehabilitation policy, post-surrender life, stigma, stereotypes, security and the Maoist insurgency.

Introduction:

The Maoist armed struggle reached an advance stage after the Naxalbari phase (EPW, 2006), sstarted as a social movement and has metamorphosed into a revolutionary movement haunting in India since 1980s, long four decades. Government has branded the Maoist movement as a ‘law and order’ issue using the instruments of ‘Para-military’ and ‘developmental approach’ to solve it. This has been pursued ignoring the socio-economic conditions.ⁱ The Former Prime Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh has branded the Maoist challenges has become the “single biggest internal-security challenge” facing India (The Hindu, 2010). In dealing with this decades old problem, Government of India interaction with the state governments concerned that integrated approach aimed relatively affected states would give sure results. With this, detailed analysis of the spread and trend in respect of Maoist violence has been taken up for special attention on planning and implementation and monitoring of development schemes. For that, Government assigns enormous funding for developmental activities such as a ‘security related expenditure’ (SRE) and Civic action programmes.ⁱⁱ Now recently the Government of India launched “Surrender and rehabilitation policy’ for left wing extremist areas to counter the Maoist challenges.

Present study has been conducted in the Gadchiroli district, Maharashtra, it is flanked by the Maoist headquarter ‘Chhattisgarh’ and undivided Andhra Pradesh, district falls under ‘Dandakarnya’ forest area.ⁱⁱⁱ Routledge, (1997), Gupta (2006) and Expert Group, (2008) pointed that, Maoism has to spread to those areas where large populations

lived in below the poverty line, lacking basic facilities and exploitations of tribals and other marginalized communities. Initially the revolutionary movement started in 1980s later that spread in entire district, now Gadchiroli district considered highest Maoist prone area in the Maharashtra. In this study, total 09 interviews conducted, including single focus group discussion (FGD) and participatory observation, also discussed with the police officers, advocate, journalist and local villagers. In this paper every information related to names and identity protected purposefully for the security reasons. Paper is analysed based on the in-depth interviews of the surrendered Maoist and other actors who participated in the study. This paper largely discussed post surrender life of the surrendered Maoist.

Salient features of the S&R policy in conflict regions:

In 2005, Government of India introduced 'Surrender and Rehabilitation policy' to rehabilitate surrendered to mainstream, to build consensus and evolve as acceptable and peaceful solution to violence perpetrated by rebellion groups. Initially rehabilitation policy has been implemented in Jammu and Kashmir,^{iv} North-east India and later that expanded to the Maoist affected states.^v The policy has been framed keeping in mind the specific geographical and social landscape to help those Maoists/Militants/rebellion who want to abjure violence, surrender and join the mainstream. The government believes that "a good and effective surrender and rehabilitation policy would definitely encourage many Maoist cadres to shun violence and surrender before the authorities. Therefore, it is absolutely necessary for each state to formulate one."^{vi} The objective of the policy is to encourage them join the mainstream and lead a normal life and contribute towards prosperity and progress of the state as well as the nation. Main aim of adopting the policy is 'peace' and 'development' in conflict region. In the policy for surrender and rehabilitation of militants/ terrorists, the militants were eligible for attractive case rewards, incentives, monthly stipend, employment and entrepreneurial opportunities, so they are encouraged not to return to fold of rebellion movement. (Home Department, 2004).

As per the revised guideline of S&R policy surrendered Maoist acceptance of conditions of surrender, where he/she eligible for a cash rewards, 1.5 to 20 lakh rupees. Each surrender Maoist shall be imparted vocational training of his choice, gainful employment and a monthly stipend of Rs.4000 shall be given three years. Reward is based on their position in the movement.^{vii} Additionally policy ensures incentives, housing, health facility and education to the surrendered Maoist. It should be noted that, these are only guidelines and each state government is free to frame its own surrender and rehabilitation policy. The policy can be extended every year including strategies and planning.

Present Situation of the S&R Policy in Left Wing Extremist areas:

In August 2005, the Government of Maharashtra launched 'surrender and rehabilitation policy' especially in Gadchiroli district for surrendered Maoist. Since then, we have a seen increasing numbers of Maoists surrendering to the state. Media report shows in the last 10 years total 502 Maoists surrendered in Maharashtra, out of 482 which are from the Gadchiroli district (Times of India, 2015). Across the country since, 2005 to March 2016 total 4910 Maoist surrendered reported by South Asian Terrorism portal (SATP, 2016). However, it has observed, there is no exact figure available on the surrender Maoist, there is huge gap between the official data and media data, even figure never match.

