CRIME SPECIALISATION BY JUVENILES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO FEROIOUS RECRUITMENT METHODS ADOPTED BY MAOIST AND OTHER EXTREMISTS GROUP IN INDIA

By Damodar Singh Rajpurohit & Himanshi Tripathi
From Damodaram Sanjivayya National Law University

ABSTRACT
Juveniles who are recruited by the extremists groups are victims of violence at multiple levels. The Maoist and other extremists groups expose the juveniles through ferocious recruitment methods making them dangerous instruments and using them for committing criminal offences. This leads the children to specialise in crimes and make them hardened criminals.

According to International legal framework, recruitment of children by terrorist and violent extremist groups is to be considered a serious form of violence against children as the consequences of such acts are devastating and its implications on the society and children are severe. States and society need to take responsibility to take measures and prevent this phenomenon.

This article analyses the reasons and methods of recruitment of juveniles by the Maoist and other extremist groups. Due to these recruitment process followed by Maoist and extremist groups most juveniles show specialisation in offence types and a progression over time from less to more serious categories of offences.

It’s high time that states take up preventive measures to curb with this menace of recruitment process taken up by the Maoist and extremist groups. Use of individual assessments can be a basis for taking appropriate measures by the state to stop such recruitment process.

INTRODUCTION
There has been an increase in the crimes committed by juveniles these days. There is a trend of increase in juvenile crimes world over, with more and more involvement of the youth in violent crimes. Also, there is a popular conception that adult criminals begin their careers in juvenile years. So, reducing the juvenile crimes has been the key concern and one of the biggest challenges for the society. It is a serious concern for nations all over the world, and solutions to end this problem need to be sought very carefully.

The analysis of statistical data available at official sites in India indicates increasing involvement of the juveniles in heinous crimes. Studies have shown that juveniles tend to commit same type of offences in the process of specialisation of committing a particular crime. This specialisation in

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2 Carlos Carcach & Simon Leverett, Juvenile Offending: Specialisation or Versatility, Trends And Issues In Crime And Criminal Justice, Australian Institute of Criminology, April 1999, ISSN 0817-8542
3 Supra Note 1
offences leads to progression from less to more serious categories of offences.  

Definitions –

a) Child
As per Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2015 “child” in India means a person who has not completed eighteen years of age.  

b) Child in conflict with law
A child who is alleged or found to have committed an offence and who has not completed eighteen years of age on the date of commission of such offence is said to be a child in conflict with law as per Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2015.  

c) Juvenile
The word juvenile has been derived from the Latin term juvenis, which means young. As per Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2015 a juvenile is a child below the age of eighteen years.

Crime specialisation by juveniles
Crime specialization has been defined by preferences for a specific offense. Therefore, crime specialization by juveniles can be described as the tendency to repeat the same offense types in successive crimes by the juveniles.

Generally, in most of the countries Juvenile is the one who is under 18 and who is not yet old enough to be regarded as an adult. But the age of the juvenile under the Indian legislations has taken variation in temporal and spatial perspectives.

Maoists and other extremists groups
There are more than 40 banned organisations in the list of organisations banned by the Government of India. These banned organisations include terrorist organisations, extremists groups, Naxalites, Maoists groups and other groups which are a threat to the security of the Indian nation.

The focus of the article is upon Maoists and other like groups e.g. People’s Liberation Army, National Democratic Front of Bodoland (NDFB) etc. These groups cause threat to the internal security of the nation which are non-state armed groups fighting against the government with weapons. Mao Tse Tung (1893-1976), a Chinese communist revolutionary developed Maoism. It is a concept where state power is captured by armed insurgency, strategic alliances and mass mobilization. The central theme of Maoists is to capture state power through use of violence and armed insurrection.

In India, the largest and the most violent Maoist formation is the Communist Party of India (Maoist). There are a number of other extremists groups and organisations which are included in the list of banned terrorist organisations under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act, 1967. Maoist insurgency first originated in 1967 in Naxalbari village (West Bengal) that is the reason they are also called Naxalites. Since

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4 Supra note 2  
5 Section 2 (13) of Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2015  
6 Section 2 (14) of Juvenile Justice (Care and Protection of Children) Act, 2015  
then the Maoists have become an organised force with well planned recruitment and training process.8

Others extremist groups just like the Maoists are a group of individuals whose ideology, values and beliefs are different from what society at large considers normal. Extremists use violent methods to convey their views to outsiders and can go upto any extent to achieve their goals.

