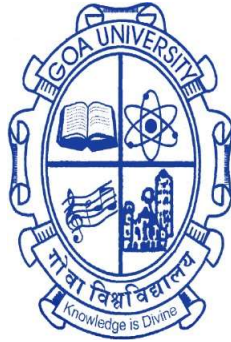


UNDERSTANDING PASTORAL NOMADIC PERSPECTIVE FROM THE WESTERN GHATS

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

D.D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioral Studies,
Goa University



By

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January 2023

DECLARATION

I, Nawoo Varak hereby declare that this thesis represents work which has been carried out by me and that it has not been submitted, either in part or full, to any other University or Institution for the award of any research degree.

Place: Taleigao Plateau

Date: 23/01/2023

Nawoo Varak

CERTIFICATE

I Dr. Alaknanda Shringare hereby certify that the work was carried out under my supervision and may be placed for evaluation.

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Dedicated

To

My Mother ***GANGI***,

My late Father ***VITHU***

&

My late Grandfather ***BAPU***

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Contents

Acknowledgement	i-iii
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1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Scope and Significance of the Study.....	2
1.3 Literature Review.....	3
1.4 Objectives.....	6
1.5 Hypothesis.....	7
1.6 Limitations of the Research.....	7
1.7 Methodology.....	7
1.8 Scheme of Chapters.....	8

2. Pastoral Nomadic Space

2.1 Introduction.....	16
2.2 Understanding Pastoral Nomadic Space.....	17
2.3 Production of Absolute Space.....	21
2.4 Displacement of Pastoral Nomadic Space.....	23
2.5 Contrariety with Dalit-Tribal Discourse.....	27
2.6 Conclusion.....	35

3. Democratizing Regionality

3.1 Introduction.....	40
3.2 Affection and Regionality.....	40
3.3 The Construction of Goan Regionality.....	45

3.4	Post-Colonial Subjugation of Pastoral Nomads.....	46
3.5	Constitutional and Political Intervention.....	50
3.6	Constitutional Provisions.....	53
3.7	Conclusion.....	64
4.	Overseas Connections of Pastoral Nomads	
4.1	Introduction.....	73
4.2	Pastorals in Medieval and Early Modern History of India.....	74
4.3	Pastorals and Medieval Goa.....	81
4.4	Pastoral Nomadic Experience in the Colonies.....	86
4.5	Conclusion.....	94
5.	Pastoral Nomadism and Public Policy	
5.1	Introduction.....	106
5.2	Theory of Social Contract.....	107
5.3	Pastoral Nomads and Colonial Public Policy.....	114
5.4	Pastoral Nomads and Post-Colonial Public Policy.....	120
5.5	Public Policy in Post-Colonial Goa.....	122
5.6	Pastoral Economy and Goa Municipal Act, 1968.....	124
5.7	Politics of Policy and Pastoral Nomads.....	126
5.8	Pedagogy and the Pastoral Nomads.....	129
6.	Conclusion.....	138
	Bibliography.....	147

Chapter I

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This area of research has been the topic of curiosity since the early days of my childhood. The run-off-the-mill anatomy of the village made me realize that it had been consciously crafted to benefit a few communities by pushing some to the periphery. This existential question has been hovering in my mind for almost the last twenty-five years. The academic curriculum in the schools and college had also not addressed my curiosity. In fact, I have been exposed to the works that are largely justificatory in nature of this anatomy of the village. The quest to understand why the village has been conceived in a specific manner amalgamated my efforts to excavate this anatomy. Does a village constitute its own naturalness being natural in the space? Does it inherit its naturalness as it was once bestowed upon by an unknown entity? Can we question the possible originator of the village? These are a few questions I have been occupied with for some time now.

What is noteworthy about the village in India is the '*absence of organic receptivity*' among its constituent parts. Why did communities organize themselves on the principle of organic unresponsiveness? The living beings exist in space solely on the basis of organic responsiveness. The main criterion for being natural is to be organically receptive towards the parts of the body. If we consider this criterion to uphold the phenomenon of '*being natural*', then we can surely problematize the understanding of '*village being natural*'. If we want to give it a natural form, we can think of making it organically receptive. We can take it further arguing that will it lead to civilizing the communities operating as its body organs? It may further tweak us to combine receptivity and civility to be propitious for all living beings in the village. The concern to elevate all the communities to be receptive towards civility reconfigures the anatomy of the village. Therefore, the accumulated experiences have pushed me to rethink the constitution of the village '*being natural*'. The identification of the '*political*' in '*being natural*' enmeshes a republican idea into the process of village remaking. The processes of local governance only further the natural anatomy of the village. The governance is a thought-out process to target those feeble aspects or organs of the village or body which cease to work in a desired manner. Therefore, the governance process may not institute organic receptivity in the village polity.

This research attempts to chain the 'local', 'regional', and 'national' in an organically receptive way. This is possible if we try to understand society from the 'pastoral nomadic perspective'. When the society is perceived from the lenses of the settled or mainly agricultural communities, the government comes to the pastoral nomadic communities to discipline and punish if they do not conform. The local governance may cause eviction of the pastoral nomads. Therefore, this research tries to highlight the 'political' in the 'local', 'regional' and 'national'. The 'Western Ghats' offer a conducive landscape to reflect upon the relations between the sedentary as well as pastoral nomadic communities. It was also a testimony to the various foreign rules. Therefore, this PhD thesis is titled as 'Understanding Pastoral Nomadic Perspective from the Western Ghats'.

1.2 Scope and Significance of the Study

The social landscape of Western Ghats exhibits the historical trans-territorial movements of pastoral nomadic groups. The recovery and reclamation of the pastoral nomadic perspective adds to the understanding of the Western Ghats. The social understanding in this region stems from the existing caste system prevails over the political understanding of the region. The social understanding contributes to the formation of the regionalities within the region of the Western Ghats. Regionality is an affection of the sedentary castes to protect their social capital. To survive, regionality prevents mobility of indigeneity. This obscures an indigeneity in the lives of pastoral nomads. Regionality and trans-territorial pastoral movements conflict. The politics in the post-colonial region of the western ghats derecognizes this historical conflict and alters the social landscapes in the favour of the sedentary castes. The space between the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghats has been historically populated with the pastoral nomadic communities. The dominance of the social understanding of the sedentary castes marginalizes their role in economy and politics. The numerically large settled castes determine the electoral outcomes and become the beneficiaries of the justice in India. The electoral democracy makes the pastoral nomads insignificant force in the political economy.

The development models like socialist and welfare states in India overlook the importance of pastoral nomadism in the political economy of the state. This has led to derecognize the pastoral nomads in the social, political, economic and cultural realm of the society. It necessitates the rethinking and revising of the theoretical understanding of the political economy. The theoretical understanding of the contemporary academics largely emanates

from liberal, Marxist and Subaltern traditions. These traditions revolve around the idea of dependency rather than relativity and couched their theoretical exercise in between the binaries of core and periphery.

The other major approaches of socio-political analysis such as system approach, institutional approach, Gandhian approach, feminist approach also remain equipped with the same hierarchical duality. These approaches consider the sedentary castes as civil society and reduce pastoral nomads to the state of nature. This assumption continues to marginalize them. The linearity in the theorizing from this point of view displaces the existence of pastoral-nomadic civility. Placing the pastorals under the state of nature undermines the mode of production associated with their mobility. The popular understanding of coloniality categorizes the world into east and west, North and South, occident and Orient, derivative and desi, English and vernacular and so on. These narratives exonerate the regionalities of the sedentary castes from the coloniality. The emotional affiliation towards regionality generates its own coloniality. The village constitutes the inner sphere of the regionality. Therefore, there is need to infuse a republican idea into the village by integrating sedentary and pastoral nomadic communities.

The area of research offers a confluence of the colonization of pastoral nomads from local as well as overseas colonizers. Generally, popular imagery of the colonization attributes coloniality to European modernity. The unravelling of pastoral-nomadic space offers decolonization not as alternative to emancipatory theorization. Rather, it treats decolonization as an option emanated from a pastoral nomadic mode of production. Thus, the title of the thesis 'Understanding Pastoral Nomadic Space from Western Ghats' reclaims a pastoral nomadic space in the contemporary India. The alarming increase in the attacks on pastoral nomadic people emphasizes the urgency of the reclamation of pastoral space.

1.3 Literature Review

The political understanding of the socio-economic landscape helps in redefining the public sphere. The sedentary agricultural landowning castes and communities in the colonial and post-colonial India in general and in the area of research i.e., Western Ghats in particular significantly form the public sphere. This thesis attempts to problematize the public sphere which is conspicuously constitutive of the sedentary society that derecognizes the existence of the pastoral nomads. It looks into the processes through which the public sphere is

constituted. Jurgen Habermas in 'Towards a Reconstruction of Historical Materialism' explicates the process of the formation of the public sphere and identify the role of the 'hominized' groups in the production of the hominized space (Habermas 1975, 288). He further argues that the public sphere is also constitutive of various modes of production and it is not necessary that all modes of production emanate from a homogenous origin (Habermas 1975, 289). The caste system in the research area and elsewhere in India caused the hominization of the modes of the productions and erased the historicity of the mode of production associated with the pastoral nomadic communities. This erasure devalues the pastoral nomadism and acknowledge the sedentary nomadism. Luigina Ciolfi and Aparecido Fabiano Pinatti de Carvalho in their 'Work Practices, Nomadicity and the Mediatonal Role of Technology' highlights the appreciation received by the nomadism of the sedentary communities (Ciolfi and Carvalho 2014, 119). The derecognition of the pastoral nomadism and recognition of the nomadism of the sedentary society further consolidates the process of hominization in the post-colonial world. Bruno Latour's (2005) Actor-Network theory in his 'Reassembling the Social, An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory' helps in explaining the nomadicity of the agricultural landowning castes in India (Latour 2005). The mode of economic production based on actor-network global relations emanates from solipsistic thinking. Peter Hutcheson in his 'Solipsistic and Intersubjective Phenomenology' argues that the interpreter who excuses an intersubjectivity derecognizes the other minds (Hutcheson 1981). Edmund Husserl in 'Cartesian Meditations, An Introduction to Phenomenology' argues that the reductionist transcendentalism bring permanency in solipsistic science (Husserl 1960). The reductionist transcendentalism of the sedentary space attached to the landowning castes fails to incorporate the pastoral nomadism as distinct mode of production. Habermas in 'Communication and the Evolution of Society' emphasizes the hermeneutical reading of this transcendental reductionism (Habermas 1979). Rudolf Carnap in 'The Logical Structure of the World and Pseudoproblems in Society' highlights the hermeneutic reading of the ordering of the construction (Carnap 2003). Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in 'A Thousand Plateaus, Capitalism and Schizophrenia' terms pastoral nomadic movements as "Nomadic waves or flows of deterritorialization" (Deleuz and Guattari 1987). They point out the crisscrossed linearity of the nomadic movements of the pastorals (Deleuz and Guattari 1987). The unilinear understanding of the sedentary society prevails over the crisscrossed linearity of the pastoral nomads. Bouventura de Sousa Santos in 'Beyond Abyssal Thinking, From Global Lines to Ecologies of Knowledge' argues that the modern abyssal thinking makes distinction and radicalizes and the radicalization makes

the other sides of the distinction invisible (Santos 2007). Henry Lefebvre in 'The Production of Space' argues that the radicalization ends up in fragmenting the agropastoral space (Lefebvre 1991) and results into an absolute space of the sedentary castes. As argued by Homi K. Bhabha in 'The Location of Culture', the absolute space renounces the distinctions between the public and the private and obscures the gender differences (Bhabha 1994). Any alternative to the absolute space or an existing model ends up in retaining the social structure rather than disturbing it. Walter D. Mignolo offers an idea of the 'option' rather than 'alternative' in his 'The Darker Side of Western Modernity, Global Futures, Decolonial Options' to counter the absolute space (Mignolo 2011). For Mignolo decoloniality serves an option (Mignolo 2011). This thesis considers the decoloniality as alternative rather than the option and proposes the pastoral nomadic space as an option available to the existing mode of production. Therefore, the alternatives of the decolonization functions differently for sedentary and pastoral nomadic communities. Treating the 'Dalit-Bahujan' or the 'subaltern' as homogenous marginality fails to decolonize the various communities with a similar force. Subaltern approach in Ranajit Guha's 'Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India' considers 'peasant' as homogenous marginality (Guha 1999). According to Akbar S. Ahmed in 'Nomadism as Ideological Expression- The Case of Gomal Nomads', the response of the pastoral nomads to the coloniality is distinct from the agricultural peasants (Ahmed 1982). Therefore, there needs a comparative understanding of visual archives to locate the ideological expressions of the pastoral nomads. Anirudh Deshpande in 'Histories, Academics and Public' points out the need to understand the politics between the history writing and the visual archives (Deshpande 2018). Hence, the archival response to coloniality in the form of resistance or collaboration is inadequate to infer as the collective resistance or collective collaboration. In Freudian understanding Ruth Stein in 'Psychoanalytic Theories of Affect' seems to suggest that the archives largely picturize the 'quota of affect' (Stein 1999). Sudipta Kaviraj calls this affect in 'Three Planes of Space, Examining Region Theoretically in India' as the enumerator of the regionality (Kaviraj 2017). The regionality in India models the understanding of the federalism in India. Louis Tillin in her 'United in Diversity? Asymmetry in Indian Federalism' points out the asymmetries in the federation of India (Tillin 2007). Douglas Verney in 'Federalism, Federative Systems and Federations: The United States, Canada and India' terms federalism as philosophical question and not unitary (Verney 1995).

The modern political history of the sedentary castes determines the post-colonial federal relations in India. Therefore, it is historically important to trace the pastoral nomadic response to the colonialism. Andre Wink in 'From the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean: Medieval History in Geographic Perspective' points out the rise of the pastoral nomadic powers along with rise of the Coastal centers and maritime people (Wink 2002). According to Jerry Bentley in 'Cross-Cultural Interaction and Periodization in World History', the Pastoral nomadic people have shaped the societies in the regions of the Indian Ocean (Bentley 1996). The capitals like Delhi, Devgiri, Warangal, Bijapur, etc. were center of the man and animal power (Wink 2002). Daniel J. Rogers argues in 'Inner Asian States and Empires: Theories and Synthesis' that the Pastoral empires of the medieval India are assumed to be the ephemeral and derivative of the sedentary agricultural society (Rogers 2007).

The derecognition of the political power of the pastoral nomads of the medieval India failed to evolve the social contract in the political theory in India. George W. Wallis in 'Chronopolitics: The Impact of Time Perspectives on the Dynamics of Change' emphasizes the importance of the chronopolitics in writing the political history (Wallis 1970). The social contract theory aids in identifying the actors who willingly converge to establish the civil society and the state. The Western Political Thinkers like Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jean Jaques Rousseau and recent addition to this category John Rawls employ social contract theory to attribute the social space to the various actors that exist. They make the nomadic and sedentary society constitutive of the social contract. On the contrary, except B. R. Ambedkar (1948) in his 'The Untouchables And Who Were They And Why They Became Untouchables?', otherwise the Indian political philosophy prefers homogeneity over the binaries between the pastoral nomads and sedentary castes. Therefore, the public policy of the post-colonial India lacks the understanding of the social contract.

1.4 Objectives

1. To explore 'Nomadic Pastoral Space' as a research method in Social Sciences.
2. Democratization of the Social Space through reclaiming the Pastoral Nomadic Space.
3. To make the Pastoral Nomads a Bonafide Matter of Social Justice in India.
4. To make Pastoral Nomadism as an integral part of Public Policy.

1.5.Hypotheses

1. The reclamation of ‘Nomadic Pastoral Space’ offers a rejoinder in the History Writing in India.
2. As Globalization radicalizes itself, Pastoral Nomadism rejuvenates the nation making process.
3. The mainstream Political Theory lacks the understanding of the social contract in India.
4. The articulate emphasis on Nomadic Pastoralism resolves federal conflicts in the state.

1.6.Limitations of the Research

This research mainly deals with the medieval and modern landscape of the Western Ghats that ranges from the North-Western region of India to South-Eastern region of India. There are pastoral nomadic communities in the other parts of India and they deserve to become part of this study. As it is argued in the thesis that the pastoral communities have not occupied central stage in the political theory in India, this thesis is a beginning in that direction. This research is to testify the validity of the pastoral nomadic approach in political theory; hence, it is carried out in the limited research area. The COVID 19 also caused to restrict the area of field work. It has largely drawn on existing archives, research articles, ethnographic and anthropological empiricism.

1.7.Methodology

The methodology attempts to collect qualitative as well as quantitative data inputs through primary and secondary sources. The quantitative data in the form of ethnographic field-experiences is converted into a qualitative input. An empirical analysis is carried out to quantify the ethnographic data in the form of arguments. This analysis is accompanied by anthropological inquiries in the settlements and movements of the sedentary and pastoral nomads. The qualitative method includes the critical and comparative readings of the secondary sources in the form of archives, academic books and journals, press and periodicals. The archives in English, Portuguese, and other local languages are carefully examined to draw the analogies between the sedentary and pastoral nomadic communities. The research method also subjects the historical socio-economic relations to the

communitarian understanding to bring out the pastoral nomadic perspective to the public sphere.

1.8. Scheme of Chapters

Chapter I: Introduction

The first chapter deals with the purpose of research on pastoral nomadic communities in the western ghats. It emphasizes on the revising the republic idea at local, regional and national level thereby fostering the organic receptivity through the three main structural elements of the state i.e. local, regional and national. It reviews the literature that helps in the recovery of the construction of pastoral nomadic space and stands for its reclamation. It mentions the scope and significance of the study along with the objectives and hypotheses and methodology of the research. It also specifies the limitations of the research. Along with this, the first chapter provides a brief idea of all the chapters of the thesis including the conclusion.

Chapter II: Pastoral Nomadic Space

The second chapter offer the ways through which the ‘pastoral nomadic space’ can be understood. It engages theoretically with the social space from the pastoral nomadic perspective. It further engages with how space has been theorized by various social and political scientists in the world. It discusses Jurgen Habermas, Bruno Latour, Rudolf Carnap, Gilles Deleuze, Hutchenson, Husserl, Henry Lefebvre, Walter Mignolo, Bouventura de Sousa Santos and others. It explores how the abyssal thinking of the sedentary erases the pastoral nomadic space. It differentiates between the nomadism and nomadicity and tries to excavates the relations between them through Latourian Actor-Network Theory. It deals with the historical events wherein the pastoral nomads were derecognized as the principal stakeholders in the villages. It explores the colonial set-up wherein how the sedentary castes had found upper-hand in the making of villages in the Western Ghats. It extensively explores how the production of absolute sedentary space is done and dusted in the Western Ghats and underline the roles of *Gavkars*, the villagers from the caste system. It dwells into some ethnographic accounts that show the displacement of the nomads on the pretext of sacredness attached to the ecological spaces in the pastoral space and presents the limitations

of Green Movements in understanding the concerns of the pastoral nomads. It engages with the post-colonial texts on the pastoral nomads that largely portray them as ‘historically dispossessed self’ that cannot speak for themselves. It also highlights the limitations of the subaltern and Marxist research on pastoral nomads.

Chapter III: Democratizing Regionality

The third chapter explores the making of the regionality. It identifies the determinants that help for the regionality. For that matter, it demonstrates the formation of it through the theory of affection. It tries to tell how the sedentary communities have employed the theory of affection in affectioning the land. It tries to detail the process wherein the affection has been consciously carried out. It depicts the role of history in furthering the affection of sedentary society in federal relations in the Western Ghats and elsewhere. It attempts to showcase how the affection remains predominant determinant in the community formation as well. It tries to erase the jargon preeminent in the understanding of the regionality in India. It details the relationship between the affection and regionality by employing the Freudian understanding of the dream. It exposes how this Freudian dream of the settled dominant communities have shaped the history writing. It explains how the institution of *Comunidade* in Goa helped in the creation of Goan regionality exclusive of landowning castes. It reports the subjugation of the pastoral nomadic tribes in colonial and postcolonial Western Ghats. It chronicles the news reports of the attacks and atrocities on the nomads in Gujarat, Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka, Telangana, Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Tamil Nadu. It opens up the discussion of the theoretical and philosophical concept of the federalism and emphasizes the applicability of it in the context of India. It deals with the understanding of federalism given by Louis Tillin, Charles D. Tarlton, Sharada Rath and Douglas Verney. Tarlton and Tillin deal with symmetrical and asymmetrical federalism. Tillin calls Indian federalism as asymmetrical federalism. This chapter explains the role of first chief minister of Goa, Daman and Diu Dayanand Bhandarkar in the federalism of India by making the pastoral nomads part of the regionality in Goa. At the end, this chapter highlights the need for the constitutional inclusion of the pastoral nomads. It emphasizes on those constitutional provisions wherein the social justice can be extended to them. It specifically highlights that the effective use of Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSPs) can make the pastoral nomads domicile subject of social justice.

Chapter IV: Overseas Connection of Pastoral Nomads

The fourth chapter deals with the exposures that pastoral communities had shared and interacted with the foreign rulers such as British, Portuguese and Mughals. The popular history largely reflects upon the contribution of sedentary communities in the movement for independence. The pastoral nomads find a peripheral place in the struggle against colonial rules. This research attempts to discover such struggles associated with them. These struggles help in locating the nomads in local, regional and national histories. The chapter attempts to reorient the nationalism by tracing the status of the pastoral nomads in medieval, early modern and the modern history of South Western India especially of the Deccan Region. Their role in collaborating and bargaining has not been thought of worth researching. The dominant history only portrays only sedentary communities collaborating with the colonial powers. It also traces how the Indic and the islamicate understanding helped the colonial rulers use and the discredit them during their reigns in the mediaeval India. The medieval kingdoms of Deccan represented the pastoral nomadic mode of production and were connected with the overseas empires of the through the ports on the coasts of the Arabian Sea. This chapter argues that the vacuum between the sedentary and the nomadic was politically used by the Mughals, Portuguese and British for their empire building in India that largely resulted in privileging the agricultural castes into their public policy in the colonies.

This chapter also deals with the pastorals and the medieval Goa and explores how the habitus of the village exclusively inhabited by the gaunkars was produced during the Portuguese colonial rule. It also explores how that sedentary habitus displaced the Dhangar Khuntkar in Goa. The animosity between the Holkar who hailed from khutekar dhangar during the war of Bassein also led to their exclusion in Goa.

This chapter further details the anxieties of the pastoral nomads who were taken to the plantation on the British colonies in Latin America, Africa and Caribbean Islands. The migration of women was discouraged as British were against the reproduction of the indentured generations in the colonies and those women migrated were sexually exploited. The religious faiths of the indentured labourers were discredited and many times they were subjected to the harassment of the local indigenous people. The nationalist discourse in India perceived them from the Indic understanding that led to the categories of the 'free Indians' and 'coolies' in the colonies. M.K. Gandhi attributed the free Indians to Aryan Stock when

he was tasked to fight the case of the free Indians in South Africa. Many indentured people failed to return to an independent India as they failed to make space in the sedentary society.

Chapter V: Pastoral Nomadism and Public Policy

The fifth chapter channels the importance of the pastoral nomadic space into policy making. It emphasizes the republican idea of governance rather than disciplining the idea of governance. It unfolds how the theoretical marginalization colonizes and criminalizes pastoral nomads in the colonial and post-colonial India. It points out that their collaboration failed to assure their rights. The collaboration of the sedentary lower castes resulted in assuring them their rights and ensured some sort of affirmative action to ameliorate their socio-economic conditions. This chapter highlights the importance of the chronopolitics in highlighting the inadequacies of the public policy and differential treatment meted out to the pastoral nomadic people.

It employs the social contract theory to highlight how the western political thinkers like Plato, Aristotle, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jean Jaques Rousseau and John Rawls base their social contract theory on the life of the pastoral nomad. The image of the pastoral nomad determines the internal as well as the external terms and conditions of the social contract. This chapter ponders upon the political theory in India and points out that the political theory lacks such contractarian understanding that accommodates the pastoral nomads. Though political philosophy is replete with the pastoral ethos, the Indic influence on political theory blurs the political importance of the theory in politics. The understanding of the social sciences rests on the premises of the theory that is detached from the philosophy. This makes the post-colonial or post-independent public policy more incongruent with the diversity of the people that western Ghats and India host.

It dwells into the colonial public policy and explores how the Portuguese privileged the settled agricultural castes and evicted the pastoral nomads like dhangars and artists through the policy measures. The colonial codes and regulations like The Charter of Customs and Practices of Gaunkaria (1526), Indian Railways Act (1879), Regulamento Das Mazania (1886) evicted and displaced them. The public policy in Portuguese Goa acknowledged the local peasants known as Mundkars under Mundkarial Acts, it derecognised the Khuntkar dhangars as part of their public policy. It further deals with the post-colonial public policy in relation to the pastoral nomadic people. It tries to resemble with the politics of the first

chief minister of Goa, Daman and Diu Dayanand Bandodkar. Bandodkar imagined the states convenient to the pastoral nomadic people from the states of Maharashtra, Karnataka and Goa.

It examines the suitability of the municipal administration and the pastoral practices in revitalizing the value chains between the goods and services from the pastorals and the markets. It details the provisions of the Goa Municipal Act, 1968. How the politics of policy has benefitted the sedentary landowning castes of the post independent era and the acculturation of the political economy favoured them is discussed in this chapter. The landowning castes from the Western Ghats and other parts of India emerged as the beneficiaries of the Green Revolution and White Revolution launched by the Congress governments. The Nehruvian Model of economics failed to integrate the pastoral nomadic populace in these major schemes of the food grain production and animal husbandry. Sedentary castes replaced the pastoral nomads through the development model. The last section of this chapter comments on the pedagogy and politics in the institutions of education and the higher education in India and suggests that the agricultural dominant castes dominated the student's politics. The students from the pastoral nomadic is yet to articulate their assertion in the educational premises.