Scholarly articles and national and local media, pointed that the S&R policy has failed to maintain peace in conflict regions, not only in Jammu and Kashmir but also in North-east, and left wing extremist areas in India. Ramana (2013). He discussed, the failure of surrender policy, also suggested that, state should show a strong interest in obtaining surrenders and secure surrender case by case basis, secure operation and ensure that policy implementation effective and closely monitored. Mirza (2009) pointed, 'the major failure of the surrender policy has been its inefficacy in restoring peace in the region. This has happened due to several inadequacies and loopholes in the policy as well as the manipulations that have occurred relating to the political use of the surrendered insurgents.'^{viii}

One of the Maoist leaders argues after the surrender, he said, '*I still tell people not to pick up the gun. But unless the center frames a surrender and rehabilitation policy they will continue to be cheated by state government*' (Times of India, 2014). The journalist in a telephonic discussion says, "*Government concerned about how to increase surrendered statistics, but not concerned on basic problems of Maoist areas. Government picks up innocent youth's in name of surrender to achieving targets.*"^{ix} In the state of Orissa were in response to the Maoists challenge state government adopted S&R policy, attractive rewards, were lot of welfare measures and successful rehabilitation promised the surrendered Maoist, but none of the promises were fulfilled by the state, according to the media reports;

More than forty Naxals have surrendered so far in the state. But not a single of them has got the promised benefits.... police source says that there are several cadres in the Naxals camp especially women who are allegedly exploited and are willing to surrender. But if the fate of the Naxals who have already surrendered in not very encouraging the rest might hardly find any motivation to do the same----- Karan, (2011)

In the state of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Orissa were fake surrender and fake arrest cases are highlighted by the media, where innocent tribal youths picked by force (see, The Indian Express, (2014), DNA, (2015). Subramaniam, (2015) and Sunder, (2016), wrote about the fake surrenders of Maoists and fake encounters cases in Chhattisgarh. According to the Subramaniam, (2015)) 26 Maoists surrendered to the police reported by the media,^x she reported that, the mass detentions were followed by “mass surrenders”, police claimed that Maoist and their supporters had surrendered voluntary, but villagers accounts suggests that many of the surrendered Maoists were ordinary villagers. Similar incident happened in Bastar district of Chhattisgarh were media reported ‘Mass Surrender’ were 70 Maoist surrendered to the police.^{xi} However Sunder (2016) she reported, 32 out of the 70 surrenders by Maoist were proudly announced by the Bastar police at Chintalnar on December 24, were ordinary villagers. She highlighted matters of fake surrenders, the police discriminated against tribals giving them only Rs. 1000 as reward, while the traders from UP who surrendered got Rs. 10,000.

Where did the rest of the surrenders money go and where are all these surrendered Maoist today.? Even one of the higher rank police officer stated that, large chunk of surrenders were not found genuine, he rejected a majority of the surrender cases.^{xii} After adopting S&R policy, many innocent villagers were cooked into statistics because of the conflict between the state and Maoists. The question is when insurgents surrender it is sign of the weakening of an insurgent’s force, but when innocent villagers are forced to surrender, its simply complicates the problem.

As media highlighted that, failure outcomes of the S&R policy were surrendered Maoist used by the force to counter Maoist challenges. This is negative outcome of the S&R policy in LWEs area. They were worked as a Special Police officers (SPOs), somewhere they used as a ‘Naxal guide’, as ‘informers.’ In this situation life of the surrendered hanged between the state and Maoist since they surrendered.^{xiii} Therefore, fake arrest and surrender cases were pursued, and led negative impacts of the policy resulting in failure of surrender policy in LWEs states, government wants increased statistics but never wins the hearts of surrendered Maoist.