Government of India identifies 106 districts in 10 states as Left Wing Extremist affected in the country.9

_Ferocious recruitment methods adopted by Maoist and other extremists groups_

Children are recruited by the Maoists and other extremist groups because it is easier to train them to kill. These children are made to go through ferocious recruitment processes to specialise in a particular type of crime so that Maoists and other extremist groups can use them for specific purposes. Children are made to learn how to use guns and further to place explosives. Children are an easy target for recruitment in the Maoist and extremist groups because they can be easily manipulated and are more obedient as to they do not question the orders. During their training, they often have to kill friends or members of their own families in order to harden up which is a type of process and is applied by the Maoist and extremist groups to check whether the children recruited will remain honest.

**RECRUITING THE ECONOMICALLY POOR**

The Maoists recruit a lot from the tribal community which is very poor.10 They visit the village areas to recruit cadres and offer a steady income for their family. The villagers were left with no other option but to join as they were poor. About 70-80% of their cadre would be the tribal community who are economically poor.11

But for the new recruits (mainly child soldiers) the reasons to join the cadre are different! The Maoists provoke the child recruits to join the cadre by making them feel that they were discriminated against by the state. Also, these child recruits join the cadre not for any ideological or economic reason, but to settle personal scores.12

Children are threatened to join the force if they do not join voluntarily. They are given the bait of a good amount of money but if they are not lured then they are made to forcefully join the cadre. They are threatened that if they do not join the Maoists cadre then the consequences would

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11 ibid

be killing of their family members. In Parthari village of Lohardaga district of Jharkhand, recruiting children is one of the main objectives of the Naxals.

If there are quarrels among children, they are exploited by the Maoists by handling them with guns and ammunition, and these children young and innocent consider it as a symbol of power which will make them money. Maoists in Jharkhand have started hiring Paharia tribes of which mostly are children. They use these people as shields to get protected from security forces. Paharias are very poor. Moreover, their life is also not long. Their average age is 40-45 years. They have very poor nutrition. All this makes them vulnerable to joining Maoist forces.

The Maoist and other extremists groups promise the parents of poor families of providing food and better life to their children if they handover them. The children are toughly trained to handle sophisticated weapons.

Why poor children are being recruited?

1. Easier to train them to kill

The children are told to follow orders without any questions. They are disciplined like army personnel and if do not follow orders then will be given punishments. These punishments can be of any form and are often group based and physical in nature. These punishments are given to humiliate among the group and to make others fear. They are made to ignore thoughts, feelings, emotions and reactions and to only do what is ordered. The young minds are being brain-washed in such a condition that they should reach a tendency to commit crimes.

2. Can use them for specific purposes

The children can be used for specific tasks which adults cannot perform. There are some tasks which children can do easily and no one would doubt on the child being doing such tasks. There are reports in which children are being used to plant explosives and throw hand grenades in public to fulfill the objectives of Maoists and extremists groups. No one would doubt on poor children having hand grenades to destroy buildings, public structures. So, the Maoists and extremists groups misuse these children for doing specific tasks for specific purposes.

3. Poor children can be manipulated

People in the backward regions lack economic opportunities. They are deprived of fruits of development efforts. People in the socio-economically depressed regions often carry a deep sense of frustration and discrimination against their better of neighbours. Poor and disaffected people are often easily manipulated by anti-social elements and powerful vested interests. These pockets of poverty breed serious socio-economic problems. There is corroborating evidence that the problems of terrorism, Naxalism, increased incidents of crime, law and order and social strife in

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13 ibid
14 ibid
many pockets are attributed to social and economic depression of such regions.\textsuperscript{17} Studies have shown that poor children experience learning disabilities which make them more vulnerable to manipulative tactics applied by the Maoists. \textsuperscript{18} Poor children can be manipulated easily as they are gullible and Maoists exploit them stating that the rich neighbours have opportunities but the poor’s lack. Manipulative older comrades have routinely exploited children with heroic tales of struggle.\textsuperscript{19}

4. **Children are more obedient**

The poor children who have certain small desires have no other option but to obey the orders of the Maoists. The poor children are targeted by Maoists and lure them by offering them money. The poor children are more obedient and follow orders without second thought if paid well-off as their mental condition have been formed by the drastic effects of poverty.