Chapter VI: Conclusion

The purpose of the thesis was to scrutinize the public sphere and recognize the consequential relativity of the public sphere. This consequential relativity helped in disturbing the unilinear consequentialism. The concept of collaborative consequentialism as explained in the thesis earlier leads to develop pastoral nomadic approach as is required to understand the pastoral nomadic space. The existing approaches of the research including the Marxists and Subaltern approaches ends up in being unilinear in their understanding. The task of problematizing the public sphere through unilinear methodology is inadequate and remains incomplete. The unilinear methodology or unilinear spatiality maps the historical power relations in a stratified manner. The crisscrossed linearity or nomadic spatiality builds the pastoral nomadic space. The realization of the pastoral nomadic space offers a new approach of writing history. The linearity in the social space tends to direct the history writing in India. The linear history writing notes dominant diversities of the sedentary castes and leave behind the linkages unrecognized that pastoral nomads offer or inherit. The reclamation of the

pastoral nomadic space, thus, serves to be a rejoinder in the history writing process. The post-colonial governance mechanisms seem to be inadequate in democratizing the social space. As the globalization has radicalized the differences between the developed and under-developed world, the neoliberal logic of global cooperation remained limited to the designated natives or landowning castes. The neoliberal world which is largely reliant on the history consider the landowning castes as the major player in the history of India. The colonial and postcolonial history cause neoliberal economics recognize only the mode of production associated feudal or sedentary castes. Therefore, the neoliberalism supported by the history of the sedentary castes emerges as an obstacle in the nation making process in India.

Making of the neoliberalism convenient to the social justice requires an intervention of the pastoral nomadic space. This is possible when the pastoral nomads communities become the bonafide matter of justice. In doing so, there is a need of social contract theory in the making of the public policy in India. Neo-liberalism only recognizes a social contract between the sedentary castes and the multi-national corporations. Putting the pastoral nomads at the center stage of public policy and development will change the economics of the country.

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Chapter II

Pastoral Nomadic Space

2.1 Introduction

The conventional understanding of political economy obscures the existence of pastoral nomadism in post-colonial global world. Historically, the transfer of coloniality from one colonizer to another colonizer is instrumental in maintaining the previous mode of production. The governance of coloniality becomes operational from the location of the colonizer. Such governing process further enumerates its locus standi. Its functionality attempts to discipline the location of the colonizer. The intensive expansionary nature of disciplining tries to conflate the modes of production. The conflation of modes of production occurs intermittently in an unorganized geography at various locations. The continuity in conflation leads to produce a 'hominized' territory. According to Jurgen Habermas, the hominized humans are adult men who form hunting groups. They cooperatively use technology and collectively distribute the prey. They are different from unorganized primates (Habermas 1975, 288). This process shows unilinear hominization. It is understandable that all people did not require to be hominized. The caste system in India resembles with the hominized society. Habermas further argues that "the history is conceived as a succession of different modes of production, which in their pattern of development reveal the direction of social evolution" (Habermas 1975, 289). The social evolution takes place through various modes of production. All of them need not necessarily to be hominized. The networking of hominized forces at local, regional, national and global level transforms them into a global nomadic society. This unilinearity derecognises pastoral nomadic differentiability of their modes of production. The unilinear space has its own location. From a particular location, it becomes mobile. The mobility of this 'located' individuals, groups, societies, etc. leads to produce a nomadic life of the 'sedentary' people. This process accounts post-colonial nomadism. Sedentary life represents a single mode of production. It fails to register nomadicity of modes of production. Luigina Ciolfi and Aparecido Fabiano Pinatti de Carvalho distinguishes between nomadism and nomadicity (Ciolfi and Carvalho 2014, 121). The post-colonial nomadicity emphasizes only on the mobility of the settled and overlooks the mobility of the pastoral nomads. They argue:

Like Pastoral nomads move their households to locations where they can find green pastures for their herds and water for their crops, modern nomads move their workplace to locations where they can find resources such as time, space, privacy, other people, to name a few (Ciolfi and Carvalho 2014, 121).

The post-colonial nomadicity delinks itself from the historical process of nomadism. The settled communities place their mobility under nomadicity. For them, it is a space gentrified with the technological advancement. Nomadicity represents the systems that can support a rich set of computing and communication capabilities and services for nomads. (Yoo 2002). While doing so, it fails to acknowledge the parallels with the nomadism. The public gaze in India and elsewhere respects nomadicity and look down upon nomadism while skilfully separating both the concept. The public imagine the colloquial pastorals with nomadism. This unpropitious differentiation questions the capability of the mobility. Mobility exists only to the extent it carries capability. Can we say that the mobility of the pastoral nomads accompanies no capability? Capability is prior to the mobility. Therefore, the nomadicity is a colonial or post-colonial phenomenon and the nomadism is a natural activity. Bruno Latour (2005) in 'Reassembling the Social' argues that the '*actor-network is not the source of an action but the moving target of a vast array of entities swarming towards it*' (Latour 2005). In Latourian sense, actor-network theory seeks to render the historical relations in the present by tracing the gaps left by the social fluid (Latour 2005). According to him an 'action' is borrowed, distributed, suggested, influenced, dominated, betrayed, translated and therefore it represents the major source of uncertainty about the origin of the action (Latour 2005). The nomadicity of the settled castes signifies the Latourian representation of the action rather than mobility.

It shows an inability of sedentary life to shape a civil society as the actor-network relations drive the actions. The sedentary life, therefore, fails to precondition the formation of civil society and the state. The civility of political space varies as the modes of production vary. The process of civility is inter-subjective. Thus, this research is an attempt to bring out the 'civility' embodied in the nomadic pastoral space and radicalises it with sedentary society.

2.2 Understanding Pastoral Nomadic Space

The perspectives on 'nomadism' present a 'solipsistic' understanding of settled communities. Peter Hutcheson (1981) in his 'Solipsistic and Inter-subjective Phenomenology' argues that the thesis that the interpreter does not know how to prove that

there are other minds. There is a necessity to modify the distinction between solipsistic and inter-subjective phenomenology (Hutcheson 1981). The distinction between solipsism and inter-subjectivity is elaborated by Edmund Husserl. He argues that the reduction of transcendental ego brings permanency to solipsistic science. The consequential elaboration of solipsistic science leads to phenomenology of transcendental inter-subjectivity (Husserl 1960). The solipsistic understanding of space sustains the ambivalent binaries between the 'settled' and 'pastoral nomadic' life. This ambivalence further provides categories like 'voluntary' nomads and 'designated' nomads. The settled nomadism is a voluntary. Pastoral nomads are 'designated' in the post-colonial world. The solipsistic appropriation of space offers an agency of movement to the sedentary people. The agentive directions offer them a choice or choices. The access to choose makes the movement voluntary. Hence, it is a 'resilient mobility'. On the other hand, the pastoral nomad's movements are designated. Designation attaches compulsion to the movements. They are left to wander where sedentary choice is yet to intervene. It withdraws choices in the directions. It transforms mobility from capability to vulnerability. Thus, there is a need of transcendental inter-subjectivity as Husserl suggests. An inquiry into transcendental inter-subjectivity between them leads to provide hermeneutical understanding. The hermeneutics of these ambivalences exposes the meaning of an understanding. What does an understanding mean? As Jurgen Habermas points out that coming to an understanding is the process of bringing about an agreement. The agreement is based upon presupposed validity claims. (Habermas 1979) Such claims can be mutually recognised. The presuppositions of such claims stem from a background consensus. Such consensus precludes the interpretations of facts. It further forms the basis of an understanding among participants in a society. When the background consensus is shaken and the presuppositions about validity claims are vindicated, the task of new mutual interpretation begins. If the attempt of new interpretation fails, the communicative action among the participants cannot be sustained. It leads one to confront with other alternatives. The confrontation with various alternatives makes one choose a strategic action. It breaks communicative actions amongst various participants. The events such as confrontation, breaking of communication and strategic action leads the interpreter to reach an understanding at different level. This process holds previous understanding as hypothetical and based on problematic validity claims.

The popular ethnology of pastoral nomads highlights the presupposed characteristics. It is widely held that they are itinerant individuals and groups habitually wander in search of

pasture and water availability for their cattle and sheep. They pay lukewarm reception towards fixed property and resources. The radicalisation of these presuppositions normalises unequal distribution of political space (social, economic, cultural, etc.) between settled and pastoral nomads. This paves way for understanding a space strategically. Habermas (1979) provides four methods of establishing an understanding; (a) uttering something understandably (b) giving (the hearer) something to understand (c) making himself thereby understandable (d) coming to an understanding with another person (Habermas 1979). The title of the thesis 'Understanding Pastoral Nomadic Perspectives from Western Ghats' attempts to construct an understanding of nomadic pastoral space from this point of view. Rudolf Carnap (2003) describes the constructional system. He writes:

By constructional system, we mean a step-by-step ordering of objects in such a way that the objects of each level are constructed from those of the lower levels. Because of the transitivity of reducibility, all objects of the constructional system are thus indirectly constructed from the objects of the first level. These basic objects form the basis of the system (Carnap 2003).

The term 'pastoral nomadic space' places its objects 'pastoral', 'nomadic', and 'space' in a particular order. 'Pastoral' is placed before the 'nomadic' and the 'nomadic' is placed before the 'space'. This order points out 'intensity' and 'extensivity' of nomadism under the space. The word 'nomadic' connects the 'pastoral' to 'space'. Instead of driven by a particular action, nomadic movement is spatial and dialectical. The attempt to associate with the territory or place is largely pre-mediated and action-oriented.

As Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari (1987) in 'A Thousand Plateaus, Capitalism and Schizophrenia' argue that:

“Nomadic waves or flows of deterritorialization go from the central layer to the periphery, then from the new centre to the new periphery, falling back to the old centre and launching forth to the new” (Deleuz and Guattari 1987).

Settled nomadism begins from a central location. It moves towards the peripheral areas of the space. It accompanies a certain force. A force makes an activity intensive. Intensity drives unilinear process. The pastoral nomadism lacks speedier force. Its movements occupy an extensive peripheral area. An injunction of force in an extensive space naturally slows down its speed. It results in a criss-crossed linearity. Therefore, the usage of three objects i.e., pastoral, nomadic and space in a singular term unsettles the settled understanding of

social space. It further points out the difference between democratisation and the transition. The unilinear societies are in transition. The pre-mediated force keeps the transition alive. The continuity in transitions fluctuates and sometimes interrupts the progress lies in the transition. Transitions depend upon injected force. The frequent transitions in global nomadic society displace pastoral nomads because their modes of production differ from the global economic order. As Deleuze and Guattari (1987) further argues that the state often represses the nomad (pastoral) and minor sciences. It represses them because they imply a division of labour opposed to the norms of the state (Deleuz and Guattari 1987). The sedentary nomads represent the state. In India, communities belonged to caste system resemble to the sedentary nomads. Deleuze and Guattari describe the distinction between the sedentary space and pastoral nomadic space (Deleuz and Guattari 1987) . According to them, the sedentary space is striated by walls, enclosures and roads between enclosures while nomadic space is effaced and displaced with trajectory. He resembles the pastoral nomad's trajectories with the inimitable sound of the lamellae of the desert. He terms the pastoral nomad as a person who doesn't move. On the contrary, he calls a sedentary nomad, a migrant. A migrant keeps behind a milieu that have become amorphous and hostile. The pastoral nomads challenge this hostility by entering into the smooth space left by the receding forest, where steppe or desert advances. This process invents nomadism to the challenge of sedentary nomad (Deleuz and Guattari 1987). It suggests that a sedentary nomad is a migrant who is in transition to occupy newer and newer opportunities. The legitimacy of entering into pastoral nomadic space emanates from an abyssal thinking.

Bouventura de Sousa Santos (2007) writes that modern abyssal thinking makes distinctions and radicalise them. The radicalisations of distinctions and their dramatic consequences make the other side of distinctions invisible. The visible distinction is grounded on the invisibility of the other distinction (Santos 2007). The abyssal thinking of sedentary nomads radicalises the distinctions between 'us' and 'them'. They treat the pastoral nomads as 'outsiders. They normalise their itinerancy by repeatedly calling them 'outsiders'. This repetitive denomination erases epistemologies of the pastoral nomads and makes their presence invisible. This abyssal thinking of distinctions results into an absolute space. Henry Lefebvre (1991) in his 'The Production of Space' explains the process of bringing absoluteness to the space. According to him, the origin of an absolute space is a fragment of agro-pastoral space and is exploited by sedentary peasants and pastoral nomads. The actions of masters and conquerors assign a new role to the space. Its new meaning is predicated on

the newly assigned role. Still, it appears as transcendent, sacred (inhabited by divine forces), magical and cosmic. It continues to be perceived as part of nature. Its sacred or cursed character are attributed to the forces of nature (Lefebvre 1991). The production of space in an absolute manner is evidenced in the construct of Sacred Groves in Western Ghats. Environmentalists project the sacred grove as a natural spiritual entity.

2.3 Production of Absolute Space

The Marathi term '*devrai*' is used for the Sacred Grove. The village priests or Gavkars exercise temporal authority to perform the religious rituals at '*devrai*' (Gadgil 1992). The Marathi literature on conservation upholds the temporal authority of '*devrai*'. The ethnographical evidences collected from the parts of Maharashtra and Goa from the Western Ghats report the word '*rai*' for the same. Other parallel word '*gothan*' is reported. It is a place where cattle and goats take rest during the grazing intervals. The word '*bandh*' is also used by the people. *Bandh* is built of rocks and mud around thick canopy of the trees. The '*rakhano*' takes rest along with his or her cattle and goats during the day at such places. '*Rakhano*' is pastoral nomad in colloquial dialects in Western Ghats region in Maharashtra, Goa and Karnataka. The Marathi-English Molesworth dictionary (1863) mentions the word '*rai*'. In its meaning, it is a thick grove. It is difficult to find the term *devrai* in any other sources other than the conventional writing. Additionally, a similar word '*devbhumi*' is reported in the Marathi-English Molesworth dictionary. According to the dictionary, it means

holy ground, places where sacred rivers, mighty idols, & etc (Padmanji 1863, 219).

'*Devbhumi*' and '*rai*' are dissimilar constructs and possess different contexts. The word '*devbhumi*' nowhere mentions about thick forest. It suggests that the prefix '*Dev*' means 'God' is recently added to the word '*rai*'.

Meanwhile, the Western Ghats region, one more word '*brahmhanik sthal*' is being recently widely used. Its topographical anatomy resembles with '*rai*'. It protects the purity of the land. The ceremonial rituals of protecting the purity are assigned to the priest. The priest generally hails from the *bhikshuk* (village priest caste) or *gavkar* caste. The other authorities are '*gavkars*'. The '*gavkars*' represents twelve agricultural communities of the village. They are also known as '*barazan* (twelve)'. The rights of the '*gavkars*' are hierarchically ordered.

They share unequal powers among them. Women are not allowed during menstrual periods at such places.

Another term '*devchar*' is also quite popular. His task is to invoke punitive actions on those who go against the village morality. He only protects the '*gavkars*'. They only have power to convince him. The pastoral nomads are required to respect him in order to survive in its vicinity. If they go against '*devchar*'s norm, they have to convince '*gavkars*' to pacify '*devchar*' and not to penalise them for their indiscipline or disturbance to the village morality. He can only be convinced by '*gavkars*'. One more entity occupies important place among sedentary nomads. It is '*chalo*'. It is again a demonic entity. It possesses huge trees. When the pastoral nomads do not comply with the norms of '*gavkars*', they request the '*chalo*' to evict them from their settlements. It is a symbol of fear in the pastoral space in the Western Ghats.

'*Gavoi*' or '*Gavaki*' is reported to be prevalent earlier in the villages across the Ghats. It is a council of twelve agricultural castes in the village. Pastoral nomads such as Dhangar Shepherds used to pay tax to the '*gavkars*'. It is known as '*charane*' or '*charani*'. According to the Molesworth dictionary, it means 'to give money'. Dhangar shepherds used to pay tax for grazing the land. It was collected during the annual fairs called '*zatra*'. Failing to pay the '*charani*' was subjected to the eviction from the grazing land. '*Gavoi*' were called by *gavkars* in the village temple to collect the '*charane*'. If a shepherd fails to pay, *gavkars* unanimously disband their entry into the village.

The above ethnographic explanations signify the process of the production of absolute space by '*gavkars*'. The attachment of sacral identity to the space displaced the shepherd *dhangars* and other nomadic communities in the Western Ghats. The demonic fear occupied the pastoral nomadic space. The number of men and women who used to go after herds ranged from more than ten members. Women were largely engaged in herding activities. The closure on women's entry in and nearby '*rai*', '*gothan*' or any other '*brahmhanik sthal*' compel them leave the previous grazing lands. The eviction was possible because they fail to install and worship their deities at any place. D.D. Kosambi (1967) mentions that pastoral nomads had no fixed abode and they were constantly on the move. It did not lead to any continuity of worship at a particular site (Kosambi 1967). It made them to find another grazing land which is away from such demonic entities. Homi K. Bhabha (1994) writes that the feminism specifies the patriarchal and gendered nature of civil society. It disturbs the

symmetry between private and the public. The differences of genders do not neatly map the private and the public. It disturbingly becomes supplementary to them. The domestic space normalises, pastoralises and individuates techniques of modern power and police and demands the redrawing of the domestic space (Bhabha 1994). The sedentary society derecognizes the gender differences lies in pastoral nomadic space. The extension of domestic space, where the gender differences are normalised, pastoralised, subjects the pastoral nomad women. Pastoralising is the process of entering into pastoral nomadic space. Sedentary people try to convert themselves into pastoral economy. Moralisation of space plays pivotal role in pastoralising. It results in production of an absolute space.

2.4 Displacement of Pastoral Nomadic Space

The dichotomies between the East and West, English and Vernacular, Derivative and Desi, Occident and Orient overshadow the role of caste system in instrumentalising the coloniality in pastoral nomadic space. The pastoral space which is a 'continuum' in between the countries, states, regions, villages, languages, etc. becomes invisible due to the aforesaid dichotomies. These dichotomies are sustained by the further dichotomy between coloniality and post-coloniality. The post-coloniality emerges as an alternative to the coloniality. It falls short of containing the continuity in the coloniality. Any kind of coloniality is a presupposed modernity. The developmental models adopted by post-colonial states reaches to pastoral nomads in the form of 'alternative coloniality'. Walter Mignolo argues for 'option' instead of 'alternative'. He says that the urge for alternative modernity or modernities or development accepts that there is a modernity and development. For that, only one alternative can exist. If the modernity or development is perceived as an option, then the decoloniality is an option (Mignolo 2011). However, Mignolo's understanding of option does not recover the loss, but repair it for the time being. The question remains that in what way the option of decoloniality would function? The decoloniality may work in the domain of sedentary nomadic societies. It may apply to lower classes or castes to decolonize from an immediate upper class or caste colonizer. Sedentary nomadic life is ordered in hierarchy. The decolonized self may see the pastoral nomads as subject of colonialism. Contrary to Walter Mignolo's decoloniality as an option, the present thesis proposes pastoral nomadic space as an 'option'. The pastoral nomads fall beyond the frontiers of sedentary nomads. Thus, an invocation of nomadic pastoral space is not an alternative to the development led by post-colonial state represented by sedentary nomads, but an option to the existing development models.

Susan Bayly (2008) argues that the Portuguese Possessions in Indian subcontinents privileged the caste groups to instrumentalise their rule. This argument was further strengthened by Aniket Alam (2008) writes:

The social formations of the agricultural communities around the great Indian rivers have implicitly been accepted as representative and sociologically normative for India and have provided the template for placing the histories of the peoples and territories who came to constitute the British Raj. No margin is left for the existence of histories outside this grand history of India (Alam 2008, 300).

This understanding normalised the village as the original social unit in the colonial history. This further failed to accommodate the pastoral nomads under its determinate communitarian fold. Pastoral nomads inherit syncretism i.e., religious, regional, cultural, lingual, etc. (Burman 2001). Their syncretism falls beyond the religious, cultural, lingual milieu of sedentary nomads. The Portuguese rule mainly occupies centre stage in its colonizing mission in Western Ghats. The Portuguese colonizing mission encountered the syncretism of the pastoral nomads. K.M. Panikkar (1953) holds that Albuquerque reported to his master that every Muslim in Goa was not spared and killed. The hatred of Islam brought Portuguese and Hindu Monarch Kishna Dev Raya in friendly relations consolidated enmity towards Islam. It helped Portugal maintain herself in Goa with little or no military power after the first fifty years of her appearance in Indian waters (Panikkar 1953). During that time, pastoral nomad *dhangars* of Western Ghats were engaged in commercial activities with Muslims. They used to sell lambs, goats, wool, and domestic animals' skin to the Muslim butchers. The ethnographical evidences suggest that the long sleeve white frock, what they call '*zago*', is only sewn by the Muslim tailors in the Maharashtra, Goa and Karnataka regions of Western Ghats. The green or red colour belts are sewn on the both the sides of the '*zago*'. The belts cross each other. The symbol of half-moon is stitched at the centre of upper back of the body. Asiya Siddiqi (2001) elaborates more upon the relations between *dhangars* and Muslims in Bombay Presidency. She writes:

Of the numerous service people and traders who formed a part of growing populations of Bombay in the first half of the nineteenth century, some may have been *dhangars*. Among the *dhangars*, we encounter in the insolvency records are the Muslim butcher Chandbabani Dhungar and Laduji Ramaji Dhangar. Might we suppose that the community of butchers with which we are concerned belonged to

a group that, at some unknown date in the past, had converted to Islam, while retaining its pastoral identity? Among the castes from which butchers are said to have been drawn were dhangars, who took to slaughtering their animals when Muslim penetration of the Deccan created a demand for meat. Those dhangars who opted for this market opportunity –namely the supply of meat to Muslims would have had to convert in order to meet canonical requirements for slaughter (zahiba). The earliest conversions, therefore, may have taken place about the thirteenth century. It is remarkable that butchers continued to identify themselves as dhangars for several centuries (Siddiqi 2001, 114).

Bombay, once, was a Portuguese possession. Thus, the marginal presence of nomadic pastorals in the coastal region of Northern Western Ghats in the social, economic, political and cultural realm shows the historical antagonism with Portuguese possessions in India. Susan Bayly (2008) holds that Portuguese privileged caste to penetrate coloniality. It led to antagonise sedentary castes against pastoral nomads. Such antagonism points out an ignorance of subaltern studies towards pastoral nomads.

The peasant insurgencies against British and Portuguese colonialism are seen from the caste location of the peasant. The term ‘peasant’ means a person belonged to agricultural sedentary caste. Some of the peasants of colonial India and Portuguese Estado da India are farmers in post-colonial India. The peasant insurgencies are perceived as a movement led by the agricultural castes, sometimes lower in status in varna system. The concentration on ‘peasant’ in subaltern studies shadows the presence of pastoral nomads in insurgencies. Ranajit Guha (1999) counts pastoral nomads with peasant. Such clubbing unnecessarily imposes a ‘sedentary’ location on him. He describes:

Banjara Singh was a Shepherd boy who grew up to be the formidable leader of band of dacoits in the Chambal region. His father was a poor peasant turned poorer as he pawned half of his small plot of land, sold his flock of sheep and took a loan from Sahukar (landlord), all in order to pay for his daughter’s wedding. Then he died. And as we learn from the testimony of his adversary and biographer: The turning point in Banjara Singh’s life is the death of his father. He disposed of the field to fulfil his duties as a devoted son in connection with the last rites of the dead. The Sahukar turned up to press the demand for the payment of the loan. Banjara Singh had no money to give. The Sahukar remonstrated with abuse. The young man first kept quiet but later retaliated by uttering abuse in reply. At this, Sahukar hit Banjara Singh with his stick. Banjara was wild and assaulted him with

his lathi. The Sahukar fled. That night Banjara Singh decided to leave his dilapidated house and his semi-deserted village (Guha 1999, 84).

This description points out at the solitude of Banjara Singh in fighting against the Sahukar. Though he asserted against him, he had to leave his house and the village. The term 'peasant' suggests permanency in agriculture at subsistence level. That permanency was not accessible for Banjara Singh. Other agricultural peasants didn't come to his rescue. It is so because of the community location. Agricultural tenants, as peasants, have permanency in land. The agricultural peasants are an organized force.

The ethnographic experiences from Sawantwadi taluka of Sindhudurg district of Maharashtra brings similar biography of a pastoral nomad, Bapu Dhangar. He was shepherd. He herded his flocks in the interstices between Sindhudurg and Goa. He finally settled in Sawantwadi approximately in 1970s. Being a shepherd, he was not wholly dependent on agriculture. He witnessed that the huge tracks of peasant's agricultural land were with '*Khots* (landlord). He paid the loans of some peasants and started cultivating subsistence land. He continued doing till 1980s. During this time, The Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Act, 1948 was being implemented. This act grants the land to the tiller or tenant in the agricultural land. By this development, land would have been given to Bapu. The local *kunabi gavkar* peasants came to know about this initiative of the government. When all the members went behind the herds during the afternoon, the *kunabis* set four huts of Bapu's family and flocks on fire. Bapu returned back to his place to see the ashes of his huts. He moved from that place started staying nearby as a landless family. Now, Kunabi peasant started cultivating the land his family was tilling for some time. The land he was temporarily staying was belonged to the temple. The temple servant peasants were the caretaker as well as the cultivators in that land. They became conscious as that land may be registered on his name. Again, he was evicted. Now, he started requesting '*gavkars*' to give him a place to reside where he could build a small temporary '*Khop*', a temporary house made up of grass. He was allowed to stay for one year. Next year, he moved to another place. He kept changing places every year or a two. Meanwhile, he lost working members from his family. After 2000 onwards, he was staying in a dilapidated house. He died landless in 2019.

It suggests that the beneficiary of land reforms mobilises the coloniality towards the pastoral shepherds. Thus, the decoloniality of subalterns fails to recognise the pastoral nomads. It contains a modernity which is passed through the post-coloniality. The subaltern studies fail

to provide space for pastoral nomadic assertion. The category of ‘peasant’ is limited only to the agricultural sedentary people belonged to the caste system. The anti-colonial history writing emphasizes the role of the subaltern and nativist participants. The nomads remain subservient as suspicious messengers. The anti-colonial history undermines the economic role of the pastorals in South Asian political economy. The nomadism during the colonial dichotomies, particularly in Asia and India, is shaped by administrative and political interstices of the time. The nomadism as an ‘Ideology’ fails to occupy space in history writing. Many nomadic tribes were crossing administrative and political borders in South Asia as response to coloniality (Ahmed 1982). Thus, there is a need to bridge the gap between academic and public history with reference to a creative interaction between the historian and the visual archive. The modernity defines archives and its historians (Deshpande 2018). Further, Benedict Anderson (2015) has brought to our notice that the print capitalism shaped the imagination of many people in Europe and its colonies. It affects mentalities universally (Anderson 2015). It perpetuates a unilinear, hominized imagination among the people. The understanding of pastoral nomadic space would lead to critically engage with the available visual archives.

