

A Spatial Analysis of Structural Change in West Bengal

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ABSTRACT

Here in this paper I will show a structural analysis of space and trying to argue how it is influencing the social space. The first part of the paper is talked about the debate of who is on the base of hierarchy of causation of accumulation, power and social structure of spatial structure. and from it how space can influence on social structure will be shown by taking example of west Bengal. Through this analysis I also tried to look around the myth of structural change by district level analysis.

Keywords: *Mobile space, Power Geometry, Economic space, spatial structure, social structure etc.*

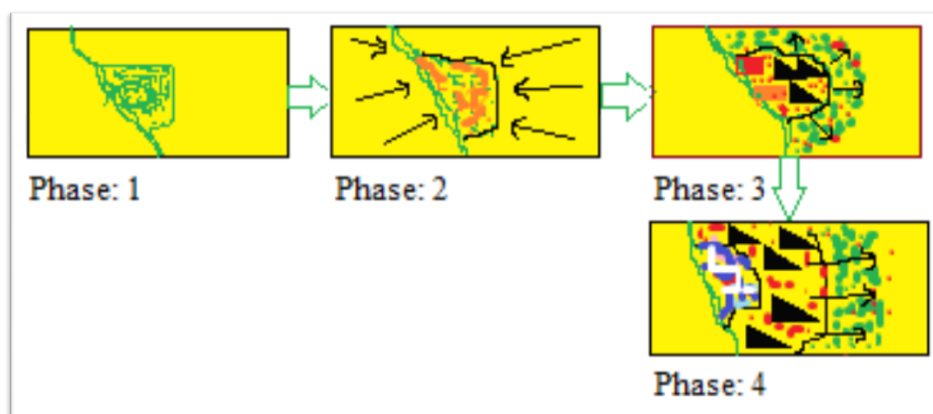
Studying the structure of phenomena is one of the central concepts of Social Sciences. There are so many scholars or thinkers had done structural analysis. Broadly there can be two kind of structure can be seen, one is social and other one is spatial. In the case of social structure Parsons, Durkheim, Marx, Levi-Strauss, Merton, Weber, Srinivas, Andre Battelle etc. are very important thinker and in the case of spatial structural analysis Christaller, Vonthunen, E.W. Burgess, Weber, Losch, Krugman and obviously Doreen Massey. Blau identifies three major approaches to social structure: (i) social structure as a configuration of social relations and positions, (ii) social structure as the substratum that underlies all of social life and history, and (iii) social structure as a "multidimensional space of the differentiated social positions of the people in a society or other collectivity" (Blau, 1975). In the case of space, Doreen Massey had identified three characterization of space, like (i) that space is the product of relations (including the absence of relations). Space is a complexity of networks, links, exchanges, connections. This leads to the (ii) proposition about the characteristics of space. This is indeed that space is the dimension of multiplicity. Without space as a dimension it would not be possible for there to be multiplicity (in the sense of the simultaneous coexistence of more than one thing). (iii) And following directly on from these first two characteristics, space is always in a process of being made (Doreen Massey, 2009). Now after analysing the both kind of structure, we can understand which is over what. There are so many scholars like Atul Sood, Williams (1949), Shevky and Bell (1955), Knox (1981), Rees (1970), Owen (1969), Rex and Moore (1967), etc. had shown how spatial structures are being a reflection of social structure (B.S. Morgan 1984). But also there are some scholars like Blau (1974) had talked about different neighbourhood and distance matters for different social space; Morrill and Pitts (1977); Gans (1961,67), Scatter and Back (1950); Warner and Lunt (1941); Deutsch and Collins (1951); Suttles (1972); Cox (1973); Colman (1966); Beshar (1962) who Talked about impact of spatial structure on social structure (B.S.Morgan 1984). In between two, there is a dualism kind of thing has being made. There is a debate on which is dominant. For any phenomena as a effect, there should be hierarchy of causation. Now the question is that which will be in the top of that hierarchy. According to social structuralists are mainly arguing, the process of accumulation or the need of people will decide the character of space in a particular point of time, they will decide what kind of economic space or social space will be create and at what distance. So

in this context I, as a spatial structuralist, can re-argue that, who will decide what kind of accumulation will be created and where it will be occur. Because this is the space, which is attract the mode of production and accumulation. History had phases various kind of mode of production, like from agricultural to industrial to service. And we can give various examples, and this paper will deal with this example. The moment spatial structure changed, the social structure also had change. From the micro level social change also space does matter. Like what Marx is talking about. I know Marx is a great socio-economist and identified the structure between various classes in the society. But what he is talking about, he is talking about the space. The space between two classes, the social space or gap between two classes. Now my question to the social structuralist, without changing that gap or space between that two classes, how society can be change? Space is everywhere, from the smallest atoms, protons, neutrons, god particles to planets, solar family, galaxy, supernovas etc. Because space is scale, distance but not only physical also non-physical which can be feels only. In every calculations of disparity or relativity is trying to understand the space between two objects. From that level if we see the space, can social structuralist say that, how social structure can be change without the changing the spatial structure. Now it can be counter argued that from the side of social structuralist, Ok! Changing of space is the reason of change in the society, but how and who will change the space. Then as a spatial structuralist it can be re-argued that power is the main reason of changing the space. Who has the power they will change the space. Now the question is that who will have the power. Now in this context we can talk about the “Power Geometry” of Doreen Massey. Her power geometry can be understood in this way, like who will capture the mode of production, they will gain the power. Like when the mode of production was agricultural based, the region having good fertility had accumulated the mean of production and gain power. As they had gained the power, it reinforces it and attracted all the other mode of productions e.g. industrial or service. So in this way one region became powerful over the period of time, and captures the mean of production and it cumulatively gaining power as growth pole. From this as the mode of production of a region has change, like primary to secondary to tertiary, and when it reached to tertiary they started spread out the previous mode of production to the neighboured region. Like we can take an example of urban centre, which was earlier agricultural mode of production, and as the mode of production change, they started spreading out the previous mode of production to its surrounding area as a spread effect. And that is why regions near to the urban centre mostly having the mode of production, which was earlier mode of production of urban centre. And the region locating at largest distance