5. **Children do not question orders**

As children lack the understanding of the consequences of their acts they do not question the orders of the Maoists. And the children are under threat that if they questioned the orders they will be punished by their leaders.

**Recruiting the poor Adivasi children**

Maoists have their own children’s wing (Bal Sangathan) which is specifically made to recruit children. Specific training is given to the new recruits to commit certain crimes like kidnapping, committing theft, killing, causing grievous hurt etc.

Maoist armed groups are recruiting and indoctrinating poor Adivasi children, and had constituted children’s squads and associations (Bal Dastas, Bal Sangham and Bal Manch) as part of mass mobilization.\textsuperscript{20} One cadre of each Adivasi family has to be recruited.

The Maoists first offer steady income for the Adivasi family to convince them to join their children to the Maoist group and if refused they are forced and tortured. Maoists visit the village areas where the Adivasis reside and attack on them forcibly to recruit their children in their army. It is reported in many reports that 70-80% of the Maoist cadre is tribal community who are poor Adivasis and of these 72% are children.

**Maoists recruit economically poor unlike the terrorists**

Most individual-level studies of terrorist groups have concluded that these groups are composed of people who are wealthier and better educated than the average member of the societies from which they recruit. \textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{17} Anshuman Behera, Maoist Conflict in Odisha, NIAS Backgrounder on Conflict Resolution, Backgrounder No: B10-2016 National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bengaluru, ISBN: 978-93-85366-20-4


\textsuperscript{19} Salil Tripathi, Maoistan of Arundhati Roy, Live Mint, First Published: Wed, Mar 31 2010. 09 02 PM IST, https://www.livemint.com/Opinion/ZFxTiB8qTFW7NYrgHF3hMO/Maoistan-of-Arundhati-Roy.html as on 4-11-2018

\textsuperscript{20} ibid

According to studies Islamic Terrorists are not poor and illiterate, but rich and educated.\textsuperscript{22}
But Maoists and other extremists in India on the other hand, tend to recruit the economically poor as they are an easy target.

**Conclusion**
From its inception, the Maoist movement has derived support from the weaker and deprived sections of the society. Presently, the poorest regions of the country are dealing with the Maoist insurgencies. The percentage of population living below the poverty line in most of the Maoist-affected states is higher than the national average of 27.5\%.\textsuperscript{23} So, it is clear from the above detailed study that the Maoists tend to recruit economically poor.

**TARGETING THE SOciaLLY MARGINALISED COMMUNITIES**
**Socially marginalized**

In the social environment, groups of people or communities may have the experience of being excluded. This can be because they speak a different language, follow different customs or belong to a different religious group from the majority community. They may also feel marginalized because they are poor, considered to be of ‘low’ social status and viewed as being less human than others. Economic, social, cultural and political factors work together to make certain groups in society feel marginalized.\textsuperscript{24} Maoists and extremists groups target the socially marginalized communities.

**Targeting the socially marginalised children**

Certain terrorist and violent extremist groups enjoy territorial control over specific areas. Their authority may extend to schools, which then are used as a forum in which socially marginalised children are indoctrinated, encouraging “buy-in” and identification with the group. The extremists groups develop precise propaganda strategies aimed at highlighting the advantages of joining the group or at triggering empathy. Joining a group may be portrayed as offering status and prestige, smart uniforms and weapons. The experience is shown as an opportunity for power, especially to children without educational opportunities or employment.\textsuperscript{25}

**Conclusion**

Amnesty International's annual report for 2012, has painted a bleak picture of the human rights situation in India, particularly in the Adivasi and Dalit areas and regions where the Maoists are active.\textsuperscript{26}

[\textsuperscript{22} Giulio Meotti, Islamic Terrorists not Poor and Illiterate, but Rich and Educated, Gatestone Institute, International Policy Council, November 19, 2016 at 5:00 am available at https://www.gatestoneinstitute.org/9343/terrorism-poverty-despair as on 4-11-2018]
[\textsuperscript{24} http://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/97291/8/08.chap1.pdf accessed on 28-10-2018 at 11:00 a.m.]
[\textsuperscript{25} Thomas Koruth Samuel, “The lure of youth into terrorism”, in SEARCCT Selection of Articles, Vol. 2 (Kuala Lumpur, South-East Asia Regional Centre for Counter-Terrorism, 2011)]
[\textsuperscript{26} Dipanjan Roy Chaudhury, Amnesty International report for 2012 cites human rights crisis in India,]
The Maoists have been targeting the socially marginalised communities since a very long time. They make the Adivasis join the cadre who are socially marginalised and they manipulate the children and play with their young minds. The Maoists misuse the innocent Adivasi children to build up their empires. The Maoists and other extremists groups target specific communities for their recruitment purposes.