Table 1. State-wise details of LWSs Surrendered from 2006 to 2013

Left Wing Extremists Surrendered								
Name of state	2006	2007	2008	2009 (up to Feb 2009)	2010	2011	2012	2013 (up to 31.07.2013)
Andhra Pradesh	282	162	197	10	141	242	301	53
Bihar	15	21	028	00	13	26	42	02
Chhattisgarh	901	167	08	00	06	20	26	22
Jharkhand	10	02	06	00	23	17	06	11
Madhya Pradesh	01	00	01	00	02	00	00	00
Maharashtra	67	35	150	06	22	15	10	34
Odessa	03	03	06	00	48	49	34	30
Utter Pradesh	02	00	04	00	01	09	00	00
West Bengal	NA	NA	NA	NA	06	15	26	00
Other State	NA	NA	NA	NA	06	01	00	00
Total	1281	390	400	16	266	394	445	152

Source: Rajya Sabha un-starred Question No. +413 to be answered on the 7th August, 2013/SRAVANA 16, 1935 (SAKA), Also adopted from Ramana (2013): Taming India’s Maoist.

Why Maoist surrender: experience of the Gadchiroli district

Last four decades of violence between the Maoist and state, Government launched S&R policy in 2005, especially in Gadchiroli district. Since then, number of Maoists surrender to the state it is observed that, there are no particular reason for Maoists cadre surrendering to the state. Media reported that, 'disillusioned' with the Maoist ideology were major chunk of the cadres surrendering. An account of Battacharya, (2006), Alte, (2008), and Pandita, (2011) their studies highlighted, 'disillusionment' with party ideology and 'leadership' were active Maoists left revolutionary movement by citing ill health.^{xiv}

Majority of the print and electronic media reported that disillusionment with the party ideology were active Maoist surrendering to the state. However, the reasons is disillusionment with the ideology may not be the real reason which state propagates with support of the media. There are other issue were higher and lower rank cadres surrendering to the state.^{xv} Real facts of surrendering rarely disclosed by the government and even by media.^{xvi} Recently one of the prominent Maoist leader surrendered along with his wife to the Telangana state police, reason being ill health is grounded as the reason, but fact was growing dependency among the Maoist leaders, leading to a leadership crisis (The Hindu, 2014).

Historically, leadership occupied by middle class intelligentsia from metropolitan in the revolutionary Movement, hardly leaders seen from the tribals and Dalit's. Alte, (2008) pointed, Monopoly of leadership by upper caste on cadres belonging to Dalit and tribals. They have clashes between the groups in Andhra Pradesh. As mentioned above, similar situation observed in the Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra, where majority of the lower rank Maoist cadres surrendered to the state. Primary data shows, the participants^{xvii} who have left the Maoist movement because of 'disillusionment' and 'leadership', no any other issue. But the context of leaving is different such as unfair treatments, wrong allegation, threat from the police force and everyday life in the underground. In this situation, participants felt helpless and vulnerable which forced them to leave the movement and join mainstream life, however, most of the responses were state introduced surrender policy.

Responses from the Participants, why they left the Maoist movement, they said;

"In our district Maoist Movement started more than 25 years ago, but Maoists not captured a single block of Gadchiroli district, when they are able to capture whole district and Red Fort at Delhi? We never seen how is Delhi except our forest. There is no future, simply movement diverted from their track. Also we need to listen leaders whether its right or wrong without any objection. That's why we left the Maoist Movement."^{xviii}

Hierarchy among the leaders and cadres, where lower rank cadres were never part for the discussions and decision making, they hardly found personal space, humiliated from the leadership. FGD members concluded; *'today Maoist movement is not effective among the locals, they have lost faith, earlier it was very famous among the labor, working class, poor, dalits and tribes.* One of the male participant said; *"In the name of tribes, leaders always humiliated us because we don't know how to read and write. Also 'without their permission nothing will happen, everything we need listen."* Basic difference between the leader and cadre, when they surrendered, there is choice to join politics either business. But those who are served in the battlefield, their life is vulnerable, underground life in the forest, stigmatized from the society and they restricted to enter ones own villages since they surrendered. For leaders after the surrendered life is quite easy, settled in the big cities, living lavish life, their children in IITs,^{xix} also recently noted that, top Maoist leader Sabyasachi Panda contested election (see, Panwar, 2014 and Ramana, 2013 and The Hindu, 2015). One of the participants said, *we cannot afford private education, our children going in government Ashram schools, and education condition is worst.* This is the difference between leaders and cadres. In fact, the story of the surrendered Maoist is neither simple nor a common place occurrence. Female participants narrated her experiences why she left revolutionary movement;