2.5 Contrariety with Dalit-Tribal Discourse

The British attached ‘criminality’ to the pastoral nomadic communities. The European colonial rulers perceived the nomads as interlocutors between the various regions of the Western Ghats and elsewhere in India. The colonial ‘criminality’ differentiates Dalit-Tribal space from the pastoral nomadic space. The ‘criminality’ of the pastorals emanates from the relations with the foreign colonizers. The ‘untouchability’ stems from the indigenous social relations. Thus, untouchability is a more primordial than the colonial criminality.

The idolization of village in Indic political thoughts derecognizes the social space beyond the village and tries to extend the morality of the village to the pastoral nomadic space. The Indic political philosophy derives its epistemological origin from the village. It remains a precursor to nationalist thoughts in India. The village assumes the role of political and civil society in contemporary India. The invention of village as ideal form of civil life fails to recognize the social space beyond its territorial confines and assimilates them under the village confines. The process of widening makes the assimilation possible. The assimilation is different from the integration. Assimilation resembles with inclusion or incorporation. Assimilation or incorporation requires an external force to incorporate or assimilate. When

this external force withdraws its charge, assimilation and incorporation starts dissimilating. This force is rather intentional and grips temporarily. This process of incorporation or assimilation only absorbs the land lying outside the village boundaries and conventionalize it to seek public approval. Village integrates the pastoral land and assimilate pastoral nomads. Assimilation largely leads in abandoning of nomadic communities. The consistent attacks on Nomadic communities in India are largely due to imbalanced assimilation. This research attempts to claim and rescue the nomadic space within the sedentary space of the of village. This thesis looks into two types of space: 'sedentary agricultural space' and 'pastoral nomadic space'. While doing so, this thesis delineates into the texts on nomadic tribes written by M.K. Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar. Gandhi and Ambedkar contest the space in colonial India. These contestations barely bring pastoral space to the centre-stage of the developmental politics in colonial and post-colonial India. It is largely because the mapping of the social space took place in keeping the sedentary castes in mind in colonial and post-colonial India. The criminality of nomadic community obscures or displaces their location on the social map. The colonial and post-colonial adjudication of the social map deregisters the nomadic movements from their aggregation of the social reality.

Nancy Fraser (2010) writes:

The images of 'scales of justice that is 'balance' and 'map' harbour formidable challenges to received understandings in the present era. In the case of the 'balance', the challenge stems from the competing views of the 'what' of justice: redistribution, or recognition or representation? In the case of the 'map' the trouble arises from conflicting framings of the 'who': territorialized citizenries or global humanity or transnational communities of risk? In the problematic of the balance, then, the central issue is: What counts as bonafide matter of justice? In that of the map, by contrast, the question is: who counts as bonafide subject of justice? (Fraser 2010, 3-5).

The 'bonafide matter of justice' and 'bonafide subject of justice' are very crucial issues to understand the nomadic 'self' in the age of globalization. The pastoral nomads mark the absence of the bonafide 'matter' and 'subject' in their lives. In today's context, the settled communities emerge bonafide beneficiary of justice irrespective of their touchability and untouchability. Criminality deprives the nomads becoming subject and matter of the bonafide justice. All over the Western Ghats and other parts of India, the public sphere understands them as non-bonafide or bogus beneficiary of the social, economic and political

justice. The Gandhian and Ambedkarite philosophy tremendously influence the notion of 'justice' in the Constitution of India. It appears that the constitutional notion of 'justice' is largely attached to and benefitting the settled village communities. The constitutional social justice normalizes the nomadic communities as transient and peripheral beneficiary. Thus, I try to present the understanding of B.R. Ambedkar in terms of evolution of village and particularly nomadic tribes.

B.R. Ambedkar (1948) distinguishes between 'settled' and 'nomadic' tribes. Ambedkar brings to our notice the distinction made by Max Muller. Max Muller observes:

I can only state that the etymological significance of Arya seems to be one who ploughs or tills. The Aryan would seem to have chosen this name for themselves as opposed to the 'nomadic' races, the Turanians whose original name Tura implies the swiftness of the horsemen (Ambedkar 1948, 60).

This depiction makes us acknowledge the Indic consciousness in Europe before the colonization of India by European states. The oriental understanding in India fails to distinguish between the sedentary and the pastoral nomads. It applies the oriental etymologies indiscriminately without understanding the diverse material relations in the pre-European colonization of India. Orientalism in India poses Indigeneity against Europeanness and wraps the economic, social, cultural and political diversities under one-fold in India. The question that whether the criminality imposed on the nomads is oriental or Indic? This helps understand oriental as not opposed to occident or Europeanised idea. Rather it explains how the Indic understanding enforces oriental understanding in India. As Max Muller argues that Aryan is settled and Turanian as nomadic. Bal Gangadhar Tilak concurs with him. Tilak in his 'The Arctic Home in the Vedas' says:

The beginning of Aryan Civilization must be supposed to date back several thousand years before the oldest Vedic period; and when the commencement of the post-Glacial epoch is brought down to 8000 B.C., it is not at all surprising if the date of primitive Aryan life is found to go back to from 4500 BC, the age of the oldest Vedic period (Tilak 1903).

Tilak also argues that the Aryans migrated to India from the Arctic region (Tilak 1893). The Indic normalization of Aryan civilization as settled one as opposed to the nomadic traces its history of more than 4500 years old. The range of this time-frame nowhere counts the history of nomadic people. Edward W. Said (1978) while defining orientalism sees the European as

enforcing the orientalism and hides the role of the advocates of Aryan civilization from India in building the consciousness of the 'Indic' in Europe. Said defines Orientalism as:

a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience, The Orient is not only adjacent to Europe; it is also the place of Europe's greatest and richest and oldest colonies, the source of its civilizations and languages, its cultural contestant, and one of its deepest and most recurring images of the Other. In addition, the Orient (or the West) as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience. Yet none of this Orient is merely imaginative. The Orient is an integral part of European material civilization and culture. Orientalism expresses and represents that part culturally and even ideologically as a mode of discourse with supporting institutions, vocabulary, scholarship, imagery, doctrines, even colonial bureaucracies and colonial styles (Said 1978).

In the above definition, Said describes the executive role of the Orient. Rather than the creator of the Orientalism, Said's 'Orient' executes the Indic thoughts built before the inception of the Indian Colonialism by the Indic consciousness. When he projects the 'socially and materially enmeshed identity in European culture' as 'Other' in Europe, he generally puts all the diverse communities under the category of the 'Orient'. The philosophy of the 'Orient' that is 'Indic' places the nomadic in its opposition as was claimed by the Max Muller. The critiques of Said fail to understand the role of the Indic philosophy in orientating the Orient. Nationalists like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Aurobindo and others may sound nationalist and anti-imperialist appear to be anti-orientalist in their views on colonialism. They seem to trace the Vedic philosophy that formed the Indic consciousness in the world mainly in the form of *Sanatan Dharma*.

This Vedic distinction, later on, leads Ambedkar to closely follow the evolution of the village. Thus, Ambedkar distinguishes between 'nomadic' and 'settled' society. He writes that the primitive society consists of nomadic society and the settled communities formed their modern societies (Ambedkar 1948). The modern society seems to be an extension of the Vedic Society having territorial affiliation. Ambedkar gives an example of the King of England. As King John was the first one to call himself the king of England, his predecessors followed him. Once upon a time, England was inhabited by the Englishmen. Now Englishmen inhabit the England (Ambedkar 1948)'. The territorial assertion of the Aryan determined the human topography of India that designates the sedentary society on its map.

The transition from primitive nomadic life to settled life leads Ambedkar detail the process of transition. Ambedkar in his book 'Who Were the Shudras?' (1946) which he dedicated to Mahatma Jotiba Fule employed the theory of social contract to understand how the society has evolved in India. According to him, primitive society was nomadic. It was nomadic not because of any migratory instincts or habits. It was because the earlier form of wealth was cattle and the cattle were migratory. When the land as another form of wealth was discovered, the few groups of primitive society started settling at fixed places. This led to the frequent conflicts between the nomadic and settled society. The conflicts centred on mainly three things – stealing cattle, stealing women and stealthily grazing of cattle in the pasture belonging to the other tribes.

When nomadic people realised that appropriation of land doubled the wealth of settled people, the conflicts between them aggravated. The continuous warfare resulted in some groups of 'Broken Men'. These broken people were in search of shelter. The settled wanted the workforce to defend their newly-found property i.e., land and were in search of people who could guard or watch their territory from the raids of nomadic tribes. This resulted in contract between the 'settled' and the 'broken' to cooperate with each other. They were strategically given the shelter on the peripheral and border areas of the settlement so that they could guard the settlement. Ambedkar found words such as 'Antya', 'Antyaja' and 'Antyavasin' for the broken men standing on the borders as messengers to inform the landowners about the movements of the nomads. They were compensated with some rights for their work in the village. Some of them are as (1) collection of harvest (b) right to collect food from the village and (c) right to appropriate dead animal in the village. Ambedkar suggests that the Antyajias represent the Scheduled Castes (SCs) in India (Ambedkar 1948).

The critical reading of Ambedkar's 'Who were the Shudras?' brings to the notice that the Broken men or Antyaja or Untouchables functioned between nomadic tribes and settled tribes. They were guaranteed their rights so that they could guard villages from the the nomadic tribes. They were placed strategically without delinking the village morality. What fall beyond the village are today's nomadic communities. That is why there is need to assert nomadic space against settled or as Nancy Fraser calls it 'domestic space' (Fraser 2010). Though Ambedkar admits that the Hindu religion transformed some nomadic tribes into criminal tribes since pre-colonial time to colonial times, the primacy of nomadic tribes in his politics is not vibrant.

M. K. Gandhi idealizes the village and experiments his notion of 'Swadeshi' beyond the village. This contrast needs an academic attention. While doing so, this thesis tries to make this paradox visible in Gandhi's life. Like Ambedkar, Gandhi also reiterates the sameness of villages in England with that of India. Gandhi writes a petition to demand the voting rights to the people of Indian Origin living in British colony of South Africa. In a letter to the Members of Legislative Assembly in Durban, Gandhi emphasizes the Aryan origin of English and Indians (Gandhi, *The Collected Work of Mahatma Gandhi* 1958). Gandhi quotes W.W. Hunter:

This nobler race (meaning the early Aryans) belonged to the Aryan or Indo-Germanic stock, from which Brahman, the Rajput and the Englishman alike descend.

Hunter ingeminates what Max Muller and Tilak say on the Aryans and Indians. Gandhi employs the argument that Indic discourse was already familiar with. This makes clear that Gandhi imagines village as an Aryan settlement rather than republican idea. Gandhi's idolization of village emanates from the Indic understanding of the settled village that this letter makes it visible in its explication to the British Government in Durban. But Gandhi's experiment on village economy finds place in nomadic communities. Surinder Jodhka (2002) points out that Gandhi was influenced by Henry Maine's literature on village influenced Gandhi (Jodhka 2002). Gandhi writes in *Harijan* (1939) citing Henry Maine that Indian villages were undisturbed by the periodical visitations from the barbarous hordes (nomadic tribes) and were congeries of republics (Jodhka 2002, 3346). It shows that the Indic writings on the villages of India rules out the presence of nomadic communities in India. Though Gandhi seems to hail the village republics without the presence of the nomadic communities, he engages the pastoral nomads of the Deccan in his swadeshi programme of wool spinning. He tried to attract the pastoral *dhangar* shepherds of the Deccan towards the *Charakha* (wool spinning wheel). Many *dhangar* women joined the programme. Gandhi writes on *dhangars* in the issue of *Young India* on May 11, 1921. He writes:

In the month of August 1920, when the severity of famine was being felt, the idea of introducing spinning as a famine relief to respectable middle-class people was started and Ms Latham kindly gave a spinning wheel to introduce the work. Attempts were made to introduce the work especially among the Dhangars who were used to spinning wool (Gandhi 1921).

It is important to note that when the village were unable to cope up with the famine, pastoral profession of wool spinning became the intervention in the political economy of the Deccan. Later on, the spinning wheel was introduced among *Ramoshi* nomadic community. Gandhi writes:

‘In December 1920, Ms Latham again sent four wheels and some cotton through the kindness of Mrs. J. Petit to different persons for trial. Ramoshi woman was prevailed upon to take up the work seriously. The example of this woman was copied by two more who undertook to take up the work. Through great perseverance 4 lbs of yarn was prepared by three spinners and it was sent for sale. In the meantime, many women began to make inquiries and expressed the desire to take it up if it helped them financially (Gandhi 1921).

In continuance to this, another nomadic tribe ‘*Pinjari*’ took up the work which is found in the works of Gandhi. Thus, Gandhi further mentions that,

The ginned cotton was then cleaned by ‘*Pinjari*’ who charged the rate of one anna per pound (Gandhi 1921).

As the spinning industry was being developed, and the shortage of cotton was realized, the wool was introduced to spinning. This work was willingly taken up by *dhangars*. Hence, Gandhi writes,

When there was shortage of cotton, and the workers had no work, wool was introduced for spinning till cotton was ready. This work was willingly taken up by *dhangars*. They were, however, required to spin finer thread of wool than they usually prepared. They took some time to pick up the work and now there are ten fine wool spinners. The wool spinning was continued by starting a separate department, as *dhangars* readily took up the work. The whole process of cleaning the wool was also done by *Dhangar* women (Gandhi 1921).

Gandhi seems to be happy about the progress done by *dhangars* with the help of newly introduced spinning wheels. He observes:

‘*Dhangar* weavers being locally available, Blankets after the *Pandharpur* and *Dewangiri* pattern are being prepared from this finer thread and different designs have been suggested to them. The *Dhangars* being a stubborn race do not readily adopt the new improvements, but this work has set them to work up new designs of blankets which will permanently help them in their own profession. They now

require broader and improved loom and instructions in colouring wool (Gandhi 1921)

Gandhi highlights the contribution of the pastoral nomads in the political economy of the Deccan during the British imperialism. By doing this, he obfuscates the territorial differences between the pastoral nomads and sedentary people. Gandhi's attempt to assimilate the pastorals into deccan economy or village economy remains temporary and found to be stubborn on the territorialization of the economy under village. Gandhi adhered to the Indic varna system whereas B. R. Ambedkar critique the Indic Aryanization through the varna system and identified the vulnerable categories as a result of vertical reorganization of the society.

Ambedkar brought to our notice that the *Varna System* has produced three socially excluded: (1) The Criminal Tribes (2) The Aboriginal Tribes and (3) The Untouchables. He also mentions that the indigenous or aboriginal tribes and clans underwent the process of *hinduisation* seeking the social promotion, thus, the Gonds, *Bhars*, *kharwas* and so forth emerged as *Chandels*, *Rathors*, *Gaharwars* and other well-known Rajput clans (Ambedkar 1948). The Aboriginals and the Untouchables constitute the matter and subject of bonafide justice in post-colonial India. The access to change the social and economic stratus within the village is not accessible to the pastoral nomads. The Criminal Tribes Act, 1871 termed them 'thugs' and 'thieves' interfering in the republic called the village. Even in the 21st century, the criminal or nomadic tribes remains the matter and subject of non-bonafide justice. The radicalization regionalities further fuels their identity crisis. The widening of the villages and the infrastructural projects displace them. Their transient mobility makes them temporarily occupy peripheral frontiers of villages and cities. The revision of Indian Political Philosophy and its employability in the current discourse would help us instate the pastoral-nomadic perspective effectively. There is a need to read the political thoughts of Jotiba Fule, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, M.K. Gandhi, (Ahmed 1982) B.R. Ambedkar and others in relation to the pastoral nomadic communities. The political theory and politics in India largely deal with the settled communities including the aboriginals and untouchables. The plenty of academic literature is written on them. It also shows that the political literature is not produced in communitarian manner in India.

Looking at the trends in political thoughts and theory in India, the pastoral nomadic space is yet to occupy a respectable place. Though the Dalit-Tribal discourse has already gained the

prominence in social sciences, pastoral nomadic perspective shares some sort of historical contrarities with it. The post-colonial relationship between the Dalit-Tribal and pastoral nomads also has been considerably antagonistic with each other due to the sharing of the benefits of the reservation and the affirmative actions. The Dalit-Tribal discourse inhabits a particular regionality that is inaccessible to the pastoral nomads. This makes the contrariety between them sharper and visible. This intervention would make pastoral nomadic space as an integral subject and matter of the republic of India.

2.6 Conclusion

The social landscape of Western Ghats marks the historical trans-territorial movements of pastoral nomadic groups. The understanding of the Western Ghats remains incomplete if it is not understood from the pastoral perspective. The society in the newly emerged regions of the Ghats is popularly perceived through the lenses of the prevailing caste system. The regions within Ghats have also developed their own regional identities. The social groups have organized themselves in hierarchical village system. This development has altered the social space. The coast of Arabian Sea is substantially populated with the pastoral nomads, but their role in the current political economy is substantially nominal. It also tremendously affects the growth and development of the regional economy as the partial or full non-inclusion of the pastoral mode of production. The village centric development model, over a period of time, marks a decline in the production. The development models in newly emerged socialist and non-aligned states like India overlooked the importance of pastoralism. This has led to derecognize the pastoral nomads in the social, political, economic and cultural realm of the society. This chapter unfolds the ways and processes that led to de-recognition. Therefore, it opens up the process that form the Indic and execute it through the Orient. The theoretical understanding of mainstream academia which largely emanates from liberal, Marxist and Subaltern traditions has their own centre of origin i.e., metropolitan centre, city, village or remote hamlet. The 'core' and 'periphery' debate in Marxist analysis has its own fixed geographical location. The major approaches of socio-political analysis such as system approach, institutional approach, Marxist approach, liberal approach, feminist approach, subaltern approach also remains equipped with the hierarchical duality. The famous social contractarian thinkers like Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Rousseau in their theories of the social contract disapprove the civility in the state of nature. From the Aryan perspective, the pastoral nomadic space forms the state of nature. The social contract theory provides a transition from the state of nature to civil society and then it

transforms into political society. The state of nature assumes the role of village as a precursor to the further development of social and political institutions. The linearity in the theorizing from this point of view displaces the existence of pastoral-nomadic civility. Placing the pastorals under the ‘state of nature’ in today’s society undermines the humane-cosmopolitan nature of their movements. The popular understanding of coloniality categorizes the world into West- East, North-South, Occident-Orient, Derivative-Desi, English-Vernacular, etc. This categorisation exonerates the later of its coloniality. The emotional affiliation towards a fixed geographical location causes to generate its own coloniality. The pastoral nomads lack regionality. For pastorals, the coloniality does not have a specific location of colonization. For them, the village that tries to civilize them colonises them. Unlike other subaltern marginalised groups, the nomads live in the absence of indigeneity. This pastoral space is a political intervention into a notion of indigeneity which is based on an invented regionality. The alarming increase in the attacks on such pastoral nomadic individuals, families and groups in India raise the importance of the reclamation of pastoral space. The thesis, ‘Understanding Pastoral Nomadic Perspective from Western Ghats’ thus attempts to reclaim a pastoral space. The reclamation of this space is an option for the development and not an alternative developmental strategy.

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Chapter III

Democratizing Regionality

3.1 Introduction

The understanding of pastoral nomadic space becomes more visible and clearer with the democratization of regionality. The notion of regionality creates a sense of affection in the minds of the people about a landscape they inhabit. Affection makes regionality jargonistic. This jargon of affection in the making of the local, regional and national has gone unchecked in the post-independent and post-liberation Western Ghats. This affection helps in surviving coloniality in post-independent India. This affection also shapes the electoral outcomes in India. This triad makes the pastoral nomads an insignificant force in electoral, hence parliamentary democracy of India. This chapter 'Democratizing Regionality' attempts to exonerate regionality from its ambivalent sentimentality. These ambiguous emotions around regionality need academic attention. Before that we need to understand the ordering of the three concepts i.e., region, regionality and regionalism. The region represents nature. It contains the resemblance of various natural objects such as hills, planes, plants, climate, soil, rivers, animals, birds, humans, etc. with each other. Though it represents physical similarity among various natural objects, it represents affectional dissimilarity among human beings. Thus, being regional is not an affectional. Though the regions contain macro dissimilarities, it contains micro similarities. The symmetry of micro similarities produces affectional similarities. The affection survives if it is contained. To contain it, it needs a territory. So, affecting the territory affectionately gives birth to the notion of regionality. The excessive use of regionality in politics, for example in electoral politics, gives birth to regionalism.

3.2 Affection and Regionality

Regionality seems to share Freudian relationships with the region. Sigmund Freud (2010) argues that an affection shapes a dream in which the dreamer finds himself in the lead role and interprets the course of that dream according to his understanding. Ruth Stein (1999, 4-5) argues that Freud employs the term 'quota of affect' to refer to the extent and the span of an associative network that affection represents in the body. If the extent of such a quota is greater, it blocks the free play of the other organs. It causes paralysis of the body (Stein, 1999, 4-5). Taking the cue from the Freudian understanding of affection, I try to argue that the affection to a particular region develops the understanding of regionality. Regionality

represents, in Freudian sense, a quota of affect'. This quota of affect regulates the social-economic dynamics in the region. It makes the populace trace the history from this affection. Stein argues that Freud's 'dream work' is the agency that organizes the affects according to the wishes of the dreamer (Stein, 1999, 15). Stein further says:

To Freud, the most striking fact about affects in dreams is that the dream work is free to detach an affect from its links to certain dream thoughts and to introduce it at any point it chooses in the manifest dream. The detachability and fluidity of affects make them exert a constant influence on the association of ideas, so that the trains of thoughts in the dream are never free from purpose or meaning (Stein, 1999, 15).

The regionality functions the same way the Freudian conception of the dream operates in one's mind. It cleverly detaches itself from the mobility within and outside the region and dreams about its own purpose. There are multiple ways in which the affectional relationship between the region and the regionality operate. Region is a physical entity whereas the regionality is mental in its composition. Region fails to affect and remains external to the regionality. The human beings affect the region the way their dreams mentally conceive it. The tangible nature of affection makes regionality an exclusively human phenomenon. Therefore, it is pertinent to unfold how this human notion of regionality functions in the society in Western Ghats and elsewhere.

The academic writings have largely overlooked the notion of regionality. It is understood as similar to region and regionalism. The distinctions among these concepts fail to become part of academic engagement. Regionality plays an important role in determining the boundaries of the histories. The debates around federalism mainly concentrate around centre-state relations and sub-national or state autonomy. The upsurge of electoral democracy has turned the regions into conclaves of elected representatives that are crucial for the government formation at national and sub-national level. The quest for the sub-national autonomies have swept many ethical queries under the carpet. When the concept of affection becomes central to the federal politics in India, it is imperative to find out how it is employed in politics.

The regionality vastly influences the sub-national history writing in India. These histories narrativize the heroic presence of the dominant castes. In the state of Maharashtra, the numerically large Kunabi-Maratha and *Chitpavan* Brahmins caste cluster occupies

prominent space. Goud Saraswat Brahmins and Kunabi-Marathas dominate the narrative of Goa's history. *Vokkaligas* and *Lingayat* find a mainstream place in Karnataka's history. Histories of North-West regions of India presents the valour of Patels and *Rajputs*. Sub-national or regional histories portray the numerically dominant castes as inheriting prestige or pride. Contrastingly these histories have rarely attached any historical role to the pastoral nomadic populace. If any, nomadic communities rarely find a peripheral place in history writing. This mainstream narrativization helps the dominant caste affect the regions. In the state of Goa, Bhandari is a numerically large caste. Their near absence or peripheral presence in the history stops them appropriating the Goan regionality. Even if they claim, history falls short of upholding such claims. Preeti Sampat (2015) without any reference claims that Dhangar pastorals are not originally from Goa (Sampat, 2015, 15). She writes, 'Given their pastoral origins, *dhangars* are not originally from Goa, but some families settled here (*Bhutkhamb*, Ponda, Goa) in the 1960s (Sampat, 2015, 15). It seems that the strength to write such sentences and unapologetic feeling towards it stems from the historical narratives filled with the affection of the dominant agricultural castes. These narratives normalize the pastoral movements as naturally nomadic without recognizing the potentiality of their mobility in history. When the British took over Bombay from the Portuguese, they formed the 'Bhandari Militia' in 1672 (Cadell and Page 1958, 19)). The Portuguese failed to defend Bombay before the Kanarese warrior *bhandaris*. The history of Deccan failed to portray the warrior skills of *bhandaris*, instead of that, popularized them as agricultural laborers and toddy tappers in the territory of the Western Ghats. The *Holkars* of Indore from Ahmednagar in present day Maharashtra, belonging to the Dhangar clan, are largely displaced from the history of Deccan. The dominance of Kunabi-Maratha in politics of Maharashtra marginalizes the presence of Holkar's in Maharashtra's historiography (Sonawane 2020). The mainstream history poorly represents the pastoral nomadic communities. Meena Radhakrishnan (2000) argues that the British criminalized the Yerukulas under Criminal Tribes Act, 1911. The British administration criminalized them after consulting the village landlords and headmen. The new generation of the Yerukulas believe that their ancestors were criminals (Radhakrishnan 2000). The emerging historians irrespective of their social location try to find out the subservient location of the pastoral nomads within the affected history. Parag Parobo (2015) in his 'India's First Democratic Revolution' comment on almost all the communities except pastoral dhangars in the state of Goa (Parobo, 2015). The book extensively deals with Goud Saraswat Brahmins (GSBs), Scheduled Tribes (*Gauda*, *Kunabi* and *Velip*), *Bhandaris*, *Kharavis*, etc. and discusses social dynamics in Portuguese

Goa and post-colonial Goa. It presents the history affected by the agricultural landowning castes in the state. The identity that the history of Goa has imposed on Gomantak Maratha Samaj (GMS) is conceived through consciousness of the same history. GMS before its naming was a nomadic artist community inhabited across the territory of the Deccan and beyond. The enslavement of the women from this community found in the word *Bailadieras*. This word came into use from the early seventeenth century in Portuguese India and ensured the enslavement of the dancing girls to the village men from the landowning families. From there onwards, the same women came to be widely known as *Devadasis* in Portuguese Goa. Instead of emphasizing their nomadic movements in the Deccan including Goa, the mainstream history of Goa emphasizes their enslavement to the Brahmin priests and landlords in the state of Goa. Anjali Arondekar (2016) says:

Available historical records provide a clear account of enslavement and labour by suggesting that these Devadasis were brought to Goa by the Migrating Saraswat Brahmins, a group that came in search of fertile lands and sustenance. In these accounts, devadasis were described as being primarily “chattel” enslaved workers, whose services shifted into regimes of sex and art only after their migration into foreign lands (Arondekar, 2016, 151).