PREVIOUS CRIMINAL RECORD FOR RECRUITING
The previous criminal record of the juveniles does not play a relevant part for their recruitment in the extremist groups. The Maoists and extremists groups target the economically poor children and socially marginalised children and recruit them. The extremists groups themselves provide the children with specialised training in arms and ammunitions. The children are given training in field work and specially trained to commit certain acts like plant explosives, make bombs, kill people etc. Once the child recruits become experts, they are then given specific tasks and this result in crime specialisation by these juveniles in specific crimes. The propaganda of the Maoists and extremists groups to recruit the child is to get advantages like show their power and ruthlessness. The increase in percentage of children upon overall population also has resulted in their recruitment. The Maoists and the extremists groups do not consider the previous criminal record as a necessary process for recruitment like the terrorists do. The major terrorists groups all over the world recruit members with expertise in fields such as communications, computer programming, engineering, finance, and the sciences. Terrorists groups also recruit members with expertise in fields such as communications, computer programming, engineering, finance, and the sciences. The purpose of terrorists recruiting such members is to give specific tasks to specific people and experienced criminals. But the Maoists and extremists groups in India target the economically poor and the socially marginalised communities as they are an easy target.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL LEGAL STANDARDS
Prohibiting the recruitment
The recruitment and use of children during conflict is one of the six grave violations identified and condemned by the UN Security Council. The six grave violations form the basis of the Council’s architecture to monitor report and respond to abuses suffered by children in times of war.27 The international legal framework guarantees children broad protection from serious forms of violence, including recruitment and exploitation of children by terrorist and violent extremist groups.

Convention on the Rights of the Child
Article 19 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child provides a broad definition of “violence against children”, which, as

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27 Child Recruitment and Use, Office of the special representative to the Secretary-General for Children and Armed Conflict, available at https://childrenandarmedconflict.un.org/six-grave-violations/child-soldiers/ as on 4-11-2018
underlined by the Committee on the Rights of the Child (the body of independent experts monitoring the implementation of the Convention by its States parties), includes both nonphysical and non-intentional forms of harm. Accordingly, Governments are required to undertake all possible measures to prevent and prohibit violence against children. The exploitation of children is addressed in article 32 of the Convention, which calls on States parties to recognize the right of the child to be protected from economic exploitation and from performing any work that is likely to be hazardous or to be harmful to the child’s health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development. In article 34, States parties are called on to undertake to protect the child from all forms of sexual exploitation and sexual abuse and States parties are required to take all appropriate measures to prevent, among other things: (a) the inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity; (b) the exploitative use of children in unlawful sexual practices; and (c) the exploitative use of children in pornographic materials. However, the term exploitation is considered to be broader, as article 36 requires States parties to protect the child against all other forms of exploitation prejudicial to any aspects of the child’s welfare.\(^{28}\)


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**Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflicts\(^{29}\)**

**Article 4**

1. Armed groups that are distinct from the armed forces of a State should not, under any circumstances, recruit or use in hostilities persons under the age of 18 years.  
2. States Parties shall take all feasible measures to prevent such recruitment and use, including the adoption of legal measures necessary to prohibit and criminalize such practices.  
3. The application of the present article shall not affect the legal status of any party to an armed conflict.  

The Optional Protocol, adopted in 2000, prohibits the compulsory recruitment of children under the age of 18 into the armed forces. The particular importance of the Optional Protocol is that it establishes stricter prohibitions with regard to non-State armed groups. Article 4 provides a blanket prohibition of the recruitment and use of children by non-State armed groups in hostilities, regardless of whether or not they are recruited voluntarily or compulsorily, or take a direct part in hostilities. States parties are required to take all feasible measures to prevent such recruitment and use, including the adoption of legal measures necessary to prohibit and criminalize such practices.