"When I was working with the movement, leaders from the upper caste from Andhra Pradesh. They always dominated us, we can't raise questions if things are right or wrong, everything we have to listen them. They behaved rudely with me, sometimes I felt like a criminal. For leaders we are good for them when things are going fine, we suddenly become zero if things change. So I decided to kill myself, but preferred to leave Movement and choose the right direction, therefore I left the Maoist Movement."^{xx}

Historically women participated in the revolutionary movement since its genesis, their contribution is unforgettable. Saibaba, (2010), Mehta, (2012) mentioned, in 2010 aproximatly 40 percent women constitute in the revolutionary movement as a cadre force, wide range of role and carrying weaponse, involved in guerrilla fighters, and many other

responsibilities. CPI (M) accepted that, 'without women victory in revolution is impossible.'^{xxi} However, Stree Shakti Sanghatan^{xxii} argued, patriarchy is inherent part of the agrarian oppression. There is no significance representations of the women in the movement, they are not considered as equal. Ex Moist Shobha Mandi she describes, 'every woman is seen as an abject which would satisfy the lust of all male cadres' (Haque, 2013). Kannabiran, (2004) (Mehta, 2012) described that, historically women never get equal statues as men in the movement, they are 'victims of male cadres, and routinely 'victimize' with sexual violence and aggression. Women are the most marginalized section as observed, they are double marginalized from the state and society. Situation of the women is not good as earlier. Thus, the participants come to the conclusion that the movement will not help them to achieve the long term goals they envisaged when they joined, this coupled with the State's marketing of Surrender Policy, participants decide to leave the movement.

The 'Surrender': Government and its S&R policy

With the introduction of S&R policy, Government propagated lot of promises to the Maoists including attractive rewards, housing, land, vocational training and secure rehabilitations to bring back them. Also allocating huge finance in conflict zones, resulting in number of Maoist surrendering. It might seem to be a positive indicator raising statistics in Maoists affected areas hiding a hollow and more brutal reality, ignoring basic issues of the surrender Maoist. Since the implementation of policy in Gadchiroli district, there was a statistical increase of surrender Maoist and media reports. In last 10 years, a total 502 Maoists surrendered in Maharashtra, of which 482 are from the Gadchiroli district (Times of India, 2015). The field data indicate that, after the surrender government promises such as attractive rewards and incentives, vocational trainings, secure rehabilitations and land for housing mentioned in the central frame Guidelines.

On this a police officer of Gadchiroli district comments,

"Impact of the policy is that; many Maoist are continually surrendering; this is a positive indicator for the police department of Gadchiroli district. We provide them plots, housing, Taxi, auto, grocery shop etc, as an effect many families get benefited under the policy."^{xxiii}

However, Manesh rejected this statement given by the police, he said, "I will bring 100 surrendered Maoist family from the XYZ place you can ask anyone, none of person got taxi, auto, shops and all".

As we have seen positive responses, although Maoists were surrendering but reality is different, promises are in the air not in reality. They got only reward amounts in their bank accounts, for sympathisers Rs. 60,000 and for commanders up to 4 lakh rupees based on their position in the movement. In addition to, they got only false promises. Vocational training, monthly stipend and plots for housing were not provided them as per the guidelines. Atul narrated the life in rehabilitation camp after the surrender, he said;

"When I surrendered to the police department, they gave lot of promises to me such as a house, land, money and other welfare facilities. Still I am waiting to get something of the promised, but I lost my hope. Not only me, there are many families who get this assurance from the department, we get only money, nothing apart from that as we were told we should"^{xxiv}

Negative depiction of the policy which impacts on the surrendered lives, government has fail to address basic problems, such as vocational training and monthly stipend. Vocational training is an important element of the policy which provides them gainful employment skills after the rehabilitation.