It is interesting to note that history designates them as ‘devadasi’. The men from the settled landowning castes perceived them as belonged to God. This designation emanates from the regionality of the men from the landed gentry. Their affection towards the region they own makes them consider the nomadic women as a part of their sexual desire. *Kalawant* or Artist has emancipatory mobility. The term devadasi lacks it. Devadasi indicates subjugation. Artist or *Kalawant* denotes mobility. The regionality sought to suppress this mobility in the case of women from the Gomantak Maratha Samaj. The European rulers determined the nativity in the colonies (Maine 2005). They designated natives who served the colonial rules as scribes. This nativity determined the anatomy of the affection, hence regionality. Therefore, these natives displaced the pastoral nomads as non-natives, outsiders in the nativity defined by the foreigners.

The landscape of Western Ghats still witnesses the continuance of this kind of regionality. It warrants the creation of a space for the pastoral nomads in the federal structure of the Indian state. There is also a need to explore the historicity of the established regions. The philosophizing of the notions of ‘region’ and ‘nation’ attracts constitutional attention in a changing demography of India. In these changing circumstances, the nomadic-pastoral

understanding of social space offers resilience amidst changing political economy. It nationalize the boundaries by connecting the cultures and diversities strained by regional imbalances. The celebrated catchphrase of *Nehruvian* era ‘Unity in Diversity’ dwindled connecting the differences among the local, regional and the national due to electoral exigencies. To retain political power, the grand old Congress party mobilized the numerically large dominant castes in the states. The dominance of the numerically large caste further fuelled the regionality. After the split in the Congress in 1967, the leaders of the Congress refashioned their leadership in the state by mobilizing their community population in the states (Varak and Naik 2022). The flagship programme of Congress governments Green Revolution predominantly benefitted the landowning castes in India (Saini 1976). This programme failed to accommodate the pastoral nomads under its fold. The regionality in colonial and post-colonial Western Ghats exclusively emerged as glaring affection of the landowning agricultural castes. The regionality reproduces the regions as it deems fit in its dreams. Therefore, it prompts to trace the historicity of the regions. The historicity of regions would rescue the pastoral nomads and Denotified Tribes from the binaries of the federal centre-state relations. The feeling of nation and region function to be the corollaries to each other (Jayal, Mehta and Mitra 2010). The administrative set-up instrumentalized these corollaries in a reciprocal manner in the state of India. It harmonizes the regionalities through executive and legislative process from the local level to the national level. Sudipta Kaviraj (2017) argues:

Regionality is created, or regions are formed by three separate kinds of forces- political, economic, and cultural- and regions are also consequentially of three kinds. These three kinds of regionalities are produced by distinct kinds of logics, and their boundaries are maintained in different ways. One form of regionality also affects others, and the power of the state, in particular, affects the two other types of region formation. All three forces are communicative in the sense that they produce a certain kind of currency exchanged between individuals and groups, and the circulation of these objects – of political power, material goods and cultural artefacts- create zones of common experience and intelligibility, which have the historical affect of producing what we call regions.

The territory, space and place are spliced in each other. Without naming the creator of the regionality, Kaviraj says that the generalization, fragmentation and composition are the three processes through which the regionality is created in India (Kaviraj, 2017, 56). The questions

such as who generalize? Who fragments the region? Who binds these generalizations and fragmentations together assertively? Why do people believe the fusion of these three? Who instrumentalizes this fusion? And how does it affect electoral politics? The understanding of regionality through the binaries between the settled and pastoral nomadic communities answer these questions.

The invocation of regionality stems from the communities synchronized into the caste and tribe system. Historically, the castes or tribes occupy a particular territory, space and place. This makes their task easier to claim a particular regionality. The process of invoking regionality homogenizes the space through assertion of cultural capital. The pastoral nomads do not constitute the part of the settled caste or tribe system especially in Western Ghats and elsewhere in India. In many states falling under the Western Ghats, the twelve settled castes form the village, The village caste system places the pastoral nomadic castes or tribes outside the caste system or attentively attaches the tag of outsider in the village. Meena Radhakrishnan details the process of making the pastoral nomads either outsiders or criminals in the village. Firstly, after consulting the landlords in the village, the British administration brought the nomads under the subjugation of dominant agricultural castes (Radhakrishnan 2000, 2556). Secondly, they made them report to the police station in the vicinity. Thirdly they declared the non-conforming workers and individuals from nomadic communities as criminals. Fourthly they deported them into special settlements under Criminal Tribes Act, 1871. Stuart Puram in the Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh is one such settlement (Radhakrishnan 2000, 2556). The process of Generalization, Fragmentation and Composition erased the territory, space and place of the pastoral nomads. Their new generations believe that their way of life i.e. pastoral nomadism made them dispossessed. History betrays them.

3.3 The Construction of Goan Regionality

The construction of *Comunidades* in Goa represents a spot-on example of regionality. The *Gaonkaria* system is said to have existed before the codification of the *Comunidades*. The twelve settled communities, popularly known as '*Barazan*' is said to have conceived the self-sufficient village system of *Gaoncars* (managers of village system). This system discounts the presence of the pastoral nomads in the village. The agricultural communities and landowning communities like *Kunabis*, *Marathas* and *Goud Saraswat Brahmins* find prominent place in this system. Pastoral nomads who largely fall under the Other Backward

Classes like *Dhangars*, *Kharavis*, *Renders*, *Bhandaris* find their near absence in this system. The pastoral nomads are largely *mundkars* in the state of Goa. The *Mundkar* is one who used to illegally stay on the property of others to watch over or guard the property of the *bhatcar* (landlord). The Goa Government extended the scheme of ‘*Mundkarache Ghar* (House to Mundkar)’ to the Dhangar community in 2013 (Government of Goa, SERIES I No. 45 2013). Other than people who have migrated to Goa in the recent past, many *mundkars* still stay in illegal houses (Malkarnekar 2021). The *Bharatiy Janata Party* (BJP) led government tabled The Goa Regularization of Unauthorized Construction Amendment Bill, 2021 which was strongly opposed by the opposition parties and Scheduled Tribes in Goa (Goa Vidhan Sabha 2021). The regionality shapes the social relations between the *bhatcars* and *mundcars* in Goa. The temples and the institution of *Comunidade* are central to the creation of regionality in Goa. Temples represent twelve castes known as *balutedars* in the territory of Deccan.

Association related to *Comunidades* emphasize this regionality with the help of The Charter of the Customs and Practices of *Gaonkaria*. The framework of *Comunidades* was formulated by the then Revenue Superintendent of Portuguese India Afonso Mexia. Jason Fernandes (2010) emphasizes that the *Gaoncars* of the *Comunidades* attempt to contain the history of Goa in the regulated sphere of *Comunidades* (J. Fernandes 2010, 9-10). As argued by Henry Maine (2005) in ‘Ancient Laws’ that the Europeans designated the natives to rule the colonies, Portuguese designated the natives through the creation of the *Comunidades*. It is ahistorical to argue that the pre-Portuguese village system was literally coded into the charter of the *comunidade* and invoking (J. Fernandes 2010, 9). The same natives dream the history of Goa through the lenses of organized village life under the *comunidade* and derecognize the primacy of pastoral nomads in village economy. The Portuguese first established the *Comunidades* in the Old Conquest and extended them to the New Conquest. Remy Dais (2004) notes that the Portuguese firmed their rule to the newer territories of New Conquest by establishing the *comunidade* and bringing the pastoral land under agrarian social relations exclusive of settled communities. Like Goa, the territory of Western Ghats registers the similar trend across its landscape.

3.4 Post-Colonial Subjugation of Pastoral Nomads

The increasing attacks on nomadic communities emanates from these established regionalities. Therefore, it deserves a constitutional inquiry in the federal structure of India.

The federal mechanism of centre-state relation overlooks the vulnerability of the nomadic groups over a period of time. Nomadic groups live on the outskirts of villages and cities facing the impermanency in livelihood. The symbolic nature of their citizenship invites the attacks from the settled communities. The democratizing of the regionality would accrue them the space in the federal structure of India. The eighteenth century onwards, the criminality towards the pastoral nomads was formalized in the forms of the Criminal Tribes Act, 1871 and Cattle Trespassing Act, 1871. The harsher versions of the same appeared subsequently in 1910 and 1924. The Criminal Tribes Act 1871 and 1911 was repealed in 1947 in Madras and 1949 in Bombay province. Subsequently, All India Criminal Tribes Inquiry Committee, 1949 was established and these communities were Denotified in 1952 as Denotified Communities (DCs) or *Vimukta Jatis* (VJs). Many state government reports referred to them as ‘unspecified’ and large numbers of people were not enumerated (The De-notified and Nomadic Tribal Rights Action Group 1998). The benefits of the repeal in Criminal tribes Act were short-lived as various states passed Habitual Offenders Acts. The Bombay Habitual Offenders Act came into force in 1959. This act later on became instrumental to harass the DNTs by the settled communities and police officials. In the last several years, the attacks on them have alarmingly increased. I try to compile the incidents of attacks on nomadic tribes in the states that fall under the Western Ghats.

Newslick reported that the twelve men of Nat *Bajania* tribe were sexually tortured and one died in Gujarat (Dhar 2019). The Sindhi-Muslim families of *Sandhai* nomadic tribe left Gujarat after communal tension in April of 2017 (Dhar 2017). In 2018, Police raided the Chara nomadic tribe in Ahmedabad’s Chara Nagar (Nayar and Datta 2018). Down to Earth reports that the Project Lion launched by the central government can displace *Maldharis* from the Gir National Park from their traditional grazing habitat (Kukreti 2020). The *Bhils* of *Sabarkantha* district in Gujarat protested against the land revenue system imposed by the British and the feudal lords on the banks of Her river on March 7, 1922. Soldiers of Mewad Bhil Corps under the direction of Major H.G. Saturn killed 1200 *bhils* nomads (The Hindu 2022). This massacre is hardly discussed in the mainstream history of India. The Hindustan Times reports the syncretic Hindu and Muslim Mir nomadic tribe left landless in Gujrat. Both the religious communities pressurize them on the religious lines (Jayaraman 2018).

The Wire reports that the state of Maharashtra asks the nomadic to produce the proof of their identity before 1961 (Torgalkar 2016). *Mariyayi* nomadic community finds it difficult to

avail toilets under Clean India Mission in *Ambarnath*, *Titwala* in *Thane* and *Palghar* districts of Maharashtra (Shantha 2022). The mob lynched the five men of the *Nath Gosavi* Community on the pretext of child lifting (Press Trust of India 2018). Arati Kelkar-Khambete reports the scarcity of pastoral land for dhangars in Maharashtra due to rapid urbanization (Kelkar 2016). DNA points out the identity crisis of *Pardhi* nomads in the city of Mumbai (Boga 2012). Sudhakar Olwe writes in the *Wire* about the *Pardhis* in Maharashtra who still carry the tag of criminality and live a landless life under constant threats of the villagers (Olwe 2018). Two members of *Pardhi* community lynched in Aurangabad district of Maharashtra on the suspicion of theft (Banerjee 2018).

Alzazeera reports the plight of the *Vanarmare* community in Goa who still fear to claim Goa as their native place. They still live their life on other's land having formal agency of government's help (Marandi 2020). The *makadmare* or *vanamare* still search their identity in Goa (G. Kamat 2014) but fail to relate themselves with the mainstream history. Their houses were razed down by the villagers in Ponda taluka of Goa (P. Kamat, Social Justice Action Committee condemns razing down of Vanarmare dwellings 2016). The *Cana Benaolim* Panchayat in Goa passed a resolution banning the Lamani nomadic community in the village (IANS 2019). Former tourism minister who contests from the constituency of *Pernem* reserved for Scheduled Castes spoke of ousting the *lamanis* from the state (P. Kamat 2017). Goa's dhangars tend to shift to the mainland due to strict forest laws and privatization of the land (PTI 2020). Many of them still lack basic amenities like houses, sanitation and water in the state of Goa and wait for their inclusion in the Scheduled Tribes (ST) (Khandeparker 2020). They were demanding Scheduled Tribe status prior to the demand of Gauda, Kunabi and Velip (Government of Goa 2013). Gauda, Kunabi and Velip are agricultural communities that were accorded the ST status in 2003. The demand of pastoral dhangars is yet to get a green signal from the central government. The Water Resource Department demolished the houses of two Dhangar families in *Valpoi* block of Goa terming them illegal (Times of India 2018). Though the movement against the Nylon 6,6 project at *Bhutkhamb* near Keri, Ponda succeeded in cancelling the project, the land rights of that place were not extended to the affected dhangar families (Sampat 2015, 15). The *comunidade* consisting of the upper caste retained their rights by protesting against the project. It is evident from many cases that the dhangar settlements become the locations for the newly proposed infrastructure projects. It is easy to evict them as these pastorals lack land rights. Nylon 6,6 was cancelled due to the stakes of the upper castes into the affected *comunidade*

land. The same thing failed to repeat at Mopa, *Pernem* when it came to *dhangars* (Samant 2012). The building of Mopa International Airport by GMR Airports Limited displaced 14 dhangar families. They were rehabilitated in poor quality houses according to the news reports and waiting for further displacement (Herald 2019). Along with this, another nomadic community was on the radar of the settled communities in the state of Goa. The Scheduled Tribe organization GAKUVED (*Gauda, Kunabi, Velip*) condemned the statement of the former minister Michael Lobo promising the reservation to the nomadic tribe of *Lamanis* in Goa (Times of India 2018).

According to the reports of The Hindu, the *Shillekyatha* nomadic tribe has been under constant death threats as upper castes want to grab their land (Kumar 2016). The *Hakki-Pakki* semi-nomadic tribes displaced from their forest habitat now live on the outskirts of cities like Bangalore find it difficult to earn their livelihood (Pardikar 2018). It is common in the state of Karnataka that *Lambani Tandas* are ostracized and deprived of the benefits of the Affirmative Action (Gauda 2012). The investigation agencies largely suspect *Hakki-Pakki* nomads in many crimes (Johnson 2012).

People in Telangana still perceive the Mondri community as thieves in Telangana (Chavah 2022). Lambada nomadic tribe took out a rally in Hyderabad following the attacks on them by Adivasis in the Telangana State (Rao 2017). Despite their number around 25 lakhs and supply of human workforce to many industries, *lambadas* face ire of the settled indigenous communities in Telangana (Janyala 2017). The Erukula people in Telangana fear to claim the state of Telangana (Henry 2015).

Rumours of child lifting and organ harvesting by nomadic tribes are common in Andhra Pradesh (Jayaraman, Hindu, Muslim and homeless: Gujarat's nomadic tribe Mirs stuck in no man's land 2018). The *Kuruvar* nomadic tribe still fights the stigma of criminality in the South Indian states (Roy 2021). Due to the stereotype of criminality, the nomadic tribes in Andhra Pradesh built a crime free village (Raghu 2021). They named it 'Vaikuntapuram'. Due to under-development, the *Malapandarams* struggle to survive their existence in Kerala (Sheth 2016). It is common practice in Tamilnadu that Kurva nomads are seen as criminals (Vishwanathan 2002). *Kuravars* in Tamilnadu fight to claim indigeneity and Scheduled Tribe status (P Saravanam 2021). Kanyakumari's Kani nomadic community still awaits land titles under Forest Rights Act, 2006 (Neelambaran, TN: Generations Down the Line, Kanyakumari's Kani Tribes Still Await Land Titles Under FRA 2022). The *Vettaikaran*

Denotified community claims the restoration of ST status in Tamilnadu (Neelambaran 2021). The nomadic communities *Kadar*, *Malasar*, *Eravalar*, *Muduvar* and *Pulaiyar* claim that they are neglected because their vote share is less in Tamil Nādu's electoral politics (Suvathy 2021).

The disquiet among the pastoral nomads of the Western ghats stems from the lack of regionality in their lives. This results in political under-representation and misrepresentation. It highlights the need for federal intervention. It also suggests building the narrative on inter-state regionality. This is possible through the democratization of the regionality. Currently, the dominant groups in the state deliberate on the quest of regionality in the federal relations, along with Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes in their respective states. The nomadic intervention is missing.

3.5 Constitutional and Political Intervention

Louis Tillin (2007) calls India a 'constitutionally asymmetrical federation' due to its size, diversity and levels of poverty (Tillin 2007). The constitutional symmetry and federal asymmetry conflict in the democratic functioning of India (Tillin, 2007, 46). The functioning of federalism in India and elsewhere largely falls under the legal and formal sphere of constitutional and statutory legislations. Charles D. Tarlton (1965, 861) points out the two important concepts of symmetry and asymmetry of federalism. Tarlton says:

The notion of symmetry refers to the extent to which components states share in the conditions and thereby the concerns more or less common to the federal system as a whole. The concept of asymmetry expresses the extent to which component states do not share in these common features. Whether the relationship of a state is symmetrical or asymmetrical is a question of its participation in the pattern of social, cultural, economic and political characteristics of the federal systems of which it is part (Tarlton, 1965, 861).

The concepts of symmetry and asymmetry are quite relational in terms of federal relations in India. The settled castes represent the symmetrical federal relations in India. The affectional regionalities direct such symmetries. The pastoral nomads form the asymmetrical federal relations. Charlton emphasizes the need to make the asymmetrical relations an integral part of federalism. The active inclusion of the pastoral nomads would fill up the gaps created by the symmetrical federalism. Sharda Rath (1978) emphasizes that

“whatever may be the legal demarcation of powers between the Central and State governments, social service constitutes a field of endeavour in which the Federal and State Governments have become co-sharers of common goals and objectives (Rath, 1978, 582). Douglas Verney (1995) points out that ‘ism’ in federalism is different from other kinds of ‘isms’ (Verney, 1995, 81). Federalism is a philosophical political question like liberalism and socialism rather than the study of a particular federal system (Verney, 1995, 82). Federalism is meant to counter regionality to enrich with new potentialities by making the pastoral nomads integral to the federation of India. Federalism, as a positive concept, has many things to include in its sphere. Federation or federal system is exclusive. Federalism is inclusive. In India, federalism serves as a means rather than an end in itself as many communities are yet to become active participants in the federal system (Verney, 1995, 91). Therefore, the constitutional and political intervention in the federal system through the concept of federalism deem necessary.

The first intervention seems to appear in the federal system in India after the annexation of the former territory of Goa to the Union of India in 1961. Rather than remaining aloof or maintaining distinction, many *mundkars* voluntarily urged to integrate in the federal system of India. The act of annexation of Goa largely stems from the invocation of federalism rather than federation. The constitutional term ‘Union of States’ in the constitution of India is largely influenced by the theoretical-philosophical understanding of federalism. It aims to counter the regionality and democratize the regions. Such first intervention seems to be floated by the *Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party* (MGP) just before the Legislative Assembly Election, 1963. The leader of the MGP was Dayanand Bhandodkar who later on after the election went on to become the first chief minister of Goa. He belonged to the Artist Nomadic Tribe of the erstwhile Deccan (Varak & Naik, 2022, 24). The Portuguese Administration criminalized this artist nomadic tribe which used to constantly move back and forth from the erstwhile Bombay Province and Portuguese Goa (Parobo 2015). The role of the women from the artist community is hardly remembered in the state. The participation of the women from the upper castes in the struggle for liberation gains prominence on the Revolution Day (June, 18) and the Liberation Day (December, 19) every year. The marginality of these nomadic tribes in the freedom struggle makes the struggle for liberation exclusive of the settled land-owning communities. Conscious of itinerant movements of nomadic tribes, MGP led by Bhandodkar promised the merger of Goa into the newly created state of Maharashtra after the legislative assembly elections in 1963. When Bhandodkar

became the chief minister of Goa, Vasant Rao Naik who belonged to the *Vanjari* nomadic community, was chief minister of the state of Maharashtra. They shared a friendly relationship with each other as after Bandodkar's demise, Vasant Rao Naik was instrumental in elevating his daughter Shashikala Kakodkar to the position of chief minister in 1973 (A. Fernandes 1997, 58-59). It is possible to assume that both the chief ministers were conscious about the spatial presence of the nomadic communities in Maharashtra and Goa. Many argue that the merger issue between Goa and Maharashtra was driven by the linguistic similarity of Marathi. They overlook the nomadic spatiality between both the states. Meanwhile, the United Goans Party (UGP)'s regionality and conflict within MGP weakened the claim of merger and the first democratic government collapsed in December, 1966. Bandodkar declared the issue of merger dead just before the Legislative Assembly Election, 1967 due to electoral exigencies and MGP regained the political power. Aware of the pro-landlord attitudes of UGP, MGP government enacted Goa, Daman and Diu (Protection from Eviction of *Mundkar*, Agricultural Laborers and Village Artisans) Act, 1971. This act was meant to protect the interest of nomadic artisans and laborers (Varak and Naik 2022, 24). This act settled down the *GMS*, *Bhandaris*, *Kharvis*, *Kumbhars* in Goa. Bandodkar's political intervention helped in making these landless communities a part of regionality in the current state of Goa.

The Bandodkar led government recommended the Congress-led central government to include the nomadic Dhangar community of Goa in Scheduled Tribe (ST) Category on December 10, 1963 (Government of Goa 2013). Despite their more than fifty years old demand, Dhangars are yet to be included in the Scheduled Tribe category. The major reason for their non-inclusion in this category is their spatial presence in the state of Maharashtra and Goa. The comments of the Office of Registrar General of India on the White Paper submitted by the Government of Goa associates them with the state of Maharashtra. This raises the question over post-colonial regionality.

Federalism in India is often confused as power relations between the centre and the states. The trans-territorial movements of itinerant nomadic groups have often been overlooked by the states and the centre during the deliberations on the reservations for the nomadic communities in the states. The failure to account these groups into the federalizing process leaves them without any constitutional safeguards. The Constitutional and Political inquiry

would help outline the area of intervention in the federal relations to ensure the constitutional rights of nomadic itinerant groups.

3.6 Constitutional Provisions

The Constitution of India nowhere in its document mentions the word ‘nomadic’ and ‘Denotified tribes’. It mentions some phrases ‘socially and educationally backward classes of citizens’ and ‘weaker sections of society’. It also nowhere in the constitution defines the term ‘minority’. Many nomadic and Denotified tribes resemble the characteristics of minorities on the distinct ethnic, religious, linguistic lines. The National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic estimates roughly 150 communities as Denotified and 500 nomadic communities in India.

The constitution of India provides certain provisions that imply the protection of the rights of nomadic groups. The preamble of the constitution strives to democratize the Indian polity. The first line of preamble i.e. We The People of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign, socialist, secular, democratic republic and to secure to all its citizens. The word ‘democratic’ implies the democratization of regionalities that carved out the histories convenient to the landowning castes. It challenges the capitalization of space by certain dominant groups in the state. The same preamble further goes on saying that upholds fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual. The communitarian understanding of nomadic identity imagines a nation rather than any specific local enclaves of lands. It presents the communitarian narrative of the nation. Without inclusion of pastoral nomads, villages or federal states fail to become a part of communitarian national discourse. Regionality is an individualistic concept whereas the nomadic identity is national in a communitarian sense. Michael Sandel (1996) argues in *Democracy’s Discontent* argues for the revival of the republican tradition to democratize the liberal political theory. In the Sandelian sense, regionality represents an unencumbered self that fails to associate an individual identity in the communitarian narrative (Sandel, 1996, 15). It limits its extent when it comes to reciprocate in a larger territory. Thus, the liberal regionalities fail to account for the nomadic movements in their sphere. Sandel suggests revising such regionalities to deepen the republican forms of governments.

The itinerancy of nomads resulted in shifting identities. The shifting nature of identity resulted in individual nomadic identity. Such individual nomadism deprives the community

of belonging. The historical territorializing of such individual identity becomes a colossal task. That's where as highlighted by Michael Sandel communitarian narrativization becomes important to claim constitutional rights such as reservation. If one fails to provide such historical evidence of a community belonging to a particular state, what is the way out? The philosophy of the constitution upholds the dignity of such individuals by paving the way for democratizing the concepts of justice, liberty, equality and fraternity. Such individualistic justice enshrined in the constitution, in terms of nomadic groups or individuals, questions the logic invoking regionality. In the case of *Goodyear India v. State of Haryana*, AIR 1990 SC 781: (1990) 2 SCC 712 paragraph 17, Supreme Court upholds that the Constitution is not to be construed as a mere law, but as the machinery by which laws are made. A Constitution is a living and organic thing which, of all instruments, has the greatest claim to be construed broadly and liberally (Bakshi 2020). From hereinafter, this segment of the chapter refers P.M. Bakshi's (2020) book 'Constitution of India' to cite article, comments on the articles and relevant judgements. The document of the Constitution represents the nomadic mobility of its citizens. The general understanding of the constitution creates an image that it mainly concerns the citizens from the sedentary society. It is the sedentary society including its vulnerable sections invokes constitution. For nomadic people, Constitution seems to be irrelevant document. To realize the purposes of the constitution, the constitution needs to be understood from the point of view of the nomadic people in India. There is also a need to explore the applicability of the social, economic, political and legal provisions of the constitution to the nomadic lives. It requires the broadening of the applicability of the Fundamental Rights and Directive principles of State Policy (DPSPs) to the pastoral nomads. That's the reason this segment explores the possibilities that can make the constitutional provisions directly relevant to the pastoral nomads.

The article 5 under part II of the Constitution stands for only one domicile and there is no separate domicile for the state (*Pradeep Jain v. Union of India*, AIR 1984 SC1420, paragraphs 8-9). In *Chandigarh Housing Board v. Gurmit Singh*, (2002) 2 SCC 29: AIR 2002 SC 587 case, the popular meaning of the expression 'domicile' means a person must be having permanent home in Chandigarh or he being there for years with the intention to live permanently or indefinitely. The provision of the one domicile under article 5 helps to determine the domicile of the nomadic people in India of Indian Origin. If a nomadic individual does not possess any land or any other immovable property anywhere in India and intends to settle down permanently in any particular state shall become a citizen of that

state. Under this article, it is imperative on the state to grant the domicile on those people of Indian origin who fail to associate genealogical origin to any state reorganized on the linguistic lines.