**Indian legal framework**

India ratified the optional protocol in 2005. In its initial report under OPAC submitted to the Committee on the Rights of the Child in 2011, India reiterated its long-held position that the armed violence taking place within

\(^{29}\)United Nations, Treaty Series, Vol. 2173, No. 27531
its borders does not amount to international or non-international armed conflict, and highlighted existing protections for children guaranteed by the constitution. These included Article 21 (the right not to be arbitrarily deprived of life or personal liberty except according to the procedure established by law); Article 39(e) (directing the state to ensure that children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy manner and in conditions of freedom and dignity, and that they are protected against exploitation and against moral and material abandonment); and Article 47 (imposing on the State the primary responsibility of ensuring that all the needs of children are met and that their basic rights are fully protected). 30

Despite these guarantees, if children associated with left wing armed groups are detained during counter-insurgency operations they may be at risk of further human rights violations. According to India's Juvenile Justice Act, such children should be treated either as “children in conflict with the law” (with a requirement to be brought before a Juvenile Justice Board (JJB) within 24 hours and a prohibition on being placed in a police lockup, etc.) or a child “in need of care and protection” (with a requirement that their case be dealt with by a Child Welfare Committee). Indeed, the same Juvenile Justice Act, 2015, criminalizes the recruitment and use of any child for any purpose by a non-state, self-styled militant group, or any adult or adult group using children for illegal activities. However, the Act also stipulates that children in conflict with the law aged between 16-18 years of age who have committed “heinous offences” may be tried as adults if so directed by a JJB. This could include children who are detained and charged under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act and/or other security legislation due to associations with non-state armed groups.31

It remains unclear whether children associated with non-state armed groups will in practice be treated as children in conflict with the law or as victims of the crime of recruitment by non-state armed groups, leaving them at risk of stringent punishments instead of receiving appropriate rehabilitation, counseling and reintegration services. This lack of clarity also raises the prospect that they could be treated as adults and denied their fair trial rights as juveniles, and as such be placed at increased risk of being subjected to the widespread unlawful practices of illegal detention and torture carried out by the security forces.32

Child recruits should be treated primarily as victims and protected, and should never be prosecuted solely for their membership of armed groups. If a child does face criminal prosecution for crimes arising from their participation in hostilities, they should be afforded all guarantees and protections under international juvenile justice standards, in addition to all legal protections available in national law, including


31 Ibid

32 Dipak K. Gupta, The Naxalites and the Maoist Movement in India: Birth, Demise, and Reincarnation, ISSN: 1741-9166
provisions of the Juvenile Justice Act. In all cases, detention should be a measure of last resort and for the shortest period of time.

CONCLUSION
Juveniles who are recruited by the extremists groups are victims of violence at multiple levels. The Maoist and other extremists groups expose the juveniles through ferocious recruitment methods making them dangerous instruments and using them for committing criminal offences.

These juveniles are victims of crime and do not commit crime as they forced due to circumstances. These children are “victims of crime” and not “children in conflict”.

The Maoists and the extremists recruit the economically poor and target the socially marginalised communities and make children to join their cadre. These Maoists do not look into the past criminal records to recruit but randomly select and target the economically poor and the socially marginalised communities.

Unlike the major terrorists organisations in the world the Maoists tend to employ the poor and marginalised. The terrorist’s organisations recruit persons who are literate and educated in science and technology to use weapons of mass destructions. But the Maoists and other extremists groups in India employ the poor and illiterates.

The Maoists give these children proper field training, mental training, and training in use of arms and ammunitions. These child recruits are made ready for situations where they can be given specific tasks to blast government buildings or kill civilians.

The major concern is that the juveniles recruited by the Maoists and extremists groups in India are specialising in crimes due to training given by Maoists. This specialisation in crimes by the juveniles leads to increase in crimes in India.

According to International legal framework, recruitment of children by terrorist and violent extremist groups is to be considered a serious form of violence against children as the consequences of such acts are devastating and its implications on the society and children are severe. States and society need to take responsibility to take measures and prevent this phenomenon.

It’s high time that states take up preventive measures to curb with this menace of recruitment process taken up by the Maoist and extremist groups. Use of individual assessments can be a basis for taking appropriate measures by the state to stop such recruitment process.

Individual assessments would help to deal with these children case by case basis and their reasons for joining such extremists groups. It is the duty of the state to protect
the children to get recruited by the Maoists and extremists groups.

The state has to form strict laws and proper implementation at the ground level to curb such menaces.

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