Rakesh said, *police department offers me motor driving training, after 5 days they asked me supportive documents, which I didn't have at that time. I was denied of training from the driving school because of lack of Documents."*

Other observation is related to the monthly stipend, the department responsible does not provide them with monthly allowances as promised. As a result, participants were unable to fulfill their daily basic needs in the police camp, they started as labor work in the construction sites and gardening in the rehabilitation camp. However, Kalpana, Rakesh and Manesh narrated their lives in rehabilitation camp, they said,

"We didn't get a monthly allowance from the police department, even after stating we need to buy basic necessities like clothes, grocery, daily needs. We can't buy anything because we have come

empty handed with lot expectations from the department, but they didn't give us monthly allowance. Therefore, we need to go for labor work under rehabilitation camp to fulfill our basic needs. There are more than 100 surrender Maoists working in construction site of the rehabilitation camp”

Rakesh said, “*life in the police camp was horrible, rude behavior and were treated as criminal*”. One of the police constable said; these people are culprit, Maoists create unnecessary problem in the society.^{xxv}The negative outcome of the policy and unfair treatment from the police department (See, table no. 01 reflected response was low in 2006 was 64 and 2013 it was 34 maosist surrender in Maharashtra).The only positive output was ‘rewards’ and ‘surrender certificate’ as part of security given by the state. Its indicated that state does not promptly keep its promises of giving money, employment and other rehabilitation measures. The Maoists feel cheated and they begin to think that perhaps their initial decision of joining Maoism was correct.

Rehabilitation: A false Promise

As per the guideline, the government promised secure rehabilitation, such as compulsory plots for housing near by the police headquarter. After leaving the police camp, government did not allocate housing or plots for them. They need to manage rented room, cloths, cooking vessels and other basic facilities on their own. When they leave the police camp, they loose everything including family, relatives, land, village, even their entry is restricted in their own villages because of threat from the Maoists. Therefore, they need to stay in safe and secure places, secure and safe places do not solve problems of the surrendered. In this process their half of bank saving is used for primary settlement. However, it is appreciated that, government shows plots in Gadchiroli town but “*not sure when they will allocate it to us*” said by Tarachand. Similar response was given by Sagar and Rakesh, they said;

Police department shows plots for us in XYZ place, also they give blank forms to us for applying housing scheme from the Grampanchyat, also they told us 10 to 12 houses were approved, but the situation is still the same, construction has not started yet, we hope will get soon.....^{xxvi}

In another place where surrendered families settled on the illegal forest land, that land was allocated for 18 months, after that they need to leave that place, Manesh narrates;

“After the rehabilitation by the police department, lad was allocated to us for 18 months. after that we constructed houses, huts within small space without any supportive documents. if they (forest department) think then we can be asked to leave this place without any option, if this happens I don't know where should I go? When Baba Amte captured the forest land in Bhamragad, the forest dept. does not have any problem, but when it comes to giving us land they have a problem. We can't go to our villages because of threat from the Maoist. We are just living here illegally; any time they will kick us.”

Summing up the narration from Kalpana, she argued, “simply I wanted to tell you there is no such kind of rehabilitation for us, just false promises got from the government. Actually govt. does not want to allocate plots, house for us, we have to manage everything by our own. Then how can I tell you this is rehabilitation? Therefore, some of the remaining militants have either gone underground or have established contacts with their former colleagues.

Incarcerated for life:

This is the most essential part of the study, this attempts to address life after surrender. After the rehabilitation, government shows only plots but still they are waiting. The only option remaining is to stay near police headquarter because of risk on their lives, even if they try to enter their own villages, there are chances that maoist will target. It is mandatory for surrendered Maoist, to inform and take permission from the police department before going to any other place. They need to be present in the police department whenever asked to. Also recently, the police department^{xxvii}offer jobs for them as SPOs, however 90 percent participants rejected this offer because of risk on their lives and families, see recently in Gadchiroli surrendered Maoist killed by Maoist, as he work as “Naxal informer since he surrendered.^{xxviii} One of the police person said; *If we cannot maintain relation then there might be chance that they(surrender maoist) run away from the place.^{xxix}*

Rakesh narrated how police used, he said;

“Already I left the movement; if I will work again for the police then Maoist will kill me, riskig life of my family in the village. So I thought better is maintain long distance with police and Maoist, I know police department uses our peoples, but it is risky for our lives, but what can we do sir? Recently lok sabha election police department kept us in the police van, infront of the polling both to watch maosist. Police never understand our problems; they always use our people. But they don't know how we are carrying fears and risk. If Naxalite knows we are helping the police. It's risky for my family, relatives in the village. But police never understand our problems. This is the situation we are facing here after the surrendering.”