Some more provisions are there in the Constitutions which will help to address the constitutional rights of the Nomadic individuals. Under article 15, clause (1) the state shall not discriminate against any citizen on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth or any of them. The clause (5) of the same article says:

Nothing in this article or in sub clause (g) of clause (1) of article 19 shall prevent any socially and educationally backward classes of citizens or the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes in so far as such special provisions relate to their admission to educational institutions, including private educational institutions whether aided or unaided by the state, other than the minority educational institutions referred to clause (1) of article 30.

The Government of India in 2018 inserted clause 6 in the article 15 and article 16 of the Constitution of India through 108th Constitutional Amendment Act making the special provisions for the Economically Weaker Sections (EWS) of the Society other than the Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs). The Supreme Court of India upheld the constitutional sanctity of the EWS reservation in *Janhit Abhiyan versus Union of India* on November 7th, 2022. To avail the reservations in India, the sociological genealogy needs to be traced to make the claim. Many times, it is possible for the sedentary castes to trace their genealogy in the state. Nomadic people fail to base their social origin in one state or largely because of their sociological region falls beyond the boundaries of the states in the post-independent India. Due to these complexities, this reservation on the economic basis merits 'social' interpretations. The 108th Amendment to constitution makes the reservation available to on the basis of domicile rather than the place of birth. The constitution defines the domicile as residence. The domicile on the basis of the place of birth is unconstitutional under article 15 and article 16 of the constitution.

Under clause (2) of article 16 that no citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, descent, place of birth, residence or any of them, be eligible for, or discriminated against in respect of, any employment of office under the state. The clause (3) of the same article says that Nothing in this article prevent Parliament from making any law prescribing, in regard to class or classes of employment or appointment to an office (under the Government

of, or any local or other authority within, a State or Union territory, any requirement as to residence within that state or Union Territory) prior to such employment or appointment. The clause (4) of article 16 states that Nothing in the article shall prevent the state from making any provision for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which, in the opinion of the State, is not adequately represented in the services under the State. The artists nomadic women were historically subjected to the subservience of the village temples and the male dominance in the villages. Even the religious scriptures acknowledge the existence of the *Devdasi* custom wherein women were married to village gods. In reality, these women were sexually exploited by the socially and economically prestigious men from the village from dominant sedentary castes. As a results, these women gave birth to many illegitimate children. Such socially marginalized individuals fail to trace their sociological origin and are deprived from the socio-economic reservation that they deserve. It is constitutionally inappropriate to keep such class of society deprived from the reservation available under article 15 and article 16. The nomadic tribes constitute ‘social of the economic’. To safeguard the constitutional interests of the pastoral nomads, there is a need to comprehend the social understanding of the economic necessity.

The clause (e) of article 19 (1) states that All citizens shall have the right to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India. It is subjected to reasonable restrictions in the interest of the general public or for the protection of the interest of Scheduled Tribes. To do so, substantive as well as procedural reasonableness would be required. This freedom is intended to remove internal barriers in India or between any of its parts, but is limited to citizens. Moreover, even citizens can be subjected to reasonable restrictions, such as a passport and prostitutes. These propositions bear support from the following decisions:

1. State of Madhya Pradesh v. Bharat, AIR 1967 SC 1170(1172) 2 SCR 454.
2. Kharak Singh v. State of Uttar Pradesh, AIR 1963 SC 1295 (1303): (1964) 1 SCR 332.
3. Ebrahim v. State of Bombay, (1954) SCR 933 (950): AIR 1954 SC 229: 56 Bom LR 768. (Passport).
4. State of Uttar Pradesh v. Kaushaliya, AIR 1964 SC 416 (423): (1964) 4 SCR 1002: (1964) 1 Cri LJ 304. (Prostitutes).

The article 21 states that No person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law. In *Ahmedabad Municipal Corporation v. Nawab Khan Gulab Khan*, AIR 1997 SC 152: (1997) 11 SCC 121 case, the following propositions emerge from a Supreme Court judgment relating to encroachments:

1. There is no right to encroach on public paths, etc.
2. But the State and Municipal Corporations have constitutional as well as statutory duty to provide to poor and indigent weaker sections, residential accommodations by utilizing urban vacant land available under the Urban Land Ceiling Act.
3. But it is not obligatory for the State or the Municipal Corporation to provide alternative accommodation in every case.
4. In view of the consistent influx of rural population into urban areas and consequent growth of encroachments, local bodies should also prepare plans in accordance with article 243G and 243W of the Constitution. These two articles emphasize the importance of the social justice at the local level at the Panchayati Raj institutions and Urban Local Bodies. Most of the time, nomadic people form the poor and indigent section of the people in the urban areas. Article 243 G deals with the powers, authority and responsibilities of panchayats. It says:

Subject to the provisions of this constitution the Legislature of a State may, by law, endow the Panchayats with such powers and authority and may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self-government and such law may contain provisions for the devolution of powers and responsibilities upon Panchayats, at the appropriate level, subject to such conditions as may be specified therein, with respect to:

- a. The preparation of the plans for economic development and social justice.
- b. The implementation of schemes for economic development and social justice as may be entrusted to them including those in relation to the matters listed in the Eleventh Schedule”.

In the U.P. *Awas Evam Vikas Parishad v. Friends Cooperative Housing Society Ltd.* AIR 1996 SC 114: 1995 Supp (3) SCC 456 paragraph 7 case, it has been held that the right to shelter is a fundamental right. It follows from:

1. Right to residence under article 19 (1) a
2. Right to life under article 21

Article 21A states that the State shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of six to fourteen years in such a manner as the State may, by law, determine.

Article 23 (1) states that traffic in human beings and beggars and other similar forms of forced labour are prohibited and any contravention of this provision shall be an offense punishable in accordance with law. The clause (2) of the same article says that Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from imposing compulsory service for public purposes, and in imposing such service the State shall not make any discrimination on grounds only of religion, race, caste or class or any of them.

Article 24 states that no child below the age of fourteen years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment. One of the examples of the nomadic children is of Haranshikare children from Vijayapura of Karnataka who fail to possess any documents of residence and migrate from Karnataka to Maharashtra (Rozindar 2019).

Article 29 (1) states that Any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same. The clause (2) says that no citizen shall be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the state or receiving aid out of State funds on grounds only of religion, race, caste, language or any of them.

The nomadic tribes can be minorities. Some of them practice syncretic practices of Hindu and Muslim religion like Mir nomads in Gujarat. Again, the word ‘minority’ is not defined in the Constitution. Article 29 (1) says that any section of the citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the right to conserve the same. The constitution calls ‘any section of the society’, not necessarily linguistic or religious, a minority. The Motilal Nehru Report (1928) showed a desire to afford protection to minorities, but did not define the expression. The United

Nations Sub Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities has defined 'minority', as under:

- (i) The term 'minority' includes only those non-document groups in a population which possess and wish to preserve stable ethnic, religious, or linguistic traditions or characteristics markedly different from those of the rest of the population. (ii) Such minorities should properly include a number of persons sufficient by themselves to preserve such traditions or characteristics; and (iii) such minorities must be loyal to the State of which they are nationals.

The UN specifically mentions 'non-document' groups as minorities. The non-document groups form the pastoral nomads in India and suitably can fit into the phrase; any sections of the society' that the constitution of India invokes. The understanding of the minorities is driven from the sedentary approach towards the community. Communities are either unilinear or homogenous. There is lack of the concept of the syncretic community. As is argued elsewhere in the thesis, it is celebrated for ideological purposes and dismantled thereafter. The popular discourse on the minority in India understands the syncretism, hybridity and creolization in a similar manner. India represents the minorities which are largely religious and accommodates creole and hybrid population. The syncretic population has to choose either religious identity. This approach of perceiving the minorities would lead to the extinction of the syncretic minorities. In the colonial history, the syncretism percolates to the unconquered territories as colonizing tendency (Stewart 1999, 46). The colonial process of producing the syncretism discredited the syncretic pastoral nomadic communities in India. The colonial reinvention of it erased the pastoral nomadic syncretism. This precedent in the post-colonial India changed the syncretic discourse and discredited pastoral nomadic syncretism from the academic spaces. The pastoral nomadic syncretism is not the result of the creolization or the hybridization that resemble with the sedentary syncretism. The sedentary syncretism is strategic syncretism that shapes the religious minority discourse in the post-colonial India. The term 'section of citizens' is used primarily to accommodate those people who shares the characteristics of minorities mentioned under article 29 (Bakshi 2020, 66). The pastoral nomads who practice and profess the syncretism tends to fulfil the eligibility enumerated in the constitution. By categorizing them with the sedentary syncretic minorities may fail to safeguard the interests that constitution intends to protect.

The article 38 under clause (1) 'states that the state shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life (Bakshi 2020, 85)'. Under this article, the constitution tasks the institutions for the transformation for the creation of the social order that transforms the national life. Currently, many pastoral nomadic people fall beyond the existing social order. It indicates that rather than retaining or restoring the social order in its national, regional and local life, expansion of the social structure based on the social inclusion merits priority. Imperatively this article emphasizes the need of writing the social, economic and political history of the pastoral nomads. Such history writing is a constitutional responsibility of the historians who work in the national academic institutions.

Under article 40, constitution seeks to take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-governments (Bakshi 2020, 88). Can the village be called units of self-government without the integration of the pastoral nomads? How the boundaries of the villages going to tackle the mobility of the pastoral nomads? Will the making of the pastoral nomads sedentary make their mobility and the mode of production associated with it extinct? These are the questions under the article 40 need constitutional attention making the local economies dynamic. To make the villages self-sufficient, there is a constitutional need to intervene in the concept of the sedentary village and revise it.

The article 43 of Indian Constitution states that the State shall endeavour to secure, by suitable legislation or economic organization or in any other way, to all workers, agricultural, industrial or otherwise, work, a living wage, conditions of work ensuring a decent standard of life and full enjoyment of leisure and social and cultural opportunities and, in particular, the State shall endeavour to promote cottage industries on an individual or cooperative basis in rural areas. This article highlights the dynamism of the pastoral economy by emphasizing on the cottage and cooperative industries. For example, the Dhangars of the Deccan were largely engaged in wool spinning before Independence. It is found that M.K Gandhi made efforts to introduce them to the Charkha (spinning wheel) and reorganize the rural economy (Gandhi 1921). After the economy, the concept of the 'rural' came to be exclusively identified with the village

with the agricultural castes. The word 'rural' and 'village' in this article need equal attention to revise the villages on the republican ethos of the constitution.

The article 44 under Directive Principles of State Policy directs that the State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a Uniform Civil Code throughout the territory of India. In *Pannalal Bansilal v. State of Andhra Pradesh*, AIR 1996 SCW 507 (515): (1996) 2 SCC 498: AIR 1996 SC 1023, the Supreme Court made these observations:

In a pluralist society like India, in which people have faith in their respective religious beliefs or tenets propounded by different religious or their offshoots, the founding fathers, while making the constitution, were confronted with problems to unify and integrate people of India professing different religious faiths, born in different castes, creeds or subsections in the society, speaking different languages and dialects in different regions and provided a secular Constitution to integrate all sections of the society as a united Bharat. The directive principles of the constitution themselves visualize diversity and attempt to foster uniformity among people of different faiths. A uniform law, though it is highly desirable, enactment thereof in one go perhaps may be counter-productive to unity and integrity of the nation. In a democracy governed by the rule of law, gradual progressive change and order should be brought about. Making law or amendment to a law is a slow process and the legislature attempts to remedy where the need is felt most acute. It would, therefore, be inexpedient and incorrect to think that all laws have to be made uniformly applicable to all people in one go. The mischief of defect which is most acute can be remedied by a process of law at stages (Bakshi 2020, 89).

This judgment of the Supreme Court provides space to assert territoriality of the nomadic groups. With others, it also provides constitutional backing to bring the social, political, economic and cultural distinctiveness to the mainstream. This would lead to intervention in already established regionalities. It also provides scope to democratize interstate diversity. Article 45 directs that the State shall endeavour to provide early childhood care and education for all children until they complete the age of six years. It is generally observed that landless nomadic families' impermanent huts near roads in the cities.

Article 46 directs that the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the 'weaker sections of the people', and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. In *Shantistar Builders v. Narayan Khimalal Totame*, AIR 1990 SC 630: (1990)

I SCC 520, paragraphs 12-13, the Supreme Court has directed the central government regarding the expression ‘weaker sections of the society’ to lay down appropriate guidelines (Bakshi 2020, 90). To safeguard the educational and economic interest, it is a responsibility delegated to the States in India to define the term ‘weaker sections of the society’. Can the pastoral nomads be declared ‘weaker sections of the people’ in the state? Will state show the political will to include pastoral nomads under this category? It largely implies that it is not mandatory that the nomadic group has to be the origin of that state where he or she resides.

Article 47 states that the State shall regard the raising of the level of nutrition and the standard of living of its people and the improvement of public health as among its primary duties, and, in particular, the State shall endeavour to bring about prohibition of the consumption except for medicinal purposes of intoxicating drinks and of drugs which are injurious to health (Bakshi 2020, 90). This article implies that the lives of migrant and landless nomadic workers should be protected by any state of the Union of India. It is an obligation on the State. Three people from Yanadi nomadic community died after drinking contaminated water in Andhra Pradesh on 13th July, 2022 (Apparasu 2022).

Article 48 directs that “the State shall endeavour to organize agriculture and animal husbandry on modern and scientific lines and shall, take steps for preserving and improving the breeds, and prohibiting the slaughter of cows and calves and other milch and draught cattle (Bakshi 2020, 90)”. Pastoral nomads are mainly engaged in the Dairy Farming and Animal Husbandry. The Dhangars (Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka), *Banjara* or *Lamani* or *Lambadas* (Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana) are found to be engaged in the occupations mentioned in this article. The removal of these groups from such activities dates back to colonial rule. The cattle trespassing Act, 1871 mentions that the Dhangars and Banjaras should be closely watched as they engaged in cattle rearing and the caravan trade (Bhukya 2010). The colonial checks of the food grain caravans of Banjaras were replaced by the introduction of railways and other ways of transportation (The Indian Railways 1912). Post-independent, as the binaries between the rural and village blurred, the grazing land came under the vigilance of the settled castes. The village erases the idea of rural India. The concept of the ‘rural’ resembles with the economic structure and the village indicates the social structure. The prevalence of the ‘social’ over ‘economic’ erases the space the pastoral nomads accessed for their economic activities in the rural areas. Article 48 talks about the

rural political economy. It implies the reorganization of the rural economy mainly of agriculture and animal husbandry. The rural economic policies of the post-independence era attached these functions to the agricultural castes. Hence, the constitutional ethos on the reorganization of the rural economy, if anywhere, narrowly got implemented.

Article 49 directs that it shall be the obligation of the State to protect every monument or place or object of artistic or historic interest, (declared by or under law made by Parliament) to be of national importance, from spoliation, disfigurement, destruction, removal, disposal or export, as the case may be (Bakshi 2020, 91). It also opens up the space for the nomadic groups to preserve their historical cultural monuments and literature, etc. Gunther D. Sontheimer (1980) argues that the religious culture of pastoral dhangars is largely appropriated by the settled castes in the Deccan (Sontheimer and Murty 1980). This appropriation results in disowning their affiliation with the region or the state. Therefore, the protection of interstate cultural capital of the nomadic groups requires federal intervention.

The fundamental rights exclusively protect the interest of Scheduled Castes (SCs) and Scheduled Tribes (STs). Though the Directive Principles of State Policy (DPSPs) focuses on nonjusticiable provisions of social justice, it covers the concerns that the pastoral nomads generally face. Bringing the nomadic tribes under the justiciable sphere of social justice is a constitutional obligation. The purpose behind highlighting the constitutional provision is to emphasize that these provisions are specifically available to the nomadic communities in India. Their popular categorization into liberal, socialistic and Gandhian types distracts the social intention implied in it. This popular framework of understanding the DPSPs contains its scope in the sedentary sphere. There is a need to change the public imagery that the constitution prefers the sedentary society as the first beneficiaries of the justice. It is very important to note that the constitution tends to encourage the mobility of its citizens. It seeks to nationalize the citizens through the inter-state mobility. The constitutional idea of equality premises itself on the idea 'opportunity of the mobility' and 'access to mobility'. Mobility makes the constitutional obligation functional. The concept of equality is comparative in nature and is felt in relation to other. Therefore, there is need to understand the constitution from the pastoral nomadic perspective that seeks to reorganize the political economy at local, regional and national level.

3.7 Conclusion

The numerically large and landowning castes operate the political sphere by deploying their affection in the form of regionality. Their numerical strength makes it easier for them. Regionality resembles the Freudian dream which only imagines what may fulfil the self-interest. The oriental understanding of the history that privileged agricultural castes and criminalized pastoral nomads. The landowning castes inherit this oriental dream in post-colonial India. The oriental dream makes pastoral nomads believe that they associate with the dispossessed history and that history would stigmatize them. Amidst such fears, the democratization of the regionalities would nationize the nomadic people. The theoretical understanding of the affection would help understand the distinctions between the region, regionality and regionalism. The creation of the literature that historicizes their claims would liberate them from the tag of outsiders and criminality. The philosophical constitutionalism has a role to play in articulating the concerns of the pastoral nomads under the constitutional framework and pave the way for social-economic resilience.

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Chapter IV

Overseas Connections of Pastoral Nomads

4.1 Introduction

The coastal belt of the Western Ghats is replete with diverse perspectives on human populations. The mountainous enclaves of the terrain represent diversified sedentary as well as pastoral nomadic population. They possess an independent methodology of dialogue and conflict management. Due to their geographical seclusion, they responded to the overseas colonizer at various locations through multiple ways of defensive and offensive mechanisms. These mechanisms might have involved verbal abuse, physical violence or written responses. The popular history has unhesitatingly quenched this multiplicity of dialogues with overseas colonizers. Therefore, it is a political task to democratize the history of this terrain. Democratization of history at the local level strengthens the political institutions at local level. Multiplicity in local heroism infuses confidence among the people from various communities. They try to emulate the heroism of personalities from their communities. Pastoral nomads largely participated in war of Independence in 1857 against the British East India Company under the leadership of Vasudev Balwant Phadke (Abraham 1999, 1752). It inspires them to voice their understanding of their area, their terrain. It leads them to find out epistemologies of their knowledge. The reliance on distant heroism reduces political participation among the locals of that area. Instead of portraying their heroism, they are branded as criminals in post-colonial India (Abraham 1999, 1751). The popular history portrays the sedentary agriculturists as undisputed leaders of nationalism in India. The concept of nation is incomplete if nationalism is overpowered with the contribution of sedentary communities. Pastoral nomads are the people which complete the continuum of the nation. They link different enclaves of sedentary people and serve as a 'national link' among them. Nation without their representation in the decolonization process is an incomplete project. Nation is not possible without a 'national link'. What is the national link? It is a pedestrian route that pastoral nomads walked during their crisscrossed, multiverse voyage with livestock and related goods and services. It is a nomad who affects distinct geographical territories simultaneously. Simultaneity in affecting the different territories conceives the idea of nation. A selfless affection towards a vast geography induces a feeling of nation. Therefore, the nation incorporates not only patriotic feelings of the

people but distaste towards misrepresentation of geography. The sedentary society only represents the extreme side of sectarianism.

This chapter aims to come up with a cohesive idea of a nation and tries to imperceptibly captures the voices of pastoral nomads. The history of colonization heavily relies on the arguments and mechanisms employed by the leaders from the sedentary society. The criminalization of pastoral nomads upheld with high normalcy during the decolonization process led by leaders from sedentary communities. Synergies are assumptions that avoid binaries. Synergies are based on disparate valuation of the stakeholders involved in an activity. On the other hand, the idea of nation integrates binaries through the movement of nationalism. Therefore, this chapter will unearth the engagement of pastoral nomads with the overseas colonizers i.e., Mughal, Portuguese, British, etc. to complete the project of nation-building. For this matter, it is imperative to interrogate the history at least from the medieval Northern Western Ghats which represents confluence of the foreign many foreign colonial rules.

4.2 Pastorals in Medieval and early Modern History of India

Late medieval history paved the prelude to the modern understanding of territorial state. It witnesses a transfer of political authority from pastoral nomads to the sedentary peasants. The transition in political authority from the late medieval history to the early modern period deserves attention.

Andre Wink (2002) writes,

The Medieval Centuries that witnessed the rise of pastoral-nomadic power also saw the rise of Coastal Centers and maritime people- rapidly Islamizing- throughout the Indian Ocean: Swahili Coast of Africa, Hormuz in the Persian Gulf, Cambay, Calicut, Malacca, Ayudhya, Phnom Penh, the coastal city-states of northeast Sumatra, of the Javanese Passir (Gresik, Tuban, Demak, Jakarta, Banten)- all of these, and many others as well, rose to prominence in the first half of the second millennium A.D. Throughout the Indian Ocean, this was the beginning of the new age of commerce, a decisive shift of power toward trade-based coastal centres, and an increase in the urbanization on the maritime frontier (Wink 2002)

As he points out, the coastal belt of Western Ghats shares a long boundary with the Indian Ocean. This thesis points out the islamization of the pastoral dhangars in Bombay in medieval India in the first chapter. According to Ayesha Siddiqui, the pastoral dhangars syncretized and islamized with Islam in Bombay (Siddiqui 2001), Bombay is one of the busy centres of trade and commerce in the Indian ocean. This historical evidence suggests the islamization of the pastoral dhangars happened to participate in overseas maritime trade. It is also suggestive of such commercial interests that connected pastoral economy to overseas trade and commerce. The breeding of the horses, cattle and camels by nomadic and pastoral people in Central Asia, Southwest Asia and Arabia structured the economies and societies in the various regions of the Indian Ocean basin (Bentley 1996, 754). This makes the pastoral nomads a subject of transnational history writing and thereby exploring their overseas connections during the medieval and modern history.

Political Authority in pre-medieval and medieval Western Ghats and especially in Northern Western Ghats was vested in Mughal rule and Pastoral Nomadic dynasties. As Wink further argues that people from the pastoral backwoods emerged under the dynasties of the Yadavas, Hoysalas, Kakatiya's and the Vijayanagar King of the Peninsula (Wink 2002). The Kadamba dynasty also falls into this chronology. Pastoral nomads from the Kadamba dynasty or '*kulas*' are found in the state of Goa and neighbouring states. George M. Moraes (1931) in his thesis "Kadamba Kula, A History of Ancient and Medieval Karnataka" presents the epigraphical records of names of towns and villages included in the Kadamba kingdom (Moraes 1931, 325). He mentions the name '*Verok*' and identifies it with the town '*Varka*' in Salcete Goa (Moraes 1931, 372). The present-day Goa inhabits pastoral dhangars named after *Varak* or *Varok* or *Verok*. They belong to the '*Kadamba Kula*'. The *kula* traces the historical origin of the family and are worshipped during the wedding rituals to mark the addition of female member to the family. Woman extends the progeny of the *kula*. To rejuvenate the connect with the Kadamba Kula, the couple circles the Kadamba tree five times during the wedding rituals. They form one of the landless communities in the present-day Goa. It suggests the downfall of the pastoral nomads in the political economy since the medieval history. Looking at the current scenario across the Western Ghats around the pastoral nomads, it merits the exploration of the pastoral economy in the medieval history.

Wink (2002) maintains that the capitals of the first half of the second millennium including Delhi-, Devagiri, Warangal, Dwarsamudra, Bijapur, Golkonda and Vijayanagar functioned

as the major centres of man and animal power. From Indus valley through the western Deccan enhanced monsoons contributed to the rain-fed cultivation and small-scale irrigation encouraging agrarian-pastoral integration and favoured the pastoralist led state formation (Lieberman 2011, 950). The state formation in India, particularly in South Asia among pastoral nomads has been understood as the result of the contacts with already formed states and considered as a matter of internal development of the sedentary relations (Cosmo 1999, 8). This led the mainstream history in India detach the process of state-formation to the pastoral nomads and assumes them as less important players in the historiography of the region. They conceive the history from the sedentary viewpoint and consider the pastorals as historically stateless. This trend makes the current generations from the pastoral nomadic community believe that they inherit a state-less past and the state formation exclusively falls under the purview of the sedentary society. The pastoralist empires are assumed as intermediary to the more fundamental processes taking place elsewhere relegating them to a peripheral significance as compared to the empires in China and Europe (J. D. Rogers 2007, 251). The pastoral polities are described in the history as ephemeral and derivative of the sedentary agricultural in India and elsewhere in Asia (J. D. Rogers 2012, 205). C.A. Bayly argues that around 1750s the pastoral nomadic economy was as significant as peasant farming, but by 1860s, the colonial state razed large areas of pastoral land or forest land to increase political security (Bayly 1985, 591). The construction of the *Comunidades* in Goa emanates mainly from the need of political security for the Portuguese rule. The process of the constructing the political security merged the pastoral land into the newly created enclaves of the *Comunidades*. This made the task of the prefect easier in governing the pastoral nomads under political protection. The newspaper article in the Portuguese newspaper 'Ultramar' reported the displacement of the dhangars from the Portuguese Goa. The Dhangar Goulies of Sattari with more than three hundred cattle entered into the British territory during the rebellion of the Ranés of Sattari (Ultramar 1875). The conflict between the Ranés of the Sattari in Goa and the Portuguese failed to arrest the displacement of dhangars. Rather this conflict demonstrates the sedentary power of the Ranés against the foreign Portuguese colonialism. The razing down of the pastoral land lessened the strategic requirement of the pastoral nomads. As discussed earlier, the Mughal colonizers employed the pastoral nomads to deepen their rule in the unconquered territories. The foreign colonizers in the late modern history establish their rule by integrating into sedentary agriculturalist through bargaining and treaties. This becomes more clearer when Alito Siqueira (2002) points out that the Portuguese succeeded in occidentalizing the people in

Goa through the notion of '*assimilados*' meaning assimilation (Sequeira 2002, 211). This assimilation was carried out by merging the pastoral land into Comunidades. Occidentalizing of Goa was a result of the Indic consciousness in Europe because of the Konkani identity in Portuguese Goa is understood in line with the Aryan civilization. Jose Pereira (1972) chronicles the Aryan influence on Konkani in his 'Brief History of Literary Konkani (Pereira 1972, 59).