to the urban centre having the mode of production, which was the first mode of mode of production of the urban centre that is agricultural based. In this sense we can say space is mobile. Because as the mode of production is changing of a place, it pushes the earlier one to the nearest region by itself and changes the society of this place. Here I am trying to say that, by fertile or productive land at that time or space human need get attracted to that place, and as the human accumulated in that place the economic space also immediately changed, and as economic space had changed the industrial sector get attracted and pushes the earlier mode of production to its neighboured region, and in this way when the growth centre will change its economic space again immediately it will start attracting the tertiary sector, and pushing the secondary sector to its neighboured region and by changing its society as a secondary activity zone and this region will push the primary mode of production to its neighboured region. In this way it can be said that space is mobile as itself is accumulating the mode of production and pushing them to neighboured region and changed the social structure. Of course there are region which are predominantly agricultural based production and remain till now. It is because it has failed to attract

mode of production as the fertile or productive land did in the history and it remain backward. According to the extended version of neo-classical regional growth model, may be the growth rate of this region is faster than the growth centre over time but it cannot reached to the level of growth centre, as the all technology, human capital, exogenous and endogenous factor of production had attracted to the growth centre except long term when it will reached to equilibrium which we do not know. So for that region locating between two growth centres which have equal power to accumulate can never be change and remain the agro based which is due to mobility of space from the two growth centres having equal gain of power and creating shadow effect of the growth centres. If there is unbalance of power between two growth centres, then regions between the two growth centres can be change which can be exemplified by twin cities. So in this way I am trying to say that as the mode of production is changed over time in a particular space, it captures the means of production also, and the moment the means of production changes, power come to this region. And as the power changes whole social structural change can be seen. So the question was who will change the space and how it will be change? So by answering this question, space itself make it attracted to the people, and people get attracted to the people and immediately economic space changed the mode of production, means of production and power came to this space. In short space itself making change its economic space and becoming the nodal point of power geometry and determined the social structure. As world development report 2009, “Reshaping the economic geography” talking, backward region need special investment in the sense of money or attention to improve it social structure, but who will invest, the nodal spaces, which have the power, means of accumulation. So spatial structure is the thing which will always stand at the base of hierarchy of causation for any kind of macro to micro social structural change. If space is not changing two objects will remain same position, objects can never change its position by itself. Later space will gain power by its own spatial structure, than distance between two objects or structure can be change as per the world history till now saying. This can be understand by the below model showing 4 phases of changing nature of space and its mobility assuming growth centre having upto tertiary sector activity:

Fig 1: Horizontal Movement of Economic space and influence on neighboured social structure



Phase 1: This phase is a green more productive region beside the water land within the whole region.

Phase 2: Here due to more fertile region, and mode of production was agro based, human settlement get attracted and accumulated and immediately power is increased in this region than other region, and it has changed its economic space by itself.

Phase 3: Here black triangles indicate industry. Now as the power became concentrated in this place, and due to changing of economic space and mode of production, industry came here, and pushed the previous agricultural land to its neighbored region. And when it pushes the agro-space, it changed the mode of production and social structure of the neighbored region. And as the current mode and means of production is in the hand of growth centre, it become more powerful.

Phase 4: Here the colourful region is showing the tertiary activities. In the same way the powerful growth centre also attract the tertiary sector, and get accumulated mode and means of production, and pushes the previous industrial sectors in neighbored zone with changing the social structure of the neighbored region.

In the same way it will go on and in future if the mode of production will change it will happen in the same way. That is why; the organic urban centres are mostly growing like this kind of pattern. Though this zones are not so rigid, because is to so only how a growth centre is influencing the neighbored social structure by moving the economic space at various time. Region living at shorter distance from growth centre will have high influence of shifting economic space on social structure and vice versa.

So whatever, the space which has power, who will take holder of it. If do structural analysis of Indian society, the powerful space is always acquired by the higher caste or class people. Like in India, places where Mandir will located having power to control all other human settlement. In Indian social structure Brahmins having the power historically, so that they capture the land beside Mnadir or temples. And by this they are controlling the agricultural mode of production historically. And for that, they got the spatial power, and all kind of mode of production in future they captured according to the above discussed model. And for that, regions having more number of non-deprived population is more developed, because they have captured the land, mode, means of production and power historically. We have to understand this with an example which is the main thrust of this paper. There is a question remain, why Indian society is what it is? We know that, space is controlling the society, but how and why only it has happen in Indian space, what was its process we have to think over it in near future.

So here the word 'Power' is the main reason, for which people get related with the violence from the history to capture the productive land and means of production. The processes of power are pervasive, complex, and often disguised in our society. The control of power had always changed from one man to another, from one social group to another and also from one space to another. Though the nature of power had always changed over period of time, but two component of it always remain same: the proletariat and bourgeoisie as Marx had identified. That means, there always two groups of people or region (Frank, 1929) were there, where one was deprived and another was powerful on a particular point of time and mode of development. In "Another History of Violence," by Ulrich Oslender, takes up the long running political violence in Colombia, focusing on what he calls "geographies of terror." His contribution addresses the so-called forced displacement of local communities, which in fact represents a systematic terror campaign unleashed by armed groups against the region's black populations. Oslender seeks to describe the rural domain in which these populations live and often resist these regimes of terror. By focusing on the geographical or spatial dimension of terror, we gain a valuable new perspective to complement the existing political and social critiques. Terror can destroy existing forms of territorialisation and transform our very sense of place. Routine social practices are subverted by political violence, and our lives are dominated by veritable "landscapes of fear."

So, from the above, I want to show that, with taking a study area for this paper as West Bengal, we can see some of the similar kind of features. In west Bengal, there was always one region is advanced and another is region is

backward. If we do regionalization of west Bengal by any developmental indicator, there is always a 3 kind of prominent region can be seen. The south Bengal is always developed except some minority or deprived population dominant district and the some districts of north Bengal is moderately developed and the connector between the north and south Bengal, the middle part of Bengal always remain backward.