Since they have surrendered, they face problems of losing their identity and being stigmatized from the society. Government issued only ‘surrender certificate’ as part of security and identity, recently they got UID, voter id and ration card. However, that certificate is not appropriate to apply for government schemes. For surrenders, it is very difficult to bring supportive documents from the village. It indirectly impacts on their lives, both sides their doors are closed, if they help the police then maoist will target, if not help then police will target. In addition, their *family targeted from both sides*, said Kalpana. Their life hangs in between the state and maoist.

Second impacts is the stigma or being labeled as surrendered maoist. Primary data shows, the mainstream society regularly discriminated the surrenders. This stigma operates discriminations in the work place, in town on individuals, also hardly is any safety network available for them. One of the participant’s wife said, *peoples behave like we are criminals in the workplace, even she said our kids also stigmatized in the school.*^{xxx} Response from the local person, he said; *these people killed innocent tribals, opposed development, now they surrendered and stay illegally, as criminals.*^{xxxi} They stay in small hut with limited space near by the town, the stigma denies them to get rented room in the town. Their life is stigmatized; the loss of identity and the feeling of insecurity in the town. Only Maoist stigma remains them as a ‘Maoists’ after they have surrendered. That stigma operates as attribute of discrimination in everyday life in working place, in government offices.

Presently they work in construction sites, as low paid labour, in the farms, also few of working in the police headquarter as gardener. Women situation is vulnerable after the surrender; she has to manage family as well as work as laborer. They don’t have alternate livelihood source, even government does not give vocational trainings. They hardly find alternate livelihood sources for them which they can live with dignity and self-respect. Further, I argued, state might be success to increasing statistics but ignored basic problems of surrender. They left the Maoist movement for better life but after the surrender only hardship remains since they surrendered.

Conclusion:

Mirza, (2009) Ramana, (2013), Sunder, (2016) and media has pointed, govt. issued guideline/policy is not effective in so far state, it is a fail to fulfil their promises as given to surrendered Maoist. They left the movement due to ideological and leadership issues for peaceful life and dignity. State branded policy has given lot of promises before the surrender, but after the surrender none of the single promises are fulfilled by the state. As a result, their life is vulnerable, risk always on their head only hardship life remains. Surrendered life has completed a circle, as we saw poverty was a factor to join the movement, after the surrender, still they face poverty. But this time society, social safety net and other inherited capital is no longer available, and hence are forced to start life from scratch with meagre resources and under life threatening conditions, to sum up the research’s findings, observation, interaction with locals, advocate, Journalist, media and to put words in mouth of the participant “Surrender Policy has failed.”

Notes

ⁱ See, Aljazeera, Published in June 1, 2013, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_Po9qOednk4

ⁱⁱ Under this scheme financial grants sanctioned to Central Armed police force (CAPF) to undertake civic action in the affected states. The idea is to win the hearts and minds of local communities’ thoughts small developmental schemes, which to same extant will mitigate the problems of the propels leaving insurgency hit areas and also bring

goodwill to security force, according to the MHA annual report 2014-15 total 19.30 crore financed and 17.65 crore rupees out has been reallocated to the 10 affected districts.

ⁱⁱⁱ Dandakaranya forest area comprising Bastar of Chhattisgarh, the Gadchiroli region in Maharashtra and in North Telangana.

^{iv} See, Jammu and Kashmir Rehabilitation Policy Guideline: http://mha.nic.in/sites/upload_files/mha/files/pdf/JK-RehabilitationPolicy.pdf

^v See, guideline Surrender and rehabilitation policy:

http://www.mha.nic.in/sites/upload_files/mha/files/surrenderPolAendments070909_0.pdf

^{vi} See, Meghalaya Times, (2015): Government offer cash to Naxal who surrender

<http://meghalayatimes.info/index.php/archives-old/57-state/state/13334-govt-offers-cash-to-naxals-who-surrender>

^{vii} Reward amount transferred on their bank account which he/she can withdraw after three years. However reward is based on his/her position in the movement for example for sympathies below 1 lakh rupees, lower rank cadres 1 to 2.5 lakh, Dalam commanders 2 to 5 lakh rupees and higher rank cadres/leaders 25 lakh rupees eligible for reward cash as per the revised guideline. See, guideline available on http://mha.nic.in/naxal_new

^{viii} Mirza Zulfiqur Rahman, Research Scholar at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi.