In tune with Bayly, Daniel Haines argues that the British administration replaced their strategy of exploiting the interstices between settled and the pastoral nomads by exclusively privileging the settled agriculturists (Haines 2015, 650). Along with this, the reading of the Georges Bataille's (1989) 'theory of Religion' highlights that the reversal of the domestication of the animals through an invocation of estrangement and commodification downplayed the importance of the animals in economy (Bataille 1989, 17-25). The idea of sacrifice caused to reverse the predominance of the exchangeability of the animals in the material sense. This further led to the dilution of the animal power in the medieval and early modern times in the history of India. The globalizing and totalizing tendency of the religions seem to culminate into the cessation, spiritualization and interiorization of the animal sacrifice (Reed 2014, 138). The animal power constitutes the strength of the political economy during medieval India. Pastoral nomadic societies had higher demographic growth rate. They had healthier living conditions compared to densely packed peasant societies in the humid river plains. Sedentary society was largely docile in nature due to their repetitive dependence on limited agricultural activities. Therefore, sedentary peasants fell short substantially in influencing the political affairs in medieval India. The interface between medieval and modern history became the target of overseas colonizers. The early modern period witnesses an arrival of overseas colonizer in Indian Ocean. It further appears that the political authority of pastoral nomadism starts vigorously waning from this period onwards. It is very interesting to understand how the overseas colonizers could enter into the mountainous terrain of Western Ghats. Wink (2002) elaborates on geographical interfaces between agrarian expansion and pastoral nomadism. The interfaces between agricultural expansion and pastoral nomadism experienced maximum tension and violent conflict. The Mughals exploited these interstitial areas to conquer the territories in Indian subcontinent. Mughals along with pastoralists ruled these interfaces. Jos Gommans (1994) notes that Banjaras, Gujars, Bhats and Bhattis provided the fresh livestock like horses for transport and breeding to the Rohilla ruler Hafiz Rehmat Khan (1749-1774) of Rohilkhand. They were

seen as the enemies of the settled agricultural castes (Gommans 1994). The trend was followed by the European colonizers such as Portuguese and British. They tapped the discontent between the pastoral nomads and the sedentary peasants. The aspirations of the sedentary peasants found voice as overseas colonizers stepped into the newly found territories in Indian Subcontinent. There is a scarcity of archival sources on pastoral nomadism of medieval period and if there are any, they are very negligible, in terms of its numbers. Again, such sources are subjected to numerous interpretations which fail to bring the vivid understanding of pastoral nomadic perspective to the public domain. On the other hand, these interpretations have been produced in sync with the supremacy of the sedentary society in modern India. Markus Vink (2003) argues that the enslavement of the pastoral nomads in South Asia originates from the Aryan Conquests and their assimilation in the caste structure of the autochthonous people. Vink (2003) writes further that the inner frontier in South Asia separated hunter-gatherers and the pastoral nomads from the sedentary wet-rice peasants of the coastal, riverine floodplains. The Mughal rule governed the assimilation of the pastoral nomads with the pragmatism and the orthodoxy (Vink 2003, 157). The success of the military campaigns of the Muslims and the British highly relied on the Banjaras as they supplied them with men, animals, grain and other necessities (Gommans 1998). The policy of pragmatism layered with Islamic orthodoxy indicates the decline of the pastoral economy. The secular syncretism of pastorals during the Mughal era, instead of elevating, reduced them to the peripheral margins of the economy.

Maryam Wasif Khan (2021, 42) in her 'Who is Muslim? Orientalism and Literary Populisms' writes that the East India officials consistently referred the Muslims as 'Moors designating them as foreign and temporary invaders of India'. As argued earlier, the pastoral nomadic populations infiltrated the social, economic and political dynamics, they came to be referred and designated with the Muslim rules in medieval and early modern India. The image of the Moor was evident in the language that Albuquerque conveyed to the political authority in Portugal. What Maryam Wasif writes about the East India Company; same phenomenon seemed to be worked out by the Portuguese in Goa. Historian K.N. Panikkar writes:

Albuquerque reported to his master that he had put every Moor in Goa to the sword, adding wherever 'he could find them no Moor was spared and they filled mosques with them and set them on fire'. This bitter hatred of Islam brought Portuguese with friendly relations with the Hindu monarch of Vijayanagar, who

had been carrying relentless war against Islam for 170 years. In 1509, Krishna Dev Raya, the greatest ruler of the dynasty, and inveterate enemy of the Muslim rulers of the Deccan, ascended to the throne of Vijayanagar. Not only did he welcome the occupation of Goa by the Portuguese, which enabled him to receive military supplies from abroad, maintained cordial relations with them. In 1510, Albuquerque sent a mission to soliciting permission for the establishment at Bhatkal and this was freely granted. The friendly relations between the Hindu Empire and Portuguese authorities, united their enmity to Islam, is a fact which is generally overlooked in considering how Portugal was able to maintain herself in Goa with little or no military power after the first fifty years of her appearance in Indian waters. (Panikkar 1953, 39).

The production of an 'outsider' remains a constant phenomenon in colonizing idea of the Portuguese. The Portuguese attempted to project Mughals as outsider in the peninsular region shared by the Arabian sea. Panikkar emphasizes the common ground between Vijayanagar Empire and the Portuguese, He further writes:

It is important to note that the Vijayanagar Emperor Narsimha Raya had, in common with the Portuguese, the crusading spirit against the Mussulmans. Just as the presence of the Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula and their Empire across the narrow Straits of Gibraltar constituted a standing menace to the Portuguese, the presence of the Bahmini Sultanates on the borders of Vijayanagar provided that with powerful motive of safeguarding Hindu religion and culture in South India, and of upholding national independence against Muslim Powers (Panikkar 1953, 31).

It is important to understand the context that historian Panikkar highlights. He points out that the Portuguese attempted to unify a Hindu identity in the peninsular region. Another important feature of the Portuguese colonization is to produce homogenizing identities erasing the differences between the communities. The unification and homogenization of the sedentary populace remained the core idea of Portuguese Rule. It is possible that the Indic presence in the Europe attracted Portuguese ally with the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar looking at their strategy to privilege the settled people in the making of the Empire.

The production of the Muslim outsider by the Portuguese also embraces pastoral dhangers in its frame. Agreeing with Asiya Siddiqui that the need of supplying the meat for the

canonical need of the Muslims in the Deccan (Siddiqi 2001), Satish Saberwal furthers consolidates the claims that Dhangars and Muslims remained culturally and religiously in sync with each other (Saberwal 2006, 244). Richard M. Eaton unfolds the process of the political conversion of the pastoral nomads into Muslim Empire. He argues that the subject-matter of the Muslim was produced on the Bengali frontiers through three processes: inclusion, identification and the displacement. He writes:

By inclusion is meant the process by which Islamic superhuman agencies became accepted in local Bengali cosmologies alongside local divinities already embedded therein. By identification is meant the process by which Islamic superhuman agencies ceased merely to coexist alongside Bengali agencies, but actually merged with them, as when the Arabic name Allah was used interchangeably with the Sanskrit Niranjan. And finally, by displacement is meant the process by which the names of Islamic superhuman agencies replaced those of the other divinities in local cosmologies (Eaton 1993, 269).

The pastoral nomads also went through the same process in the Deccan. This process forms the Islamicate culture in the Deccan. The idea of Islamicate eventually resulted in the displacement of pastoral nomads in the territory of the Western Ghats. The mainstream history and its historians attempt to refer the islamicate to the secular culture of the Islamic civilization (Blair and Bloom 2003, 153). Marshall G.S. Hodgson (1974) refers the term Islamicate to the Islamic civilization and calls it a process of Islamization for the attainment of the Islamdom. Philipp B. Wagoner argues:

Hindu culture at Vijayanagara was in fact deeply transformed by its interaction with the Islamic culture, if one moves beyond the restricted area of religious doctrine and practice to examine the secular culture of Vijayanagara's ruling elite, one begins to recognize the extent to which Islamic-inspired forms and practices altered the Indic country life in the Vijayanagara period, and indeed, continue to leave their impress on many aspects of the Hindu culture of South India even today (Wagoner 1996, 852).

As mentioned earlier in the chapter one, the pastoral dhangars of the Deccan wear the 'Zago', long-sleeved tunic resembles with the islamicate attires of Vijayanagar *Kabayi* and *Kullayi*. They dance wearing the same during the festivals of Dasara and Diwali. They also celebrate the 'Povo', a day-night get-together of the community in the same attire during the winter

season. The *Kabayi* and *Kulayi* were not the unprecedented inventions of the Vijayanagar and they largely appeared as the adaptations of items in common use in the Islamicate world. (Wagoner 1996, 860). It shows that pastoral dhangars were completely enmeshed in the Islamicate culture of the Vijayanagar and the Deccan. David Gilmartin and Bruce Lawrence point out that ‘the linking of the Indic and Islamicate framework was an ideology of universal kingship which stressed the importance of the maintenance of order and prosperity both as a dharmic duty as the central legitimating function of kingship’ (Gilmartin and Lawrence 2000, 17). The attempt to attain the parallel between the Indic and Islamicate displace the pastoral nomads from the framework of the Islamicate and largely confined the Indic idea of settled society. The more nuanced Hindu idea of the Vijayanagar kingdom emanates from the balance between the Islamicate and the Indic. The overseas influence of the Indic and the Islamicate over the territories of the Western Ghats weakened the hold of the pastoral nomads on the political economy.

4.3 Pastorals and Medieval Goa

The pastoral nomads usually join the tail end of the mainstream histories and their narratives. Whether in Goa, Western Ghats or South Asia, the historical narratives tend to treat pastorals and their role in the history and politics as insignificant. The public sphere generally tends to accept the historiography as the history. The distinction between them usually goes unnoticed. Mostly the dominant historiographies of the sedentary societies shape the political narrative in liberal democracies. The histories of the liberal democracies are replete with such historiographies. This research tries to unsettle the existing historiographies in the Western Ghats. In an attempt to do so, this research try to build the pastoral nomadic perspective in the history of Goa in this section.

Andre Wink (2002) recovers the nature of the political economy in medieval history of India. He highlights the reliance of the sedentary society or agricultural peasants on others. The pastoral nomads were one of the investors in the agriculture. He writes,

Situated on the interface of the settled world and the world of the marches, the eccentric new capitals could mediate between sedentary investment and the mobilization of the resources of the military entrepreneurs, merchants and pastoralists. These medieval cities were the product of the fusion of nomadic frontier with settled society.

He emphasizes that the medieval sedentary economy was enclaved by the boundaries regularly inhabited by the pastoral nomads. The sedentary economy operates in a certain and circular manner that produces a habitus. The mainstream history which is largely suggestive of the sedentary is a creation of the habitus. This history producing habitus functions the way Pierre Bourdieu (1977, 76) defines habitus:

The habitus, the durably installed generative principle of regulated improvisations, produces practices which tend to reproduce the regularities immanent in the objective conditions of the production of their generative principles, while adjusting to the demands inscribed as objective potentialities in the situation, as defined by the cognitive and motivating structures making of the habitus.

This habitus drives the production of the history in the post-colonial India and its federal units. Therefore, the formal history tends to revolve around the sedentary communities and considers the pastoral nomads as subservient. The habitus of the pastoral nomads is largely missing in post-colonial histories. The democratization of the history hinges on the creation of the habitus for the pastoral nomads. Bourdieu conceives habitus as a multi-layered concept that constitutes a potential looseness (Reay 2004, 441). Bourdieu's concept of habitus is adaptive rather than straightforwardly constrictive. This chapter traces the habitus of the pastoral nomads and subject it to sedentary habitus to broaden it. The broadening of the habitus helps in scrutinizing the micro-habitus and point out the inequalities. The historical inquiry supplanted by ethnographic and anthropological research broadens the habitus. I employ this methodology to broaden the habitus of the political history of Goa.

A.R. Disney (1996) in his 'Portuguese Goa and the Great Indian Famine of 1630-31' observes the decline of the animal power in Goa due to the great Indian famine of 1630-1631. He writes:

In a letter to the Count of Castro in December 1632 in which he described the difficulties that had been afflicting his administration Viceroy Linhares alluded to the triple curse of 'pestilence', 'famine' and 'war'. Animals sickened and died in large numbers as well as men. Heavy stock losses were noted in Damao and Diu and in Goa itself the provision of fodder became an acute problem. The horse population was decimated, and Linhares lost many animals from his own stables despite expending 2,000 ashrafis on feed (Disney 1996, 148).

The description of the famine and the immanent loss of the livestock indicates the decline of the pastoral nomads from the regional economy of the Portuguese Goa during the early modern history. This juncture also indicates the changing socio-economic relations in Goa. The loss of livestock caused to shift the economy in the hands of sedentary agriculturalist of the Comunidades. Though the changing economic relations favoured the agriculturists, Teotonio R. de Souza (2012) emphasizes the crucial role of the 'Khuntkar' in the agricultural economy of the medieval Goa. de Souza (2012) explains the role played by *Khuntkar* in medieval political economy of Goa. The identity of the Khuntkar has remained ambiguous and historians and social scientist have differed in its interpretations. Till now, academia in Goa and outside failed to locate their position the society. In the formal and informal discussions among the academicians, they tend to associate it with the upper castes from Goud Saraswat Brahmins (GSBs). Due to economically powerful positions of the *Khuntkar*, academia tends to refrain them from attaching to the pastoral nomads. The historical research in the state has been largely carried out from the lenses of the settled communities. Parag Parobo (2015) writes:

Capital Provided by the Kuntkars (those who bought shares from the Comunidades in auctions) was used to pay taxes to the state and also undertake repairs of bunds and other village activities. Though they bailed out the Comunidades, the Kuntkars were denied rights. They could not participate in village meetings, were placed below the gaunkars in status and could recover capital only through a share in the annual surplus of village in the form of zon. (Parobo 2015, 153).

According to the existing etymologies of *Khuntkars* in Goa, they are unidentified outsiders who invested in agricultural land in Goa. The Portuguese Government in 1604 in its number of legislative orders prohibited '*Khuntkars*' to legitimately buy or take over the land in the villages (de Souza 2012). The ethnographical evidences from the Goa and neighbouring states also support that the agricultural peasants used to take loans to from them by mortgaging their land. This research attempts to recover the identity of Khuntkar in Goa. The historical and sociological study of the communities in Goa needs to take place in conjunction with the neighbouring territories, especially of Deccan which Goa was an integral part. If not the sedentary peasants, then the study of the pastoral nomads attracts attention to be studied from the broader habitus of the Deccan due to their regular itinerancy. The caste identity of *Khuntkar* remained mysterious till date, academicians from the

sedentary society unanimously agree that the Khuntkar were surely not the pastoral nomads. There are many assumptions that modern history and its historians unquestionably relies as many of them belong to the sedentary castes. Their assumption on supremacy of the sedentary communities in modern India make them believe so. Since the history is from the sedentary point of view, it is important to problematize the historical authenticity of the terms and concepts popularized by the historians in modern India. The research in social sciences needs to rethink on the epistemologies that emanates from modern binaries between the sedentary and pastoral nomads. Deviating from the sedentary understanding, this chapter tries to comprehend the meaning of the term 'Khuntkar' through archival and other documentary material. The references for this term appear in various searches.

R.E. Enthoven (1920, 313) lists 23 endogamous divisions of the pastoral dhangars. He mentions 'Khutekar' or 'Khunte' is of the endogamous caste of the dhangars in the erstwhile Bombay Province (Enthoven 1920, 313). Enthoven (1920) calls them blanket weaving and wool business pastoral community. Kailash C. Malhotra (1984, 298) points out in 'The People of South Asia' that Hatkar and Khutekar are found widely distributed in several districts and show considerable variation in population size. Gunther-Dietz Sontheimer (2003, 365) emphasizes the presence of the khutekar dhangars in the Konkan region. The Census of India 1911 of Bombay Province considers the Khutekar as pastoral dhangars found in the Konkan and deccan regions (Mead and Macgregor 1912, 253). The report defines the '*khunta*' as the peg fixed to the ground for weaving purpose (Mead and Macgregor 1912, 253). Encyclopaedia of Art and Culture in India (Maharashtra) mentions Khutekar as sub caste of Dhangar (Bhargava, 2003). James M. Campbell (1883, 56) in The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency defines Khutekar as taller as and sparer than Kunbis and tend goats, buffalos in Sahyadri and found with ponies. Campbell (1883, 56) says that they have horned cattle and good breed of dogs and peculiar way of gelding ponies.

The Bombay Chronicle (1928) reports that the Khutekar Dhangars are recognized by the orders of the Shankaracharya and Shahu Chatrapati as allied to Kshatriya Maratha and a superior race and it is the leaders of this caste who were against the Indo-American wedding of the Tukoji Holkar (The Bombay Chronicle 1928). The Bombay Chronicle further reports that:

Mr. Krishnarao Bargal Jagagirdar of Talode, the leader of the Khutekar Dhangar caste who has specially come to Indore, left to Ahmednagar, the headquarter of

Khutekar Dhangar caste. The resolution passed by the caste is being submitted to the authorities and the ruling Maharaja. The leaders of the caste are determined fully to outcaste any member of the community who participates in the admittance of Miss Miller in the Khutekar Dhangar Caste, and takes food during the marriages of the American girl at Barwaha with Sir Tukojirao. Many volunteers are securing the signatures of the members of the community to the representation prepared by Jahagirdar Bargal. Meeting of the Dhangar communities are going to be held in the Deccan protesting against the proposed wedding (The Bombay Chronicle 1928, 11)

The Bombay Chronicle further observes:

According to advices received here, the Khutekar Dhangar community to which the Indore Royalty belongs held a meeting at its headquarter namely Jejuri in Poona District and unanimously opposed the proposed marriage between Sir Tukoji Rao and Miss Miller (Chronicle 1928, 8).

The khutekar was a well-known pastoral nomadic community in the Deccan and especially in the Maratha Empire. The Holkar dynasty of Indore of the Maratha empire belongs to the khutekar dhangar caste. Due to Holkar's political influence in India brought the khutekar caste to the prominence. The Bombay Chronicle reported the dominance of the khutekar in the political and social sphere during the British India. The Portuguese reference to the Khuntkar or khutekar caste addresses the Holkar dynasty of Maratha Empire. The political relations between the Holkar and the Portuguese made Portuguese Administration aware about the social location of the Holkar. The deprivation of the Khuntkar in the business of the Comunidades and in general in the village stemmed from the political rivalry between them. Chavalier P. Pissurlencar and Cavaliero P. Pissurlencar (1941) point out the political rivalry between the Marathas and the Portuguese during the War of Bassein in 1738-1739. Pissurlencar writes:

Early in November 1738, there arrived in Bassein a stronger reinforcement consisting of 480 picked men, who had landed in Goa in the previous October. Along with this force came an order from the Viceroy that the recovery of the fort of Reis-Magos should be undertaken. To this end, Colonel Pedro de Melo left Bassein on December 4 with a force of 400 Portuguese and 600 sepoy's disposed in 16 ships and hove before the Fort Reis-Magos two days later. On the 7th, the engagement began and lasted into the next day, when the Portuguese

commander received a fatal shot from the fort then in command of Mallar Rao Holkar. But the Commandant of the Fort of Bassein, Joao Xavier Pereira Pinto took temporary charge of the investing force; and so, the struggle went on till the Viceroy appointed de Mello's successor, Martinho da Silveira de Menezes who assumed office on January 8, 1739" (Pissurlencar and Pissurlencar 1941, 424).

The battle of Bassein demonstrates that the Portuguese were knowing about the pastoral nomadic power of the khutekar Holkar nomads. The Marathas defeated the Portuguese in the Bassein war in May 1739. Jose Nicolau Da Fonseca (1878, 21) calls persons alien to the village Comunidades as '*Cuntocares*'. It shows that the political consciousness of the Portuguese administration was aware about the socio-economic binaries between the settled and pastoral nomadic communities. The terming of the *khutekar* or *cuntocares* arose from this consciousness. The absence of the social capital of dhangars in the present-day society stems from this Portuguese understanding of the social relations since medieval history of Goa. The mainstay of the sedentary affection in the history writing hid these relations and produced the habitus convenient in perpetuating the coloniality.

This shows that the overseas colonizer i.e., Portuguese Government in Goa systematically pushed away pastoral nomadic community. It converted pastoral nomadic economy into an agricultural economy fully controlled by the peasants and the state. Remy Dias (2004) in his thesis reports that during the period between 1750 and 1910, there were about 426 Comunidades in Goa, of which 281 were in the new conquests and 145 in the old conquests. The rising number of Comunidades alienated the pastorals and appropriated of the pastoral land. From this, it is quite evident that the overseas colonizers created an opposition of sedentary peasants against pastoral nomads.

This led the Portuguese foreground village system as social norm. The primacy of Gaonkaria that transformed into Comunidades in Portuguese Goa antagonized Cuntocares- Gaunkars or Gaokar relations.

4.4 Pastoral Nomadic Experience in the Colonies

This segment deals with pastoral nomadic group's overseas relations emanated through the colonial powers of the Western Ghats and neighbouring territories. As the Indic and Islamic consciousness found the currency in the Deccan, the socio-economic enslavement of the pastoral nomads accelerated. Both the consciousnesses towards the late modern

history normalized the hold of the sedentary society in social, economic and political affairs. This normalization became the prelude to the enslavement of the pastoral nomadic communities in Western Ghats and across India. Many of these communities form the diaspora in Europe, America, Latin America, Australia, Mauritius, Fiji, Africa and so on. Therefore, this segment engages with the notable references in the academic literature on the indentured labour of the pastoral nomadic communities in Dutch, British and French Colonies. The mainstream history in India relegates the importance of the indentured labour system of the modern times to its peripheral sphere and fails to invoke the nationalist discourse from pastoral nomadic perspectives.

Sunanda Sen (2016) writes:

It may be noted that labour from the eastern India was being transported to Mauritius even before indenture started formally from India in 1834. People who moved included nomadic peasants, members of the poorer labouring classes, aboriginal people called 'Hill Coolies' often known by the name of 'dhangurs'. The Overseas Records Information 21 of the National Archives, UK pointed out that these coolies were in large measure young, active, able-bodied people often 'ignorant' of the place they agreed to go or the length of voyage and the problems they were going to face (Sen 2016, 43).

This shows the links of the pastoral nomads to the overseas world before the indentured system was formalized in 1834. It demonstrates the capability and the mobility of nomads in building the overseas empires of the British. The way pastoral nomads were crucial in building the indigenous empires such as Hoysalas, Kadambas, and Mughals, their mobility also aided British Empires outside India. While writing on the 'Labour Problem on the Plantations', V. Anstey (1929) writes:

The Problem in the past in Assam, Ceylon, British Malaya and the Outer Provinces of the Dutch East Indies, has been how to attract a supply of suitable labour, and how to retain that labour long enough on the same plantation, to repay the planters for the cost of recruiting and transporting the coolies (Anstey 1929, 145).

The speed and spread of the empire building outside India desired the formal regulation of the nomads on the British colonies outside India. The competition between the Dutch East India company and East India Company made British regulate the voluntary immigration of

the nomads. The immigration of the nomads was questioned in the British Parliament and the British Government of India banned the further immigration from the country (Sen 2016, 43). This was further evidenced in the Reports on the Scheme for Indian Emigration to British Guiana (1921) by the Servants of India Society and G. F. Keatinge reports the immigration from India in 1938. The report notes:

When the first batch of East Indians landed on the shores of the Demerara, to the cessation of the indenture system in 1917, a total of 239,000 Indian immigrants was introduced into the colony, of whom about 69,000 had been repatriated to India by the end of 1920.” (Pillia, Tivary and Keatinge 1921, 31).

Demerara was former Dutch colony was annexed to British Empire in 1838. The British Government abolished the slavery on 28th August, 1833 in its empire spread across the world, the pastoral nomadic people as indentured labourers replaced the slaves in the British colonies as unfree labourers. Earnest D. Brown (1990, 83) notes that the indentured labourers from India began arriving in 1845 to replace the African slaves in the sugar-cane fields. Rosemarijn Hoefte (1987) narrates the violence in Zoelen and Geertuidenberg in Suriname, part of former Dutch Colonies among the Muslims and other contract workers. She describes:

Unrest at the plantations Zoelen and Geertuidenberg broke out during the *Tadja* celebrations in 1891. The most popular festival of the British Indian Moslems was Muharram Tadja to commemorate Hassan and Hossein. The highpoint was the procession in which groups competed with each other for the most beautiful Tadja. The first mistake was to take the Geertuidenberg people to Zoelen to confront the two hostile parties. It eventually resulted into protest against the state. (Hoefte 1987, 9).

The scholars have blamed the indentured for their short-sightedness and attraction for the temporary gains. They are largely termed as docile obedient coolies in relation to the owners of the plantations. Rosemarijn Hoefte demonstrates that high number of cases involving breaches of contracts and persistent protests that forms the political assertion of the indentured nomads in Suriname and made it multi-ethnic society (Hoefte 1987, 18).

The culture of the indentured labourers failed to become an integral part of the British Colonies. The Indian culture remained peripheral to the national culture of the Trinidad (Brown 1990, 83). Howard Johnson emphasizes the reliability of the indentured labour from

India. The influx of the indentured labour from India increased as the planters in Trinidad desired steady and reliable labourers due to the unsuitability of the Barbadians (Johnson 1973, 9). Mukesh Kumar and Rajani Kumari in 'Indian Culture in Jamaica-Past and Present' narrate the experiences of the indentured labourers in Jamaica. They write:

They became disbursed in general population, and much less visible as a distinct racial, ethnic group, since their migratory phenomenon never permitted Indian culture to nucleate and develop firm roots in Jamaica. The Indian language, customs, religion, family life, food, dances and music were ridiculed by both the Europeans and the Afro-Caribbeans. Added to this was the deliberate attitude of the Government of ignoring the Indian quest for ethnic and cultural expression. The worst institutional discrimination faced by Indians was the non-recognition of Hinduism and Islam. Marriages performed by the Hindu and Muslim priests were not recognized and after the husband's death, the widow was declared a mistress and the children were considered bastards. The father's property was confiscated by the Administrator General and the family of an otherwise well-to-do person was made destitute (Kumar and Kumari 1999, 1028-1029).