From the history, as the power was in the hand of upper caste people, they had taken the fertile land of Gangetic delta and pushed the local communities to the comparatively less fertile and harsh region as much as they can, in the Aizajuddin Ahmed’s language, powerful people always pushed the local community to the “Refuge Zones”. So, as the time goes on, power handed over to the state. Now state plays it own role. The states make district boundary, and this boundaries were formed in such a way that each district has its own dominant social group of people. That means, district boundaries were formed for institutional segregation of social groups so that the dominant districts or developed districts or upper caste dominated districts can exploit them. These districts were made with the less motive to develop the lower caste region or district. If it is like that, then why poor districts are remain poor from the independence time i.e. from the 1950s.

So, for this kind of power structure, in west Bengal, in developed district having always higher caste people dominated, and the less developed district remain dominated by lower caste people. And then as the money became also the power, the drivers of money is also moved to only the developed region. As the Neoclassical Solow Growth model talks about, though the less developed districts are growing faster than the developed district but it can never grow at the level of developed districts as the divergence is always goes on. The money drivers like number of manufacturing Factories, high transport density, good education, good health, economic prosperity etc. were always remain in the developed districts, means in the southern district which are dominated by upper caste people.

I.OBJECTIVE

So the main objective of this paper is to show the role spatial structure over social structure by taking West Bengal as study area. And I will try to show the myth behind the structural change in the light of spatial structure by taking a Hypothesis.

II. HYPOTHESIS

Structural change is meant change in spatial structure, as everything is related to space. Without change in spatial structure, there is nothing could be structural change. There is something called social structure, but it also an effect of spatial structure and its rational had been discussed earlier. Without changing spatial structure, social structure cannot be change. Here in the district level study, aspects of micro level social structural change has been excluded.

III. METHODOLOGY

This work will be done by some data analysis and theoretical linkages of the results for proving the arguments. Here in this study, some social indicators should be chosen and identifying the spatial pattern across regions (districts). Here in this study Human development index of 1981, 1991 and 2004 had been taken to show the temporality of the spatial pattern. Otherwise here temporality of cumulative index of development (CI) has been

calculated based on household amenities across regions and identified the spatial pattern. After identifying the pattern, I will explain about how power geometry is distributed across the region on the basis of spatial pattern. And then at last I will show how due to not changing the spatial pattern, power structure has not changed over time and for that social structure remain same over the period of time. Here the power geometry (in the case of Indian sub-continent) has been shown on the basis of how population of different category is located across regions. In India, as space has given power different section of people in different amount e.g. deprived population (SC+ST+Muslims) and non-deprived population (other than SC, ST and Muslims), that is why distribution of different section of group of people will show the proper distribution of power across regions.

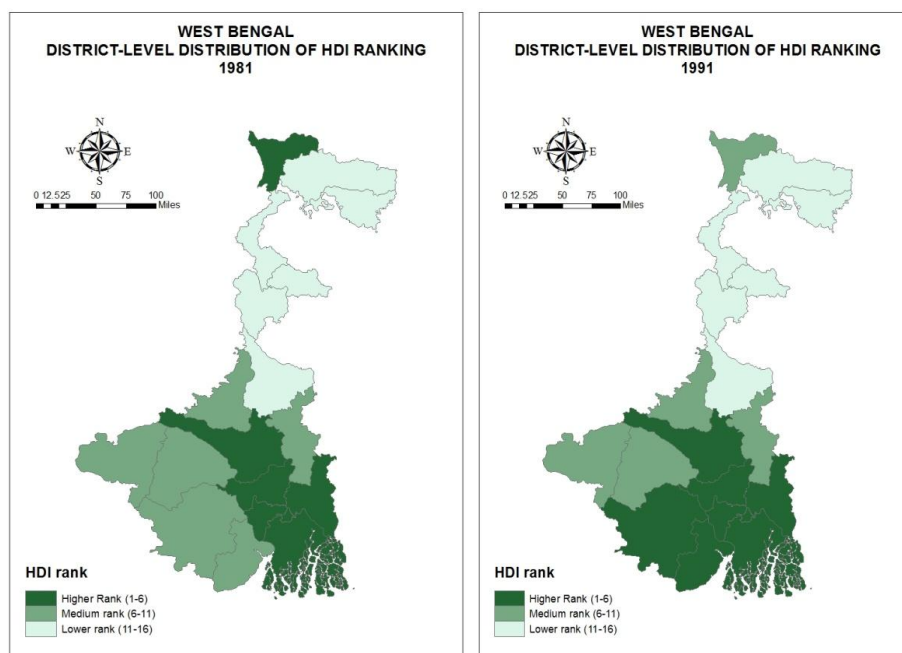
IV. DATA SOURCE

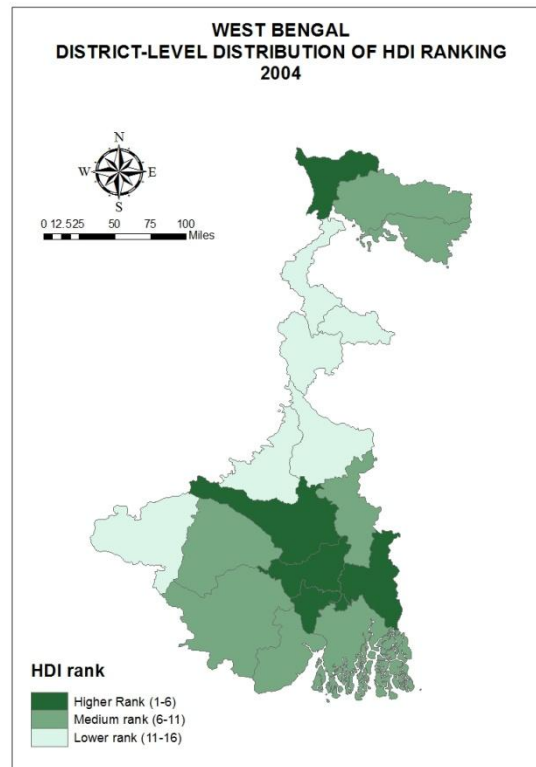
➤ Census of India, IHDS, Literature based

V. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As per the methodology of this study, I will show here firstly the normal spatial pattern based on distributive pattern of any social parameters to understand the social structure. So for that we had taken data of HDI index values and ranked the district. 1981 and 1991 HDI data ranking has been taken from Basabi Bhattacharya’s paper on “Urbanization and Human Development in West Bengal”, EPW, 1998, and 2004’s HDI data ranking is taken from “West Bengal human development report, 2004”. Though there are some minor differences of calculating HDI which can be excludable because our main aim is to know the overall major result and pattern. These ranks are showing in Appendix 1. In earlier time as West Dinajpur was single district, and then it divided into 2 districts, in this kind of case, I had given the same ranking because they are falling more or less same category in the maps. Here 3 maps have been made to show the spatial pattern and social condition of the districts based on ranking. These are showing below—

Fig 2: Maps showing districtwise distribution of HDI ranking (2004, 1991 and 1981)





Here in this mapping 3 broad categorization has been made, 1 to 6 rank will called as higher means highly developed, 6 to 11 will called medium ranked districts and 11-16 will be called lower ranked districts indicates lowest developed. After seeing the three maps, it is clear that, southern part of West Bengal and Darjeeling district of North Bengal is developed over the period of time. And after a very long time also districts like Dinaj pur, Malda, Murshidabad, Puruliya, Birbhum etc. remain same. Otherwise we can see correlation between the HDI ranks of three decade, which shows very strongly positively correlation between the HDI ranks of each other decadal variables (1981, 1991, 2004) with the value more than 0.6 (it can be cheque with the data of Appendix 1), which indicates districts which is developed earlier time having remain same developed condition and poor remain same.

Though this HDIs has been created with something which is higher level developmental variables. Let cheque the development level with the variables of household amenities. Here I had make 2 maps of cumulative index (CI) with the household amenity variables for the year of 2011 and 1991. In 1991 we had taken 3 household variables like availability of latrine facilities, type of fuels using (including electricity, solar, biogas), electricity availability. These are chosen because it shows the development level of a household. And for the 2011, we had chosen 6 variables of amenities like Floor material (includes tiles, concrete), source of drinking water (includes tap water, tube well), availability of electricity, latrine facilities availability, fuel material, Banking facilities. In 1991, 3 variables and for 2011, 6 variables has been chosen due to data availability, which is not affecting so much in the cumulative index value across districts as I had cheque by reducing variable 6 to 3 for 2011 data and giving same result (for further cheque Appendix 2 can be used). This CI has been made by below formula—

$$CI = \sum [(X_{ij} - Z_{ij})/N]$$

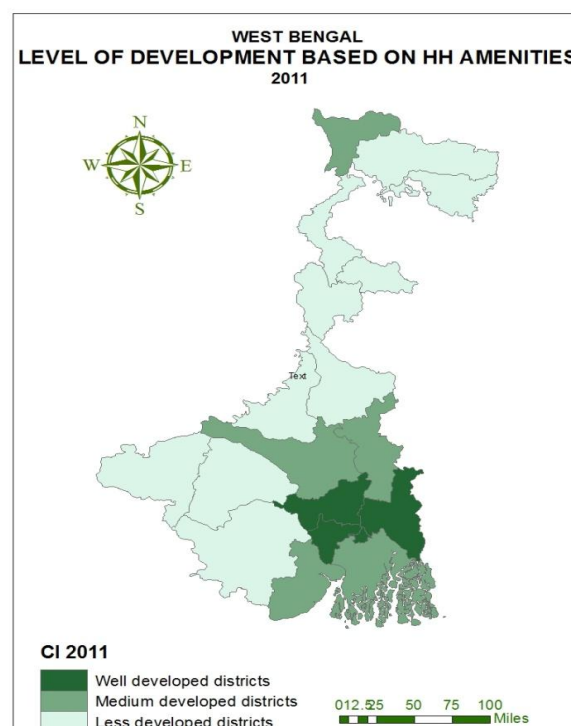
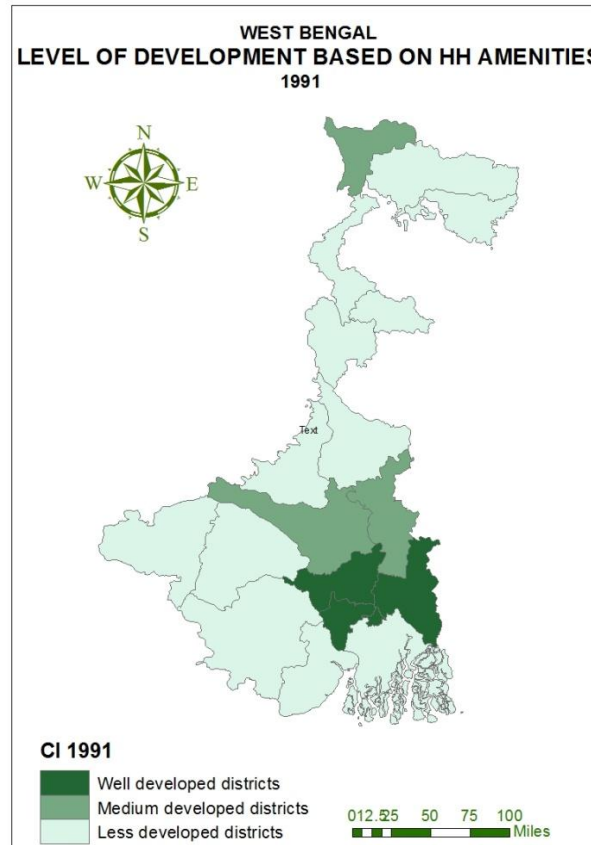
Where, Z_{ij} = Standardized value of the variable i in district j .

X_{ij} = Actual value of variable i in district j .