^{ix} Discussion with the local journalist on the phone in Gadchiroli in January 2015.

^x See, Times of India, (Dec, 9, 2015) Raipur: 26 Maoist surrenders, one rebel held:

<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/raipur/26-Maoists-surrender-one-rebel-held/articleshow/50103196.cms>

^{xi} The Economic times (25.12.2015) Raipur: Mass surrender of Maoists, 70 give up gun in Chhattisgarh;

http://articles.economictimes.indiatimes.com/2015-12-25/news/69300273_1_sukma-jagargunda-police-station-surrendered-maoists

^{xii} Scroll. In (update: April 2016): The story the Chhattisgarh police does not want you to read

<http://scroll.in/article/804384/the-story-the-chhattisgarh-police-does-not-want-you-to-read>

^{xiii} See, Indian Express 2014: In Gadchiroli, Maharashtra was surrendered Maoist shot dead by the Maoist. The person surrendered 10 years ago after that he worked as a 'Naxale guide' for the police department.

<http://indianexpress.com/article/india/india-others/cop-shot-dead-by-naxals-in-gadchiroli/>

Also recently in Chhattisgarh were surrendered Maoist killed by the Maoist, suspicion that he was acting as police informer, see <http://www.oneindia.com/india/chhattisgarh-surrendered-naxal-killed-maoists-2045692.html>

^{xiv} See, The Hindu, September 2015: Disillusioned with Ideology,

<http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/telegana/disillusioned-with-ideology/article7639816.ece>

^{xv} There is Hierarchy among Maoist Movement, leaders and cadres, most of the leaders came from the urban higher caste and elite background and lower rank cadres from the Scheduled Caste, Scheduled tribes and other economically backward communities. However, there are hardly SC and ST leaders in the movement. They always on the battlefield where higher rank leaders never been.

^{xvi} Prominent Maoist leader Lanka Papi Reddy alias Lachanna, he surrendered to the police in February 2008. He said he surrendered due to ill health also because he was disillusioned with party ideology. The Maoist later said that

he was demoted because he had misbehaved with women comrades and that is why he surrendered. See, <http://www.thehindu.com/todays-paper/tp-national/tp-andhrapradesh/papi-reddy-a-renegade-maoists/article1196667.ece>

^{xvii} Participants worked with the revolutionary movement 2 to 13 years, their life experiences cited in the paper since they surrendered.

^{xviii} Discussion with the Participants during Focus Group Discussion (FGD) in December 2015.

^{xix} Maoist leader Devkumar alias Arvind Nishant's son is studying chemical engineering at the Indian Institute of Technology (IIT), Kanpur. Maoist company commander Malliraji Reddy's daughter Snehlata has completed her B.Sc. and is studying law in a reputed university. See, <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/other-states/maoists-kids-well-educated-work-in-mnacs-say-police/article7851736.ece>

^{xx} Interview conducted in December 2015.

^{xxi} Rita Manchanda (Jun, 2001): Redefining and Feminizing Security' EPW, Vol. 39, Issue.22, pp.1956 to 1963, available at <http://www.epw.in/journal/2001/22/perspectives/redefining-and-feminising-security.html>

^{xxii} Group of Women in Andhra Pradesh.

^{xxiii} Formal discussion with the police officer in Gadchiroli district in December 2014.

^{xxiv} Interview conducted in December 2015.

^{xxv} Discussion with the police constables during field visit in January 2015.

^{xxvi} In February 18, 2015 researcher made conversation with participant on the phone. Purpose was inquiring statuses of lots. Participants said, now we lost our hope of plots and houses, I don't know when they will have allocated plots. 3 months ago they show plots, but now police department not serious on that, there is hardly chance to get plots. Only those who surrendered earlier but have own land in Gadchiroli they got houses. Construction was started. That houses are not approved by the police department; it is approved by the respected village Gram Panchayat.

^{xxvii} Gadchiroli police department have separate office called as "Naxal cell", handle Maoist related activities, planning and implementation.

^{xxviii} Ibid,

^{xxix} Formal discussion with the police personal in January 2015.

^{xxx} Formal discussion with the participant wife, also discussed with his kid during the field work in 2015.

^{xxxi} Formal discussion with the local villagers during the field work in Gadchiroli district, in 2015.

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