The remoteness of the Indian indentured labourers and the proximity of the Caribbeans to the metropolis of the Europe competed their social and economic relations. Proximity of the Caribbeans helped them push the Indian indentured nomads in the British colonies in Jamaica. The academics in India considered them as a part of material relations between the empires and failed to understand them from the point of community. The absence of the 'community' reduced them to mere 'slave' or 'labour' which can be exchanged without constructing the community. The image of the pastoral nomads as was conceived by the colonial rules in India also percolated to the European colonies. The conflict between the blacks and indentured labourers from India largely stemmed from they were not considered as part of communitarian past in India. This is further evidenced in the writings of Jamaican academic Verene A. Shepherd. Shepherd (1986) writes:

During the period of the indentureship, Indians were primarily located on the estates while the blacks had evinced a preference for their free villages. This separation limited inter-racial contact. Even where they worked on the same estates, Indians and blacks were usually separated into different gangs under their respective headmen, though it was not unusual for black headmen to be placed

in charge of Indian gangs—a circumstance that caused great resentment on the part of the Indians (Shepherd 1986, 17).

The secular projections of the indentured communities hid the socio-economic, cultural gender relations among them. It also becomes visible how the proximity of the blacks with the planters in the colonies shaped the discourse of the pastoral nomads. Although indentured, the settled and the localized social location of the black prevailed over the nomads from the British India. The surveillance of the black and white men over the indentured women also went unnoticed in the colonies. The popular usage of the term ‘indentured labour’ displaces the primacy of the gender relations in the indentured world. Rhoda Reddock (2008, 41-44) points out that the planters discouraged the recruitment of the women on the plantations in colonies and searching the background of the women before recruitment was the norm during the indentured. She also points out that the planters discouraged the women recruitment as they were against the reproducing of the generations of the indentured on the colonies and the inclusion of few women was driven by public consumption (Reddock 2008, 41-42). The shortage of women exacerbated the social problems as indentured men competed for the scarce number of the indentured women (Roopnarine 2003, 108). Lommarsh Roopnarine (2003) poses important questions amidst the manipulations, luring and the duping of the indentured pastoral nomads in the British colonies in the British Caribbean. He argues that repatriated indentured labourers were not included in the Aryan caste system and most of them felt homeless that encouraged them to go back to the colonies (Roopnarine 2009, 80). The caste system also considered the sea voyage to Caribbean crossing the black water or *Kala Pani* a social taboo and perceived the repatriated indentured nomad as contaminated criminals (Roopnarine 2003, 116). Madhavi Kale writes that the period between the 1880 and 1947 saw the emergence of Indian National Congress (1885) and missionary activities by the Arya Samaj and Sanatan Dharma, but the significance of the indentured pastoral nomads on Indian nationalism and its strategies in the subcontinent remains relatively unexplored (Kale 1996, 132). It shows that the concerns of the indentured labourers failed to occupy place in the national freedom struggle and other progressive movements during the British India. The nationalist movements aimed to build a state, as is evident in Tilak’s thoughts on Aryan civilization, of the sedentary communities with its supposed hierarchies. Ashutosh Kumar (2015) writes:

When Gandhi and Indian National Congress saw no hope from the government in securing equal treatment for free Indians in South Africa, they found a better

way of bargaining. They thought that if they could cut off the supply of indentured labour from India, the prosperity of Natal would decline. Ultimately when they failed in this limited effort in 1905 then INC passed a resolution asking the Government of India and Her Majesty Government to prohibit the recruitment of indentured labourers for Natal. It was a frustrating moment for Indian nationalists, when the union of South Africa in 1909 initially passed the bill, with no rights for British Indians (A. Kumar 2015, 5).

Kumar (2015) highlights how the Indian National Movement objectified pastoral nomads in Natal, South Africa to settle the relations between the freed Indian business class and the Government in South Africa. The human rights were not the concerns in the resolutions moved by the Indian National Congress. Therefore, it is important to note the national movement did not make the pastoral nomads and their colonial criminality a subject-matter of the opposing movements. Ashutosh Kumar further comments on the resolutions passed by the Gopal Krishna Gokhale, He writes:

It was the build-up of such opinion in the Indian press that formed the backdrop to the efforts of the veteran nationalist Gopal Krishna Gokhale to pressurize the Government of India to abolish the system. Gokhale suggested that Natal's labour recruitments could be used as a bargaining point to gain a better position for free Indians. He was still apparently more interested in indenture labourer's potential political value than in whether they were victims of an unfair system. On 25th February 1910, Gokhale moved a resolution in the Legislative Council for the prohibition of the recruitment of indentured labour in British India for Natal and argued that the 'Indian Problem in South Africa has arisen of the supply of the indentured labour to Natal (A. Kumar 2015, 6).

Nationalist like Dadabhai Naoroji nodded his approval to this approval (A. Kumar 2015, 7). Disenfranchisement of Indian in Natal Assembly came amidst M.K. Gandhi's consultations in Africa with the Gujrati businessmen in legal matters in 1894. Gandhi showed the interest in the concerns of the indentured Indians in 1913 as they participated in the strike opposing the rise annual license tax of three pounds (A. Kumar 2015, 3). Goolam Vahed (2019) further points out the distinction Gandhi maintained in South Africa between the 'Indian' and the 'coolie' in the deliberations with the government. The term 'Indian' was filled with the nativity of the businessmen from India and the 'coolie' was considered as immoral and dirty (Vahed 2019, 659-662). Though Gandhi had deliberated on the issue of indentured pastoral

nomads in Africa, the social locations between the sedentary and pastoral nomads seemed to be retained.

Drawing on the experiences of the pastoral nomads in other colonies, Fiji provides an exemplary account of the indigenous Fijians and indentured Indians. Anuradha Kumar explains the ethnically political conflict in Fiji. She writes:

On May 19, a little-known Fijian, George Speight led seven gunmen in to the Fijian parliament and seized as hostages the prime minister, Mahendra Pal Chaudhary, and his cabinet colleagues. Speight, an ethnic Fijian was seeking to harness the simmering discontent and the grievances of the Fijians who were chafing under the leadership of Chaudhary (A. Kumar 2000, 2386).

Choudhary inherits the legacy of belonging to the family of the indentured labourers. Eugene J. D'Souza further points out,

Indians were barred from owning land because of the promise given by the British to the tribal chiefs of Fiji that the government would not allow the transfer of land belonging to the natives to outsiders. The Government enacted Native Land Ordinance of 1892. By this act, 83 per cent of Fiji land was permanently vested in Fijian lineages and since 1940 it has been administered through the Native Land Trusts Board. It could be leased out but never sold to non-Fijians (D'Souza 2000-2001, 1077).

This legislation helped in maintaining the 'outsider-insider' relations between the indigenous population and indentured labour the British colony of the Fiji. The example of Fiji is also a vivid representation that how British put the indentured population in to the uncertainty of their future and that reflected on the attack on the Fijian prime minister in 2000. Similar instances of the subjections of the Dhangars in Australia are found. R. Lockwood writes:

John Mackay, who had employed Indians on a Bengal Indigo Plantation under East India Company protection, seems to have made the first important move to bring Indian labour to Australian sheep stations. Mackay's plan to indent Dhangars or 'hill coolies' from the mountainous regions north of Calcutta, men said to be free of tabus of Muslim and Hindus, and accustomed to harsh conditions and frugal fare, was referred to a Select Committee of the Legislative Council. The Select Committee recommended that Dhangars be brought from the

hill districts of Bengals aged between eighteen to thirty. The pastoralists in 1937 petitioned the Governor Sir Richard Bourke for the right to bring Indians to Australia. Governor opposed the plan fearing that the introduction of Indians would prove ‘sacrifice of permanent advantage to temporary expedience’ (Lockwood 1964, 28)

Lockwood points out that Dhangars were targeted for the indenture due to their ‘religious transiency’ that hovered between Hindus and Muslims. Such hovering failed to stick any particular religiosity to the pastoral dhangars. This religious transiency was earlier exploited by the Mughals considering its syncretic mobility between the religions. The sedentary religious remoteness attracted the Australian to indent the Dhangars. This indent was further encouraged as to temporarily exploit them rather inducing their permanency in Australia. The Australian Government continued their colonial status as ‘coolie’ rather than legalizing them as workers and this resulted in Lascars case of 1939 where indentured seamen organized strike to protest their status as mere coolies (Kirkby and Monk 2017, 209). The indenture labourers also found in French Colonies of Martinique and Guadeloupe. M.D. North-Coombes writes about how the slavery turned into indenture in Mauritius. He writes:

From 1834 to 1839, 25,468 Indian indentured labourers were introduced into the colony at a cost of nearly £ 280,000. This substantial immigration was, in all likelihood, funded with compensation money or with loans raised on compensation claims. Much of the expenses eventually recouped from the labourers themselves by a combination of devices which turned contract labour in Mauritius into a species of debt slavery (North-Coombes 1984, 87).

The Indenture system modified the historical links between the India and Mauritius. He argues that the Mauritius and the India shared trade links early modern history due to the geographical sameness and established mercantile relations facilitating labour recruitment and trade due to travelling distance was low and the voyage was shorter between the two economies (North-Coombes 1984, 93). The experience of the pastoral nomads like dhangars from the pre-indenture period to the post-indenture times changed. The abolition of the slavery in the British Empire caused to objectify and criminalize once a voluntary labour into contract labour. Their overseas connections demystify the popular image that the pastoral nomads restricted their economy to the animals. The combination of the animal and the labour into the global market increased their mobility. With the economic imperialism, the global mobility was constrained to colonial regulations. Their subjugation is three-fold

phenomena. Firstly, British criminalized them to regulate their movements in British India. The criminality induced the immigration as the socio-economic conditions India became unbearable. The criminalization of the pastoral nomadic space encouraged the availability of the indenture labour. Secondly, they faced ethnic conflict as they had to deal with the local communities and blacks on the plantations. The plant-owners represented the plantocracy that infused the intra-conflict between the Indian indentured nomads and the indentured labourers from the other colonies. The ethnic conflict failed to shape Indian ethnic identity in the Dutch, French and British colonies. They had to immerse themselves other ethnicities like Christianity. Thirdly, the forced immigration of the indentured laborers showed huge disparity in sex ratio. This was followed because the plant owners and the government were reluctant to settle the indenture families on the plantation sites. The plant owners avoided the permanency among the Indian indentured labourers. This resulted in the sexual abuse among the indentured women.

Many scholars in India argue that the British imperialism antagonize the relations among the various caste India. The antagonism helped in securing the justice to the oppressed classes in India. They look at European modernity as registering the voice of the lower castes in India against the upper caste domination in the social and cultural milieu. The intervention in the social relations produced the positive outcomes in favour of the oppressed classes. The antagonization between the pastoral nomads and the settled communities in India and overseas colonies resulted in the double marginalization of the pastoral nomads.

4.5 Conclusion

The downfall of the pastoral nomads in India from the frontiers of the South Asia to the criminal tribe and then to the indentured labourers in Dutch, French and British colonies only register the rise of the colonization in India. Pastoral nomads passed through a process of the 'making of the empire' to 'weathering from the empire'. The overseas political powers manufactured syncretic secularism to accommodate the pastoral nomads in empire building and abandoned the same after its completion. The colonial and post-colonial history and political economy failed to account their mobility in the right context. Rather than inclusion, academics in its writing consistently sought their exclusion in the political economy in India and overseas colonies. The theoretical displacement caused the academic not to recognize them as the subject matter of the writing. The Indic consciousness that developed and naturalized the binaries of the settled and the nomadic through religious scriptures and

inscriptions displaced the pastoral nomads. The parallel between the constructions of the Islamicate and the Indic perpetuated these binaries and made it an integral part of the belief system in India.

The purpose of the thesis was to scrutinize the public sphere and recognize the consequential relativity of the public sphere. This consequential relativity helped in disturbing the unilinear consequentialism. The concept of collaborative consequentialism as explained in the thesis earlier leads to develop pastoral nomadic approach as is required to understand the pastoral nomadic space. The existing approaches of the research including the Marxists and Subaltern approaches ends up in being unilinear in their understanding. The task of problematizing the public sphere through unilinear methodology is inadequate and remains incomplete. The unilinear methodology or unilinear spatiality maps the historical power relations in a stratified manner. The crisscrossed linearity or nomadic spatiality builds the pastoral nomadic space. The realization of the pastoral nomadic space offers a new approach of writing history. The linearity in the social space tends to direct the history writing in India. The linear history writing notes dominant diversities of the sedentary castes and leave behind the linkages unrecognized that pastoral nomads offer or inherit. The reclamation of the pastoral nomadic space, thus, serves to be a rejoinder in the history writing process. The post-colonial governance mechanisms seem to be inadequate in democratizing the social space. As the globalization has radicalized the differences between the developed and under-developed world, the neoliberal logic of global cooperation remained limited to the designated natives or landowning castes. The neoliberal world which is largely reliant on the history consider the landowning castes as the major player in the history of India. The colonial and postcolonial history cause neoliberal economics recognize only the mode of production associated feudal or sedentary castes. Therefore, the neoliberalism supported by the history of the sedentary castes emerges as an obstacle in the nation making process in India.

Making of the neoliberalism convenient to the social justice requires an intervention of the pastoral nomadic space. This is possible when the pastoral nomads communities become the Bonafide matter of justice. In doing so, there is a need of social contract theory in the making of the public policy in India. Neo-liberalism only recognizes a social contract between the sedentary castes and the multi-national corporations. Putting the pastoral nomads at the center stage of public policy and development will change the economics of the country.

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Chapter V

Pastoral Nomadism and Public Policy

5.1 Introduction

The distinctions between the nomadic and the sedentary in the mainstream, but supposed to be ancient in India, caused to curate the colonial and post-colonial public policy. This well-accepted distinction represents the social contract exclusively of the settled communities that forms the civil society and state. The lack of discussions and debates around the state formation in India from the pastoral nomadic perspective hides their role in the political economy. From theoretical marginalization to colonial criminalization, public policy is yet to make them a core element of its subject-matter. They have been displaced from the vital aspects of the economy. Their criminalization displaced them from the food production industry. Their collaboration with and resistance to the colonial states isolated them from the infrastructural industries. Their strategic isolation in the colonial public sphere resulted in their non-inclusion in the educational pedagogy and curriculum. The collaboration of the lower castes with the colonial state could help them articulate their political interest in the colonial public sphere (D. Sen 2022). The articulation of the political rights of the Scheduled Castes during the times of British India by B.R. Ambedkar is one of the such attempts. The pastoral nomads could not find such organized articulation during colonial rules; therefore, they could not form an integral aspect of emancipation. The term ‘marginalised groups’ of colonial India needs historical scrutiny to understand the chrono-politics in which the marginalised communities were engaging. According to George W. Wallis (1970), chronopolitics emphasizes the relationship between the political behaviour of the individuals and groups and their time-perspectives. The chronopolitics of liberation during colonial and post-colonial India prioritizes the marginalized groups for the fair treatment. The preferential treatment employs certain social dynamics to designate the communities for the fair trail of justice-making. The inclusion of the lower castes and non-inclusion of the pastoral nomads marks the beginning of the fair trial for the justice in colonial India. Though the inclusion of lower castes and non-inclusion of pastoral nomads seem to be non-antagonistic, there is a need to highlight the chronopolitics of the public policy of the twenty-first century that inherits and perpetuates the legacy of the colonial public policy. It is also very important to trace the layers of the antagonisms, if any, that executed at various locations and times in the history. Therefore, this chapter tries to decode the attitude of the public policy of the colonial times as well as in the post-independent India.

5.2 Theory of Social Contract

The public policy of any state seems to reflect the chronopolitics it inherits and social contract it furthers. It designates individuals and communities at particular locations of the state and seeks collaboration with the state. Any collaboration is a consequential act carried out in a response to the state. Therefore, the consequential collaboration varies due to differing interests of various individuals and communities. It unites certain groups and isolate others based on the location and time-specific dynamics at play. Traditionally, the theory of social contract has been understood from the normative point of view. The western political thinkers like Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Hobbes, Locke present the normative idea of the social contract. Their idea of normative executive equipped with the state authority decide the public policy of the state. The concepts and the functions of the state are premeditated and pre-mediated under the normative idea of the social contract. Plato's philosopher and Aristotle's intellectual are tasked with pre-mediated executive responsibilities to govern the state and serve the interests of the slaves. Plato (2013) equates the task of the shepherds with the ruler, philosopher kings. Plato unravels the dialogue between Socrates and his pupil Thrasymachus. Plato writes:

For I must remark, Thrasymachus, if you will recall what was previously said, that although you began by defining the true physician in an exact sense, you did not observe a like exactness when speaking of the shepherd; you thought that shepherd as a shepherd tends the sheep not with a view to their own good, but like a mere diner or banqueter with a view to the pleasures of the table; or again, as a trader for sale in the market, and not as a shepherd. Yet surely the art of the shepherd is concerned only with the good of his subjects; he has only to provide the best for them, since the perfection of the art is already ensured whenever all the requirements of it are satisfied. And that was what I was saying just now about the ruler. I conceived that the art of the ruler, considered as ruler, whether in a state or in private life, could only regard the good of his flock or subjects. (Plato 2013, 25).

Plato centres political theory around the pastoral shepherds as enablers of the justice in his ideal state. He perceives the mobility of the shepherds in relations to others and attributes the qualities of the shepherd to the ruler. Aristotle (1998) sees a pastoral nomad that is shepherd as an interlocutor between the king and the subjects. The binaries between the sedentary and nomadic life becomes the subject of his politics. Aristotle (1998) argues:

The idlest are nomads; for they live leisurely life, because they get their food effortlessly from their domestic animals. But when their herds have to change pasture, they too have to move around with them, as if they were farming a living farm. Others hunt for a living, differing from one another in the sort of hunting they do. Some live by raiding; some those who live near lakes, marshes or sea containing fish live from fishing; and some from birds or wild beasts. But the most numerous type lives off the land and off cultivated crops. Hence the ways of life, at any rate those whose fruits are natural and do not provide food through exchange or commerce, are roughly speaking these: nomadic, raiding, fishing, hunting, farming. But some people contrive a pleasant life by combining several of these supplementing their way of life where it has proven less than self-sufficient; for example, some live both a nomadic and raiding life, others, both a farming and hunting one, and so on, each spending their lives as their needs jointly compel. (Aristotle 1998, 13).

Aristotle highlights the combination of the sedentary and the nomadic occupations as integral to the public policy. He attributes the task of the policymaking to those who contrive a pleasant life by combining the nomadic as well as the sedentary professions. He emphasizes the role of nomadic and the settled in the making of the state emphasizing their consequential collaboration. Nicollo Machiavelli's executive Prince regulates the functions of the people to solidify the republican nature of the state. He employs the tactics of the shepherds in the art of war. Machiavelli (1883) tests the abilities of the commander by deploying the soldiers as shepherds. He writes,

The consul having gone to Rome to perform certain ceremonial rites, and Fulvius being left in charge of the Roman Army in Etruria, the Etruscans, to see whether they could not circumvent the new commander, planting an ambush not far from the Roman Camp, sent forward soldiers disguised as shepherds driving large flocks of sheep so as to pass in sight of the Roman army. These pretended shepherds coming close to the wall of his camp, Fulvius, marvelling at what appeared to him unaccountable audacity, hit upon a device whereby the artifice of the Etruscans was detected and their design defeated. (Machiavelli 1883, 489).

Machiavelli highlights the strengths of the nomadic shepherds in defeating the Roman Army thereby bringing the shepherds at the centre-stage of the statecraft of the state. Hobbes's executive Leviathan governs the people with the pre-meditated intentions. Hobbesian state highlights the evolution of the state from the nomadic lifestyle to the civil life governed by the public policy of the absolute sovereign. According to Hobbes (1651, 77), the three principals of the competition, diffidence and glory make people quarrel against each other. He traces the origin of the society in the anarchy heralded by continuous warfare for gains, safety and reputation (Hobbes 1651, 77). He employs public policy to streamline nomadic life into civil life. He writes:

Whatsoever therefore is consequent to a time of war, where every man is enemy to every man, the same consequent to the time wherein men live without other security than what their own strength and their own invention shall furnish them withal. In such conditions there is no place for industry, because the fruit thereof is uncertain: and consequently no culture of the earth; no navigation, nor use of the commodities that may be imported by sea; no commodious building; no instruments of moving and removing such things as require much force; no knowledge of the face of the earth; no account of time; no arts, no letters; no society; and which is worst of all, continual fear, and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short (Hobbes 1651, 78).

Hobbes points out the consequential collaboration of the groups who live the nomadic antagonism under the state of nature. He traces the origin of the society to the nomadic life rather than accepting the sedentary life as the beginning of the civil state. In his understanding, he cautions in equating the sedentary society with the civil state. For him, if the sedentary groups are elevated to the position of the civil society and consequently the state, then the antagonism that he aims to end between the nomadic people and the sedentary society continues. Amidst such circumstances, the state fails to prosper economically. And the sedentary man who serves as the civil executive remains solitary. The image of the sedentary society as civil is solitary and not inclusive as was expected to Hobbesian social contract. John Lock (2003) distinguishes between the dominion and the property. Locke writes:

Should anyone, who is absolute lord of a country, have bidden our author subdue the earth, and given him dominion over the creatures in it. But not have permitted

him to have taken a kid or a lamb out of the flock to satisfy his hunger, I guess he would scarce have thought himself lord or proprietor of that land, or the cattle on it; but would have found the difference between 'having dominion' which a shepherd may have, and having full property as an owner (Locke 2003, 28).

Locke associates the dominion of the land to the shepherds and distinguishes property as one of the portions attributed to an individual in the dominion. He considers the dominion as the public sphere and the property as belonged to the private sphere. He considers ownership as an individual right that fails to prevent the access to others such as nomadic shepherds to the dominion. He proposes a cooperative relationship between the dominion and the property. Thus, the Lockean theory of the social contract specifies the social landscape as the dominion rather the private property exclusively belonged to the sedentary society. Hence, Locke's executive or ruler governs people's life, liberty and property in a bounded responsibility in a particular dominion. By attributing the sphere of dominion to the shepherds, Locke addresses inevitable conflicts between the nomadic and the sedentary over public policy issues.

Rousseau (1994) synthesizes between the 'real will' and the 'actual will' to attain the 'General Will'. The General Will governs the actions of the executives and the citizens of the state. He uses the analogy of the Shepherd, Dogs and the sheep. He treats the shepherd as the governor of the dog as well as the sheep. But still he is considered as the lowest in the sedentary society. Rousseau writes:

Ambitious politicians! - a shepherd can govern his dogs and his sheep; and he is the lowest of men. If it is great to command, it is only when those who obey us can hold us in honour; respect your fellow citizens and you will earn respect yourselves; respect freedom and your power will increase every day, do not exceed your rights, and soon they will be limitless. Let their country therefore be a common mother to all the citizens; let the advantages which they enjoy there make them cherish it; let the government allow them a share in public administration sufficient to make them feel that they are in their home country, and let the laws, in their eyes, be nothing less than the guarantee of liberty for all. These rights, valuable as they are, belong to all men; but without seeming to attack them directly, hostility to them on the part of rulers can easily nullify their effects (Rousseau 1994, 20).

Rousseau emphasizes the mediating role of the public policy between the antagonistic groups to garner cooperation between them like dogs and the sheep. Making the dogs care for the sheep is like making the hostile groups recognize the freedom of the weak.

John Rawls's (1999) idea of 'distributive justice' which aims to benefit the 'least advantaged' sections of the society also flows from the normative concerns attributed to the executives of the state. He, while concerning the principle of justice, seeks to go back to the original position. His concept of the original position helps in understanding the differences between the nomadic and sedentary society. In the contemporary world, the nomadic people are found to be the numerically large least advantaged people. To address the conflict between the nomadic and the sedentary, Rawls's 'Original Position' seems to be helpful. Rawls argues:

I have said that the original position is the appropriate initial status quo which ensures that the fundamental agreements reached in it are fair. This fact yields the name 'justice as fairness'. It is clear, then, that I want to say that one conception of justice is more reasonable than another, or justifiable with respect to it, if rational persons in the initial situation would choose its principles over those of the other for the role of justice. Conceptions of the justice are to be ranked by their acceptability to persons so circumstanced. Understood in this way the question of justification is settled by working out a problem of deliberation. We have to ascertain which principles it would be rational to adopt given the contractual situation. This connects the theory of rational choice (Rawls 1999, 15).

Rawls wants the parties to undergo 'an original position' whose interests are discriminately served by the existing state system. For that matter, he proposes the veil of ignorance to separate the people from the actual society. It works as a categorical imperative where people forget their social identities to arrive at justice (Rawls 1999, 118). The Rawlsian principles of the original position and the veil of ignorance are useful to highlight the inequalities between the sedentary and the nomadic societies. These principles deserve a place in the framing of the public policy of the modern democratic state. If one adheres to the original policy, the nomadic and the sedentary society would need to undergo an original position. His original position offers alternatives available to bring justice (Rawls 1999,

102). This chapter aims to emphasize that the western political thoughts and its outcomes in terms of the social contract address the binaries between the sedentary and pastoral nomads. The concept of the social contract in the western political philosophy remains premediated and serves as an overarching phenomenon to include the people who may lie outside the public sphere. The normativity of the social contract constitutes consequential collaboration among the various individuals, groups and communities and the state. The normative understanding of the social contract remains effective if it attains civility. The recognition to the empirical functionalism associated various communities leads to attain the state of civility. The social contract preconditions the public policy of the state. It paves the way for the liberation from the socio-economic inequalities and aims to attribute political rights to the displaced from the public sphere.

Historically, the tradition of the Indian political theory seems to lack the social contract theory. As argued earlier in the previous chapters, pastoral nomads failed to attract the history writing and the political theory writing in modern India. Rather than contract, stratification between the varnas prevailed over the history and political theory. Though the pastoral nomads remained a key stakeholder in the public policy during medieval India, since the early modern history onwards, sedentary society occupied the central role in the public policy. The political philosophy and the pre-medieval and medieval history shares cordial relationship with each other. Bhakti movement serves as the political philosophy of the Deccan and beyond its boundaries reflects the social contract of the communities.