N= No of Variables

The values of cumulative indexes are given districtwise in Appendix 2. So, let see what happen to it after mapping—

Fig 3: Maps showing districtwise distribution of CI values indicating development levels (1991 & 2011)

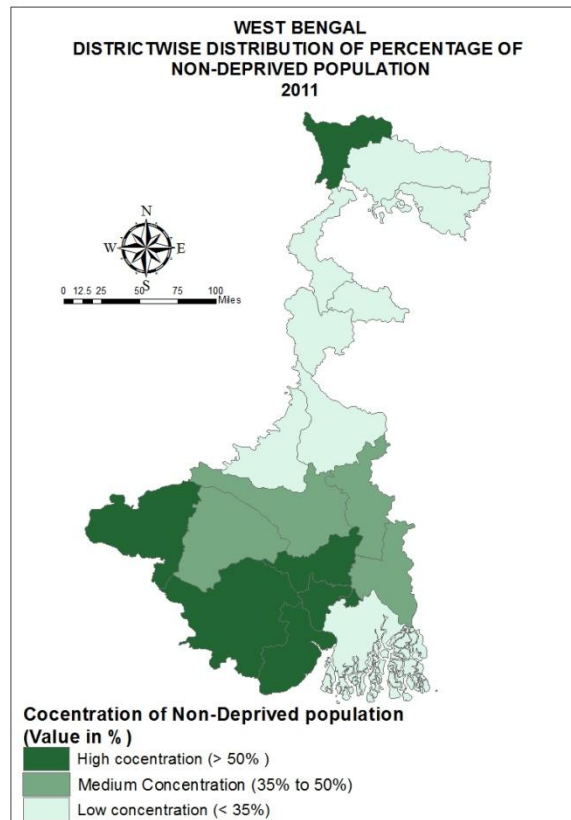


Now if we see in the condition of the development level on the basis of cumulative indexes, we see the clear cut picture between two maps. In huge 20 years of time there is no change except South 24 paragona and Purba Medinipur. There can be seen the same spatial pattern over the period of time, that means there has been no change in the social parameters. May be social parameters had changed over time, but if we see them relatively to other region it remain same position. Correlation between CI values of 1991 and 2011 having very strong positive correlation (more than 0.8). This is because that lagged regions had not experienced change in economic space in macro level so that it could attract the mode of production and capture the power. Here micro level spatial analysis (within the district) had been neglected and for that micro level social structure also been neglected. So we are talking about the relation of spatial and social at macro level (district level). Historically power has been concentrated on the delta region and for that all kind of change in economic space had been experienced by this region, and for this mode of production and mode of accumulation had also changed. Now in India, there are better economic spaces in other parts of India, which is attracting the accumulation from the Bengal's developed Delta region. So that this delta region itself is not so productive than the other growth centres of India. Here institutions are plying role for this situation, but institutions are also under the power geometrics. For that this Bengal's economic space of delta region is not so productive to mobile its space and spread out very first to far away districts like Murshidabad, Birbhum, Puruliya, west medinipur, Uttar and Dakshin dinajpur. There is also a growth centre in the north, Darjeeling. But this space is located in 3rd phase of mobile space (saying based on large contribution of GDP of this district from 2ndary sector), so that its neighboured districts are remain agricultural based (after observing the GDP contribution) and backward as per present developmental discourse.

Now if we talked about the social structure of India, as we know Indian society is divided into various social groups based on class, caste, region, religion, race, ethnicity etc. So for that, people falling in the higher category people have experienced always high power and dominating over other groups. Historically if we see, there are only main two groups are there though there were various basis of social grouping, one is deprived and another one is non-deprived. Here if we see the spatial distribution of these two groups, than we can understand where the power has been concentrated over the period of time. Because the powerful groups always gone for those places, where the power was there. If we see the spatial distributive pattern of their mobility historically then it will show how the powerful mobile space was changing its place. Like historically, when the mode of production was mainly agro-based, then they were capture the fertile agricultural land because they can get means of production very easily from the other deprived social groups by using their social power, they did not gone there where land productivity was low. So for that it is necessary to understand the spatial distributive pattern of this two section of people to understand the power geometry and its nodal point.

To understand this in the case of West Bengal, I had divided the population into two category for each district, one is deprived which includes SC, ST and Muslim groups as they were historically exploited by the upper horizon people, and the another group was Non-Deprived population. The distributive pattern of non deprived people from the Appendix 3 can be understand by the below represented maps—

Fig 4: Districtwise distribution of % of Non-deprived population



Here in this case as we can see higher concentration of non-deprived population is found in the southern districts and Darjeeling. Otherwise districts like Coachbihar, Jalpaiguri, Uttar and Dakshin Dinjaj pur, Malda, Murshidabad and Birbhum are having less amount of Non-deprived population, that means having high amount of deprived population (See Appendix 3). The essence of this map can be understand by the below table made in Stata using the data of APPENDIX 4.

Tab 1: Table showing the correlation between the variables like cumulative indexes, HDI ranks and % of Non-deprived population

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. corr ci_1991 ci_2011 HDI_1991 HDI_2004 _NON_DEPRIVED_POP_2011 _OF_NON_DEP_POP_1991
(obs=19)
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	ci_1991	ci_2011	HDI_1991	HDI_2004	_NO~2011	_OF~1991
ci_1991	1.0000					
ci_2011	0.9186	1.0000				
HDI_1991	-0.5941	-0.7405	1.0000			
HDI_2004	-0.6717	-0.8837	0.7792	1.0000		
_NON_DE~2011	0.4987	0.6357	-0.7573	-0.7236	1.0000	
_OF_NON~1991	0.5542	0.6759	-0.7635	-0.7662	0.9445	1.0000

Here from the above table, as we had taken 6 variables like cumulative indexes (CI) of 1991 & 2011, HDI ranks of 1991 & 2004 and % of non-deprived population of 1991 & 2011. Here we can see CI values remain same over the period of time (0.9186). CI 1991 & HDI 1991 and CI 2011 & HDI 2004 having very strong negative

correlation (-0.5941 and -0.8837 respectively) which indicates districts having high rank (less value) in HDI contains high CI value. Otherwise if we see the correlation between distributions of non-deprived population over time it remains same with very strong positive correlation of 0.9445. This table also showing in 2011, districts having larger population of non-deprived population having strongly correlated with CI 2011 and HDI 2004 (0.6357 & and -0.7573 respectively) which indicates high CI development level and high rank in HDI (less value) are only found in those districts where percentage of non-deprived population is high. And same case with the non-deprived population of 1991 and CI 1991 and HDI 1991. Here we can see hardly any change in relation between two variables over the period of time.

Here in the maps one pattern also can be observed that, region having fewer amounts of deprived population but having with lower rank in HDI and lower value of CI (e.g. Puruliya district) is having high concentration of ST and Muslim population within the deprived population. And also region having high HDI rank and High CI value in the districts where deprived population is high, that is because of within the deprived population high amount of SC population than Muslims and STs. This kind of pattern can be seen because the living condition of SC is better than ST and Muslims within the deprived people. So here in the Fig 3, Puruliya district having high amount of non-deprived population (54%) still having low CI and lower rank in HDI. It is because in this districts having high amount of ST population within the deprived population (more than 30 out of 45) and as their living standard is in very poor situation, and when we aggregate their value with other deprived population then automatically CI value gone down.

Otherwise if we see the overall picture, development is only concentrated into some region. In the north except Darjeeling district all district having very poor situation. Though the developmental level is quite high in Jalpaiguri and Kochbihar due to high concentration of SCs within the deprived group. But the districts like Uttar and Dakshin Dinajpur, Malda, Murshidabad, Birbhum historically remain stagnant. For administrative rule over all region of India and for development also district boundaries came. But this kind of boundaries were made in such a way that it could create regionalism and for development purpose no regional parties could not be succeed. Because this part of Bengal having always various kind of ethnically diversified people located in various region. We had always seen in history that a boundary creates very strong sense of regionalism. And its effect in this region can be understood by the regional movements for separatism like ‘Kamtapuri in Kochbehar, Gorkhaland in Darjeeling, now in there are emerging some political parties in parts of Uttar Dinajpur as “Rajbanshi Bikas party” etc’ but they never got success what they want. Government had institutionally break them and made their sense of regionalism very strong so that any movement against the discriminatory nature to particular group got succeeded. Like if Gorkha people want what they want, they never get because of other people like Bengalis, bhutias, nepalis, lepchas, bangladeshis who believe in beauty of Darjeeling. The districts like Murshidabad, Uttar Dinajpur, Dakshin Dinajpur and Malda which looks like Neck and Chest of Bengal remain always poor historically. These districts are predominantly Muslim population dominated and there level of development is always poor that if you take any kind of development indicator it will remain backward in living standard according to present developmental discourse. For this kind of situation rural poverty is one of the major reasons for backwardness and as there are mostly high concentration of rural people. In rural areas landlessness is the main reason of poverty. NBU also has reported that there has been also increase in landless agricultural labour. Arun K Jana has also shown in “Backwardness and political articulation of political articulation of backwardness in the North Bengal region of West Bengal”. Arunabha Bagchi, “THE BENGAL DIVIDE - HOW NORTH

BENGAL HAS ALWAYS BEEN DEPRIVED”, shown that “My childhood journeys in the 1950s to Siliguri, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Malda were horrendous experiences when one needed to cross the Ganga by boat at Rajmahal in Bihar. It was not possible to remain within the geographical border of Bengal while traveling from the South to the North of the state. No wonder that North Bengal faded from the collective thinking of the South as time wore on. Of course, Farakka changed the travel ordeal of those days. But the mental disconnect remained.” Otherwise by appreciating the scenic beauties of North Bengal there are no other choices to see Feluda and Byomkesh Bakshi. After independence there were hardly only two major leaders from north Bengal like Priya Ranjan Dasmuni and Abdul Ghani Chowdhury, but they have very marginal influence to in Bengal Politics because they have been exiled to Delhi. Otherwise the chief ministers of West Bengal always come to north Bengal as a tourist by counting days. Though Darjeeling is prosperous due to emerging of tea gardens, tourism, Siliguri etc, but it has very much problem in its internal level. In the case of south Bengal’s western part also remain structurally backward years after years due to its high concentration of ST population and drought prone areas. So overall I am trying to say here that one region is always remain structurally backward years after years and one region always remain prosperous. This structure is such strong that any chief ministers or hardly good leaders are not able to found from this place. I there are someone, they have to go to south Bengal, there is the marvellous Kolkata, the symbol of Bengal. All people of Bengal are symbolized by the characterized by this regionalism and spatial identity of south Bengal like “Bengali Vadro lok”, “Rice-Dal-Fish” etc. but this are the spatial id of South Bengalis. Here I am trying to say that the peoples of North Bengal have kept so backward that no spatial identity is there that people will know from all part of the India or world except the Darjeeling (though it is only about its scenic beauty not the internal condition). Here I also want to say that, all Bengalis (so called south Bengalis) are not Bengalis, there is a vast difference between the structures of society which is still remain same. And one thing also, that fish is now costly that it is the daily cuisine of elite south Bengalis, not for the poor’s.

So now if we talk about the relation of percentage distribution of deprived and non-deprived population in west Bengal and developmental level and its historicity, space had played major role for making the Bengal what Bengal is. If we see the history of human civilization evolution we can see, Kolkata was a composition of villages, sutanuti, kolikata and givindpur etc, and then Britishers came in Kolkata and then it goes on. But the question is that, why those three villages are there where they are? Why British came into in Kolkata? And why the structure of Bengal is like what they are?

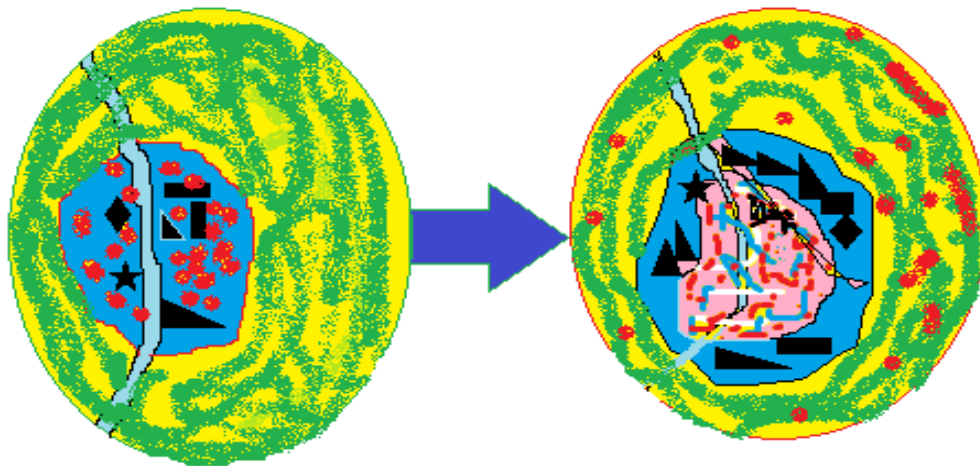
As we had earlier discussed spatial structure is the determinant of power and space having power is the determinant of accumulation. Yes, there are human needs which are changing and that are why mode of production is changing. But my question is like, why human need is changing? Human need change is nothing but what options they have. If they have only one option there is no change in human need. Like frog in a well has no choice to taste the saline water of sea that is why there is no need of change. But human have large number of choice in the space and that is why in history mode of production of change has happen. Like in West Bengal, there was a delta region which was so fertile near the Hugli River human started doing settlement and migrating from other place to this place there. Of course there were other places but those are not so productive that they can do attract the value that delta region can. At that time the moment human getting aggregating to this productive land and economic space become very much mobile that it is changing over a fraction of second. As in India, upper caste people have predominantly the powerful also get attracted to this place to get easily the surplus value

by exploit the other group. And historically as the powerful incursion was happened they wanted to capture the powerful land by pushing the predominant group of people to refuge zones. That is why the poor agricultural labourer and deprived section of people got shifted to northern part of Bengal and makes the land agricultural recently. As the non-deprived people get concentrated to this region and changed the economics of scale and space, this region got high accumulation social power and economic spatial power, and became the nodal point at that time's mode of production. Later on due as the economic space was favourable of this place trade, water transport etc. becoming common for surplus value. As this region having the favourable surplus value, this economic space get more powerful in future. And for this any kind of mode of production is changing from the history it was accumulated here. Even the human capitals from other backward regions are also getting attracted by this space. And that is why, if you see from the history when ever any change in mode of production changed like industrial, tertiary activities, quaternary activities all are got attracted to this place and all other region become a supplier to this place. Other region never can make such powerful place so that it could apply similar force to attract against Kolkata. And when time came to spread out the power, this city become weak as Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai kind of other powerful centre came. It can be said that, the area from which Kolkata had accumulated the power it will give back upto a certain region surrounding it as there are changing of needs will be there. And that is why, the neighboured regions of Kolkata having industrial sectors, and as the time is going on industrial sector is expending outside and change the economic space and change the social structure of this place. And thus every organic growth centres are experiencing, how the mobile space is changing the social structure of the neighboured region. There are other economic space has formed which is converted the present need of people and get attracted to them. Because space is the fastest mobile object, it can move horizontally, vertically and competitive in nature.

VI. CONCLUSION

After all the analysis we can say space is one thing which is ultimate. We had seen how the spatial structure is creating power over the west Bengal and for that any kind of developmental mode is experienced by the parts of South Bengal. If we see that's why the economic review report of west Bengal all kind of educational institute, medical, administrative, legislative, judiciaries are there. Here I wanted to say that, space is object, which itself make attracted and giving choices to the people's need over time, so that needs get accumulated and thus it make itself powerful overtime and as it became powerful then try to influence on other social structure. Lesser the distance from the growth centre higher in the change in social structure and vice versa. That is why peoples located very far from Kolkata having less influence on its social structure and remain agrarian over time and neighboured regions become changed. Some region near Kolkata experienced change in social structure also becomes an economic space of secondary activities which was earlier in the centre of the growth centre. It will change the social structure of its neighboured place in the same way like Fig 1 is showing the mobility pattern of space and follow the same phases to change it. Though the zones are not so rigid, this is to show how the society is changing like below figure.

Fig 5: Changing social structure by shifting the economic space to neighboured region



Changing Social structure by changing horizontal mobility of economic space towards neighboured region of Kolkata

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APENDIX 1:

Tab 2: Districtwise HDI ranks

Districts	HDI 1981	HDI 1991	HDI 2004
Bankura	7	8	11
Bardhaman	4	4	5
Birbhum	9	7	13
Dakshin Dinajpur	14	16	12
Darjiling	5	9	4
Haora	2	2	2
Hugli	3	3	6
Jalpaiguri	12	12	10
Koch Bihar	15	15	11
Kolkata	1	1	1
Maldah	16	13	16
Murshidabad	13	14	14
Nadia	10	10	9
North Twenty Four Parganas	6	5	3
Paschim Medinipur	11	6	7
Purba Medinipur	11	6	7
Puruliya	8	11	15
South Twenty Four Parganas	6	5	8
Uttar Dinajpur	14	16	12

Source: Human development report of west Bengal 2004, and Basabi Bhattacharya, Urbanisation and Human Development in West Bengal: A District Level Study and Comparison with Inter-State Variation, EPW, 1998

APPENDIX 2:

Tab 3: Districtwise values of cumulative indexes of household amenities

NAME1_	ci_1991	ci_2011
Bankura	-1.24	-0.53
Bardhaman	-0.48	0.49
Birbhum	-0.77	-0.49
Dakshin Dinajpur	-1.16	-0.58
Darjiling	-0.35	0.50
Haora	-0.10	0.81
Hugli	-0.17	0.79
Jalpaiguri	-0.90	-0.40
Koch Bihar	-1.30	-0.50
Kolkata	2.15	2.41
Maldah	-0.79	-0.81
Murshidabad	-1.24	-0.48
Nadia	-0.52	0.16
North Twenty Four Parganas	0.21	0.99
Paschim Medinipur	-1.40	-0.36
Purba Medinipur	-1.40	-0.16
Puruliya	-1.16	-1.05
South Twenty Four Parganas	-1.07	-0.10
Uttar Dinajpur	-1.16	-0.69

APPENDIX 3:

Tab 4: Districtwise population distribution of various categories

Data from 1991 census								
NAME1_	TOTAL POP	ISLAM POP	SC_POP	ST_POP	DEPRIVED POP	NON DEPRIVED POP	% OF DEP POP	% OF NON DEP POP
Bankura	2805065	186021	879931	289906	1355858	1449207	48.34	51.66
Bardhaman	6050605	1182755	1660493	376033	3219281	2831324	53.21	46.79
Birbhum	2555664	844987	784062	177501	1806550	749114	70.69	29.31
Dakshin Dinajpur	3127653	1149560	907553	307487	2364600	763053	75.60	24.40
Darjiling	1299919	59140	209876	179153	448169	851750	34.48	65.52
Haora	3729644	828740	588907	10090	1427737	2301907	38.28	61.72
Hugli	4355230	632175	1050280	176401	1858856	2496374	42.68	57.32
Jalpaiguri	2800543	281054	1035971	589225	1906250	894293	68.07	31.93
Koch Bihar	2171145	506728	1123719	13275	1643722	527423	75.71	24.29
Kolkata	4399819	779433	283602	8593	1071628	3328191	24.36	75.64
Maldah	2637032	1252292	477896	171326	1901514	735518	72.11	27.89
Murshidabad	4740149	2910220	634971	61513	3606704	1133445	76.09	23.91
Nadia	3852097	959998	1117506	90525	2168029	1684068	56.28	43.72
North Twenty Four Parganas	7281881	1759839	154689	169831	2084359	5197522	28.62	71.38
Paschim Medinipur	8331912	898478	1361828	689636	2949942	5381970	35.41	64.59
Purba Medinipur	8331912	898478	1361828	689636	2949942	5381970	35.41	64.59
Puruliya	2224577	133119	430513	427766	991398	1233179	44.57	55.43

South Twenty Four Parganas	5715030	1711297	1968814	70499	3750610	1964420	65.63	34.37
Uttar Dinajpur	3127653	1149560	907553	307487	2364600	763053	75.60	24.40
Data from 2011 census								
NAME1_	TOT_P 2011	Pop ISLAM 2011	P_SC_2011	P_ST_2011	DEPRIVED POP_2011	NON DEPRIVED POP_2011	% DEPRIVED POP_2011	% NON- DEPRIVED POP_2011
Bankura	3596674	290450	1174447	368690	1833587	1763087	50.98	49.02
Bardhaman	7717563	1599764	2115719	489447	4204930	3512633	54.49	45.51
Birbhum	3502404	1298054	1033140	242484	2573678	928726	73.48	26.52
Dakshin Dinajpur	1676276	412788	482754	275366	1170908	505368	69.85	30.15
Darjiling	1846823	105086	317275	397389	819750	1027073	44.39	55.61
Haora	4850029	1270641	718951	15094	2004686	2845343	41.33	58.67
Hugli	5519145	870204	1344021	229243	2443468	3075677	44.27	55.73
Jalpaiguri	3872846	445817	1458278	731704	2635799	1237047	68.06	31.94
Koch Bihar	2819086	720033	1414336	18125	2152494	666592	76.35	23.65
Kolkata	4496694	926414	241932	10684	1179030	3317664	26.22	73.78
Maldah	3988845	2045151	835430	313984	3194565	794280	80.09	19.91
Murshidabad	7103807	4707573	897534	91035	5696142	1407665	80.18	19.82
Nadia	5167600	1382682	1546917	140700	3070299	2097301	59.41	40.59
northTwenty Four Parganas	10009781	2584684	2169084	264597	5018365	4991416	50.13	49.87
west	5913457	620554	1128269	880015	2628838	3284619	44.46	55.54

Medinipur								
Purba								
Medinipur	5095875	743436	745434	27952	1516822	3579053	29.77	70.23
Puruliya	2930115	227249	567767	540652	1335668	1594447	45.58	54.42
South								
Twenty								
Four								
Parganas	8161961	2903075	2464032	96976	5464083	2697878	66.95	33.05
Uttar								
Dinajpur	3007134	1501170	807950	162816	2471936	535198	82.20	17.80

Source: Census of India, 1991 and 2011

APPENDIX 4:

Tab 5: Districtwise variables made for calculation of Correlation

NAME1_	CI_1991	% OF DEP POP	% OF NON DEP POP 1991	% NON DEPRIVED POP 2011	ci_1991	ci_2011	HDI_2004	HDI_1991
Bankura	-1.24	48.3	51.66	49.02	-1.24	-0.53	11	8
Barddhaman	-0.48	53.2	46.79	45.51	-0.48	0.49	5	4
Birbhum	-0.77	70.7	29.31	26.52	-0.77	-0.49	13	7
south Dinajpur	-1.16	75.6	24.40	30.15	-1.16	-0.58	12	16
Darjiling	-0.35	34.5	65.52	55.61	-0.35	0.50	4	9
Haora	-0.10	38.3	61.72	58.67	-0.10	0.81	2	2
Hugli	-0.17	42.7	57.32	55.73	-0.17	0.79	6	3
Jalpaiguri	-0.90	68.1	31.93	31.94	-0.90	-0.40	10	12
Koch Bihar	-1.30	75.7	24.29	23.65	-1.30	-0.50	11	15
Kolkata	2.15	24.4	75.64	73.78	2.15	2.41	1	1
Maldah	-0.79	72.1	27.89	19.91	-0.79	-0.81	16	13
Murshidabad	-1.24	76.1	23.91	19.82	-1.24	-0.48	14	14

2nd International Conference on “Recent Research Development in Environment, Social Sciences and Humanities”

Indian Federation of United Nations Associations, New Delhi (India)

(ICRRDESH)

6th August 2017, www.conferenceworld.in

ISBN: 978-93-86171-40-5

Nadia	-0.52	56.3	43.72	40.59	-0.52	0.16	9	10
North Twenty Four Parganas	0.21	28.6	71.38	49.87	0.21	0.99	3	5
Paschim Medinipur	-1.40	35.4	64.59	55.54	-1.40	-0.36	7	6
Purba Medinipur	-1.40	35.4	64.59	70.23	-1.40	-0.16	7	6
Puruliya	-1.16	44.6	55.43	54.42	-1.16	-1.05	15	11
South Twenty Four Parganas	-1.07	65.6	34.37	33.05	-1.07	-0.10	8	5
North Dinajpur	-1.16	75.6	24.40	17.80	-1.16	-0.69	12	16