The compendium of Moles worth's Marathi-English dictionary (1863) explains the pastoral nomadic space in medieval Deccan. It contains the word '*Anagondi*'. The dictionary offers three interpretations of this word. Firstly,

From the name of a town, of which, as the legend runs, the king used to call himself '*Sarvbhoum*' and divert himself with entering the revenues of the whole earth on the credit side of his ledger, expending them off again on the debit side. (Padmanji 1863, 21).

Secondly,

Disorderly business or proceedings; vast and foolish expenditures, lavish presents,
&c (Padmanji 1863, 21).

Thirdly,

‘A term for soft fellow ready to give whatever is asked from him. (Padmanji 1863,
21) ’

The meaning of the Marathi word ‘*Anagondi*’ refers to a space where a king calls himself a sovereign of the land which traverses boundaries of the particular territory. The word ‘*Sarvbhoum*’ means sovereign who decides on the policy matters without external and internal interference. The characteristics of the first interpretation qualifies to be referred as pastoral nomadic dominion in Lockean understanding of the nomadic dominion. Anegondi or Anigondi is a remote town on the northern bank of Tungabhadra River in Karnataka state. The social contract between the sovereign and the governed is quite distinct in India and attracts historical inquiry. The term ‘Anagondi’ refers to a distinct social contract that may help us recover the medieval public policy. The context of ‘Anarchy’, ‘State of Nature’ and ‘Anagondi’ differ largely in its content. Does the word ‘Anagondi’ refer to the state of nature as was it expressed in the social contract theory of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau? The contractarian thinkers believe that in the state of nature, everyone enforces the law. As a result, the weak succumbs to the victory of the strong and the powerful. They propose a hypothetical commonwealth wherein they want to reimagine the state inclusive of various communities and makes them the part of the political theory. Whereas the term ‘Anagondi’ seems to be indicating the social contract between the pastoral king and the mobile and immobile populace of the region. This term is not coterminous with the anarchy or the state of nature as is it perceived.

The simultaneity of the evolution of the social contract theory along with the evolution of the theory of the state in the West caused to associate civility to the state. The social contract and the state emerged in the dialectical mode. The pre-modern rulers in the Northern Western Ghats were Kings who govern the pastoral nomads of the region as was discussed in the previous chapters. The Yadava and Hoysala Kingdoms signify the pastoral nomadic kingdoms of Medieval Deccan. This era makes us distinguish between two important concepts: Kingdom and State. Kingdom represents a pliable control over the territory. State

represents absolute control over the territory. The collusion of the colonial state with the sedentary castes fails to represent the social contract theory proposed by Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau. In addition to the social contract theory of the west, Anagondi offers an organic social contract incorporating many diverse groups. The social contract executed by the colonial state was selective of agricultural communities in its political systems. The colonial state and its social contract in India functioned antagonistically and not dialectically. Therefore, the pastoral Kingdom of the medieval Deccan offers a communitarian social contract as opposed to the colonial state.

Mughal, Portuguese and British perceived the state of 'Anagondi' as the state of nature. Assumptions of Anarchy and lawlessness provided moral impetus to enforce colonial public policy. The establishment of foreign colonial rules, therefore, marks departure from social public policy to community centric public policy. Community represents individuals or group of individuals who asserts racial purity. Colonial Public policy brought the scribal communities at the centre-stage of the public policy. Colonial collectivism replaced competitive mercantilism of the Deccan. Proselytization, Miscegenation, Lusitanisation, Scribalisation and Criminalisation achieved colonial collectivism. The first four methods contributed to it and last one contravened. They criminalised artisans, actors, shepherds, doctors, soldiers who contravene colonial rule. Mughal attacked Yadava/ Hoysala Kingdom of Deccan. The political philosophy of medieval times encapsulates all communities irrespective of their mobility i.e. sedentary and nomadic. The modern political theory seems to discontinue from the earlier philosophy and becomes an exclusive domain of the sedentary society. Therefore, there is need of social contract theory to foreground an inclusive public policy.

5.3 Pastoral Nomads and Colonial Public Policy

The pastoral nomads and the colonial states in India share a conflicting relationship. As it was pointed out in the previous chapter on overseas connections of the pastoral nomads, the collaboration with the colonial states failed to safeguard their interests. The colonial state treated them as the objects of the strategies to further the imperial interests. Rather than concretizing their functions with the processes of the colonial administration, they failed to form the core elements of the political systems. This resulted in their displacement from the public policies. This chapter tries to explore the social contracts which were forged

exclusively between the colonial states and the sedentary agricultural castes. This chapter also tries to trace the exclusionary treatment that pastoral nomads received through the public policy. Portuguese government in Goa enacted The Charter of Customs and Practices of Gaonkaria in 1526 after the conquest of the Coastal areas of Tiswadi and Bardez in 1510. This charter was formulated by the Revenue Superintendent of Portuguese India, Afonso Mexia. This Portuguese charter enumerated the agricultural communities as the natives of the village. It conferred nativity on those communities who owned the land or were tilling the land. This charter also created the clear boundaries between the agricultural and the nomadic communities. The nomadic communities were considered as the native of the villages. The concept of the nativity was used to colonise the pastoral landscape of Goa. It made the village as inhabited exclusively by the agricultural communities. Parag Parobo in his *India's First Democratic Revolution, Dayanand Bandodkar and the Rise of Bahujan in Goa* argues that the construction of the *Comunidades* through this charter erased the Indo-Persian administrative structures and established the direct links between the Portuguese fiscal administration and the *gaunkars* (P. D. Parobo 2015, 82). The *Gaunkars* are the landowning individuals from the agricultural communities. Parobo (2015) further writes:

The Portuguese construction of agrarian society and economy reflected through Afonso Mexia's code was significantly different from the later British Construction. Goa's village communities, named *Comunidades* by the Portuguese, had been conceived from a colonialist point of view. Mexia's account of the *Comunidades* for *Gaonkaria*-as they are known in the pre-Portuguese period-reduces them to juridico-economic institutions. The text went on to become a standard on *Comunidades*, consulted by everyone in colonial and post-colonial times with regard to land relations. Mexia's code altered village communities and created the upper castes as *gaunkars*. Transforming practice into law, it was to become an authoritative text, used to mediate conflicts within the village communities (P. D. Parobo 2015, 83).

The code of *Comunidades* displaced the pastoral nomads from the public imagery of the village and attributed them the peripheral borderlands of the Portuguese Goa. This constrained the movements of the nomadic communities from the erstwhile Deccan and Goa especially of shepherd *Dhangars* of *Sahyadri*. Following the footsteps of the Afonso Mexia's *Comunidades*, the Portuguese administration enacted Portuguese Civil Code in 1867

which was extended to Goa by the royal decree on November 18, 1869. Huge tracts of grazing land used by the pastoral nomadic communities was brought under the morality of the gaunkars by the Portuguese. This seemed to have caused the pastoral nomads give up or abandon the traditional pastoral occupations of animal husbandry. The markets in Medieval and early modern history of were dependent on the cattle related products like dairy, meat, manure, skin, etc. Cattle economy dominated the markets before the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa. The creation of Comunidades and subsequent enactment of the Portuguese Civil Code caused to change the anatomy of the market. Land came under the sacral morality of the Church and the temples. The transition from the Medieval Goa to Portuguese Goa transformed the pastoral shepherds from the owner of the cattle to the caretaker of the cattle. The section IV of the Portuguese Civil Code (2018) deals with 'Occupation of Domestic Animals Abandoned, Lost or Stray' from article 404 to 410. The Article 404 reads,

Domestic animals who are abandoned by their master may be taken by the first person who finds them (Government of Goa, Portuguese Civil Code 2018, 97).

The privatization of the pastoral land under the Comunidades resulted in the abandonment of the animals. It authorized the landowner gaunkars to confiscate the animals which were either abandoned or were being grazed under the Comunidades or private land. The article 406 under the same section specifies the duties of the finder. It reads,

If the person who finds any lost or stary animal, knows whose it is, he shall return it or inform the owner, the circumstances in which it is found within three days at the latest, if the owner is domiciled or resident in the same taluka where the animal is found (Government of Goa, Portuguese Civil Code 2018, 97).

The Portuguese Civil Code attributed the concept of the domicile or residence to the animals. The animals of the pastoral nomads did not recognise the domiciled territory of grazing and found to be moving back and forth between the interstices of Goa and the adjoining territories. These domiciled understanding of the grazing which was largely encroached by the Comunidades created inconvenience to the animals of the pastoral nomads. Along with this, Regulamento Das Mazania Act, 1886 resorted to evict the temple servants who failed to comply and pay the *foro* (rent) to the temple authorities known as *Mahajans* (P. D. Parobo

2015, 77-81). Most of the servants in the temples were belonged to *Kalawant* community, a nomadic community found in the Deccan. As Portuguese conceived the formulation of the *Comunidades* only from the perspectives of the agricultural land-owning communities, the pastoral nomads safeguards failed to gain any mentions in such law making processes. The Indian Railways Act, 1879 is product of such law making which failed to safeguard the interest of the mobile pastoral nomads while acquiring the land for the building of the railways in Portuguese Goa and India. The economic imperialism of the British rule resorted to such rule-making. To further the economic interests, British sought to reordering of the economy with the introduction of railways and allied infrastructural projects to speed up the economic growth in India. Through the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, the British Government commissioned the railway building project in Portuguese Goa. The economic reordering was carried out through policing the pastoral landscape. The policing of the pastoral land was carried out through the Indian Railways Act, 1879, 1890 and Cattle Trespassing Act of 1871. The Article 125 Indian Railways Act, 1890 deals with the Cattle Trespass. It reads (The Indian Railways 1912):

1. The owner or person in charge of any cattle straying on a railway provided with fences suitable for the exclusion of cattle shall be punished with the fine which may extend to five rupees for each head of cattle, in addition to any amount which may have been recovered or may be recoverable under the Cattle Trespass Act, 1871. (The Indian Railways 1912, 100)
2. If any cattle are wilfully driven, or knowingly permitted to be, on any railway otherwise than for the purpose of lawfully crossing the railway or for any other lawful purpose, the person in charge of the cattle or, at the option of railway administration, the owner of the cattle shall be punished with fine which may extend to ten rupees for each head of the cattle, in addition to any amount which may have been recovered or may be recoverable under the Cattle Trespass Act, 1871 (The Indian Railways 1912, 100).
3. Any fine imposed under this section may, if the court so directs, be recovered in manner provided by section 25 of the Cattle Trespass Act, 1871 (The Indian Railways 1912, 100).

The Indian Railways Act, 1890 brought the passages of the grazing land along with the railway's tracts penalised the movements of the animals of the pastoral nomads. The Cattle Trespassing Act, 1871 provisioned to police the pastoral economy in British India. The arrival British Railways in Portuguese Goa and Nizam's Hyderabad made the Cattle Trespassing Act, 1871 applicable. Article 11 of the chapter III of the Act says,

Persons in charge of public roads, pleasure-grounds, plantations, canals, drainage-works, embarkments and the like and officers of police, may seize or cause to be seized any cattle doing damage to such roads, grounds, plantations, canals, drainage-works, embarkments and the like, or the sides or slopes of such roads, canals, drainage-works or embarkments or found straying thereon. And shall (send them or cause them to be send within twenty-four hours) to the nearest pound (India Code, The Cattle Trespass Act, 1871 1871, 4-5).

The Dhangars were mainly concentrated in South Goa. The terrain of south Goa offered them suitable pasture for grazing. The introduction of railways from Londa to Mormugao which exclusively covers grazing area moved them northwards. These movements were due to rescue themselves from the penalties inflicted by the aforesaid act. The local government in the British India were empowered to decide on the non-conforming tribes or groups under the Criminal Tribes Act, 1871. The defines the criminal tribes as:

If the Local Government has reason to believe that any tribe, gang, or class of persons is addicted to the systematic commission of non-bailable offences, it may report the case to the Governor General in Council, and may request his permission to declare such tribes, gang or class to be a criminal tribe (India Code 1871, 348).

The locals from the sedentary society were taken into confidence to label the pastoral nomads as criminals (India Code 1871, 354). Bhangya Bhukya (2010) writes:

In Annual Progress Report of Forest Administration (1895-96), the Board of Revenue of the state issued a strongly worded circular to the Forest and Revenue Department stating that 'Dhangars (Shepherds)' and Lambadas should be closely watched and controlled by local officials. Later on, a separate clause, targeting nomadic cattle, was inserted in the Hyderabad Forest Act of 1899 on cattle trespass in forest lands (Bhukya 2010, 88).

It shows that the local governments comprising of the village head-men, the members from the agricultural communities, the rulers of the Princely States and the Colonial States of Portuguese Goa and the British India were colluded with each other to exclude the pastoral nomads from the public policy. Nomads were termed as thugs and dacoits. As a result, The Department of Thuggee and Dacoity was started in 1839. One of the reports that was read out by T.V. Stephens during the debates on the Criminal Tribes Bill in the Council (The Manager of Govt. of India Press 1951). The report reads:

It is a fact that Shajanpur is inhabited almost exclusively by Meena plunderers. As many as five hundred adults Meena's have habitation there and distant robbery is notoriously their profession, and their livelihood. Their houses are built of substantial masonry, some with upper stories to them and with underground passages. Five walls have been constructed at their own expenses. The land they cultivate and for which they duly pay revenue yields no more than would be sufficient for a fourth part only of the population, men, women and children combined, which the number of their adult males represents. They maintain flee camels, some of which may be found secreted in their premises in readiness for an expectation, or but now arrived from some unknown raid. Cows, buffaloes and goats are among their possessions; they live amid abundance and they want for nothing. Their festivals of marriage and other ceremony whether of joy or solemnity are attended with lavish expenditure. Flesh is their food and liquor their potation. Trinkets of gold and silver and fine dresses adorn, on pleasure days, the persons of their females. Gold and coral necklaces, ear rings and good turbans are the display of the men; bracelets and frontlets studded with various coins, the ornaments and particoloured garments, the apparel of their children. Music and every entertainment without stint, form the accompaniments of their feats. Ravelling and quarrel mark their termination. Plenty they have, plenty they spend they bestow and there is no end to their charity (The Manager of Govt. of India Press 1951, 3-4).

The above-mentioned description of the pastoral nomads depicts their socio-economic conditions in pre-colonial and colonial India. The colonial public policy converted the economic prosperity of the nomads into thuggee and dacoity. The terms such as wanderers, plunderers, thugs, dacoits, criminals, etc were imposed on them. The oriental gaze of the European made them see the world outside the Europe as penurious. Instead of enforcing

the social contract, the British colonial state came to enforce the criminality. The social contract as was evident in the Social Contract Theory of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau failed to influence the colonial states in India. Public Policy during Portuguese and British rule hushed up the competitiveness of the economy by constraining and suppressing the economic mobility of the pastoral nomads. Rather than encouraging the mercantile activities of the nomadic groups, the colonial policy elevated the agricultural castes making the agricultural sector the mainstay of the Indian economy. It was at this juncture, the colonial public policy acculturated economy. Therefore, the colonial legislations on public policy cut off the linkages from the medieval public policy inclusive of the sedentary and the pastoral nomads.

5.4 Pastoral Nomads and Post-Colonial Public Policy

The Public Policy in post-colonial India picked up the threads from the colonial public policy. Major policies of the government heavily concentrated on the agricultural communities. Pastoral Nomads became frequent victims of the identity politics. The politics of 'Unity in Diversity' remained exclusive of agricultural castes. The Land Reforms in largely eschewed their inclusion. The Politics around Public Policy failed to acknowledge the pastoral nomads as economically dynamic stakeholders in the economy of India. This segment tries to highlight their exclusion from the public policy and emphasizes the need to invoke the social contract between the pastoral nomads and the sedentary groups to achieve humane economic growth and development. Many nomadic and semi-nomadic people have recently been made part of the social justice and hence got included under Other Backward Classes (OBCs). The delay in setting up of National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes further exacerbated the concerns of the pastoral nomads in independent India. In 2018, National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes (NCDNT) that was constituted in 2014 submitted its report to Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Government of India and identified 1262 communities (Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment 2022). In 1946, the amendment bill was passed to amend the Criminal Tribes Act. As a result, the Criminal Tribes Amendment Act, 1947 was enacted. This act abolished the minimum punishment prescribed for second and third convictions of the nomadic castes or tribes for specified offences (The Manager of Govt. of India Press 1951, 7). The Criminal Tribes Inquiry Committee headed by Ananthasayanam Ayyangar was set up in 1949. This committee repealed the Criminal Tribes Act, 1871. The

eleven member Kaka Kalelkar Commission known as OBC commission was set up in 1953 to look into the socially and economically classes especially non-Dalit and non-tribal numbered 2399 communities (R. Sen 2012, 366). The recommendations of the Kalelkar commission were rejected by the Congress government and Nehru. An advisory Committee under the leadership of B. N. Lokur emphasised the need of treating the nomadic people exclusively distinctive group with development schemes specially designed to suit their dominant characteristics (Government of India 1965). In 1980, Mandal Commission headed by B. P Mandal (1980) set up on the recommendations of the Janata Dal Government led by Morarji Desai submitted its report to the President Neelam Sanjiva Reddy on 31st December, 1980. This report clubbed the advanced section of the OBCs with the Denotified and Nomadic Tribes. L.R. Naik, the member of the Mandal Commission dissented against the report of the commission. The Mandal Commission Report reads the dissent as:

Shri. Naik's main contention is that the state wise list of the Other Backward Classes should be split into two parts- one pertaining to the Intermediate Backward Classes and other to Depressed Backward Classes. Under Depressed Backward Classes, he has grouped those castes, which according to him, constitute the most deprived and under-privileged section of the backward classes. His contention is that they should be treated as a separate entity for purposes of benefits and concessions, recommended in the report. Clubbing these two categories, he feels, will not result into inequitable distribution of benefits to these two groups (Mandal 1980, iv).

The distinction emphasized by the L. R. Naik was not accepted by the mandal Commission citing the non-admissibility of Naik's claim under clause 4 of the article 15 of the Constitution of India. The non-recognition of the separate category under the Backward Classes made the task of identifying the nomadic people more difficult. Even the state wise identification of them also met with the apprehension from the other reserved categories from the states. The need to have a national category of these people required deemed necessary.

As a result, the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution was set up under Justice M.N. Venkatchaliah in 2002. Commission pointed out that-

The Denotified Tribes/Communities have been wrongly stigmatized as crime prone and subjected to highhanded treatment as well as exploitation by the

representatives of law and order as well as by the general society. (Report of the National Commission to Review the Working of the Constitution 2002, 48).

The government in 2006 constituted National Commission of Denotified and Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes headed by Balkrishna Sidram Renke. Renke Commission (2002) submitted its report in 2008. The Report raised the concern as:

In retrospect, it is irony that these tribes somehow escaped the attention of our Constitution makers and thus got deprived of the Constitutional support unlike Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, Report of National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes 2008)

The Congress government neither accepted the report nor rejected it rather it commented on the report saying some of the recommendations are implementable (Bhagwat 2014). In 2014, the BJP government came to power and reconstituted National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes under the chairmanship of the Bhiku Ramaji Idate. The Idate Commission submitted its Report in 2017 and 20 major recommendations. Consequently, the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment constituted Development and Welfare Board for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Communities in 2019 and the Committee has been set up by NITI Ayog to identify Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Communities with the help of Anthropological Survey of India (Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment 2021). There are 269 Nomadic Communities which do not have reservation till now and are not categorised in Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes (Ghildiyal 2022).

5.5 Public Policy in Post-Colonial Goa

The state of Goa represents four major nomadic communities during Portuguese Goa: Gomantak Maratha Samaj, Bhandari, Kharavi and Dhangar. Most of them have become sedentary. Renke Commission of Denotified and Nomadic Tribes identified two nomadic tribes in Goa -Dhodia and Nathjogi- in 2008 (Government of India, National Commission for Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic Tribes 2018). These communities were the immediate victims of Portuguese Colonialism. The constraints on their mobility during the Portuguese India caused to settle them as landless tenant class under Portuguese colonialism. The first Chief Minister of Goa, Daman and Diu Dayanand Bhandodkar, belonged to a

nomadic tribe of *Kalawant* who refashioned itself as Gomantak Maratha Samaj to articulate their socio-economic rights for upward mobility in the society of Goa. Bandodkar became the second chief minister after Vasantao Naik from the Nomadic tribes. Vasantao Naik belonged to Banjara nomadic tribe from the erstwhile Bombay state. Bandodkar was a close friend of the Naik (Radhakrishnan 1994, 43-44). Bandodkar headed the Maharashtra Gomantak Party (MGP) and was made the first chief minister of Goa, Daman and Diu. MGP promised the merger of the former Portuguese Territory of Goa into Maharashtra, the newly carved out state from the Bombay province at that time. It seems plausible to argue that MGP's promise to merge Goa into Maharashtra emanated from the debate of the State Reorganization Act, 1956. It was a time where regions within the big states were demanding the separate identity on the linguistic lines. Bandodkar's friend and Maharashtra's chief minister Vasantao Naik from Yavatmal district from the Vidarbha region of Maharashtra demanded the separate state of Vidarbha, despite being Marathi speaking region. It is very important to note that two chief ministers belonging the nomadic tribes demanded the unification, at the same time, division of the Marathi speaking regions. Therefore, the MGPs demand to merger of Goa into Maharashtra needs to be understood from the public policy point of view instead of reducing it to the cultural identities. There was a movement to create the 'Maha Vidarbha' of Marathi speaking people from Madhya Pradesh and Vidarbha. Vasantao Naik was a member of Legislative Assembly of the state of Madhya Pradesh. His close ties with Bandodkar seemed to influence the Bandodkar's views on merger. If Goa would have been added to the state of Maharashtra, it would have again become the concern of the state reorganization in Maharashtra making the claims of the separate region of Konkan and Vidarbha stronger. The Report of the Linguistic Provinces Commission (1948) mentions:

The Maharashtra is latecomer in the field of agitation for linguistic Provinces, and it is still a divided house comprising three coast divisions of Konkan, Desh and Maha Vidarbha, none of whom has suffered in any way in the struggle for political power (Constituent Assembly of India 1948, 27)

The report pointed out the divisions of the Maharashtra beyond the current boundaries of the state of Maharashtra. The divisions on the basis of the linguistic lines might have caused the inconvenience to the political class of that time. The creation of the Maha Vidarbha as a separate state on non-linguistic lines would have been beneficial to the likes of Vasantao

Naik. The leadership of the Bandodkar seemed to be struggling with the same concerns that Naik was met with in the Vidarbha region. The Mysore-Maharashtra border dispute encouraged the idea of 'Vishal Gomantak' (EPW Correspondent 1972, 1307). The political class in Goa also wanted Goa, a separate state rather than the union territory. The subject of 'land' is mentioned in the state list. Making the state of Goa bigger than the colonial territory also attracted the business class of Goa.

The concern of the pastoral nomadic tribes also made Naik and Bandodkar think carefully on the linguistic territorial boundaries. As nomadic tribes share cultural ties with the areas of Madhya Pradesh, similarly nomadic tribe that Bandodkar belonged to and other pastoral nomads also shared economic and cultural ties with Maharashtra. Bandodkar's enthusiasm to merge Goa into Maharashtra also largely stemmed from the concerns of the pastoral nomads whose habitat was larger than the state. Therefore, there is a need to look at the merger issue from the perspectives of the pastoral nomads.

As the attempts of merger emerged pointless, Bandodkar focused on the socio-economic front. Bandodkar led government came up with 'The Agricultural Tenancy Act, 1964', and 'The Goa, Daman and Diu (Protection from Eviction of Mundkars, Agricultural Labourers and Village Artisans) Act, 1971 to protect the interest of these communities.

5.6 Pastoral Economy and Goa Municipal Act, 1968

The state of Goa has been increasingly becoming urbanized with its alarming stake in service sector economy. The fifty-six census towns foresee the almost urbanization of Goa in coming years despite it being declared as biodiversity hotspot by UNESCO. Its status as biodiversity hotspot puts limits on the expansion of the industrialization in the state. The state's dependency for agricultural, dairy and non-agricultural products is alarmingly increasing. In such conditions, revitalisation of pastoral economy seems an important avenue of the employment generation to the state of Goa. The pastoral economy and Municipal Administration share historical interconnectedness. The colonial administration, as it was discussed before, put the pastoral economy under crisis. They replaced pastoral economy with their notion settled Agro-pastoralism constraining the mobility of the man and the animal. Over a period of time, this has caused to make it one of the extinct forms of the economies. The advent of the Portuguese Civil Code 1867 brought the territory of Goa under

the Portuguese administrative governance. The administrations of the Comunidades constrained the entries of the pastorals into grazing areas.

The Goa Municipal Act, 1968 provides an effective interlinking of the pastoral economy and the municipal administration. The extension of the Municipal Areas to the grazing lands in the form of Census Towns needs attention. There are some provisions in Goa Municipal Act, 1968 which may help in rejuvenating the pastoral economy. The Article 243 and 250 under the chapter XVIII of the act are provisioned to take preventive measures to cure the diseases among animals and designate the areas to bury the dead animals (Government of Goa 1968, 403-405). The Municipal Administration accepts the fees doing so. These fees add to the revenue of the Municipal Bodies (Government of Goa 1968, 404). Under the chapter XIX, article 251 provides power to Municipal Councils to provide and maintain municipal markets and slaughterhouses (Government of Goa 1968, 405). It also authorises the council to build and upgrade the slaughterhouses from time to time and maintain it. This creates the value chain of the owner of the animals and animal related products to the market. This value chain, if communicated and integrated efficiently, would lead to integrate the pastoral shepherds in the economy. Article 252 authorises only Municipal Administration to regulate the markets and the slaughterhouses and discourages the private actors. The private actors can only enter in this business with the prior sanction of the public body. Article 253 empowers the council build the slaughterhouses beyond the municipal the by-laws made in that behalf and prior sanction from the district collector. The clause 2 under article 253 provides for the supply of the cured and the preserved meat in the Municipal areas. The Cattle Trespass Act ceases to apply to the Municipal Areas under article 267. The act also provides for the establishment and the maintenance of the cattle pounds in the Municipal Areas and bars the tethering of the animals in the public (Government of Goa 1968, 416). The Maharashtra Municipalities Act, 1965 also makes similar provisions regarding value chain s of the owners of the animals, animal related products and market in the Municipal Areas under chapter XVII, XVIII, XX and XXI (Government of Maharashtra 1965).

There is a need to link the institutions of the rural and urban local governance to the pastoral population which has stopped engaging in the pastoral activities. The democratization of the local governance would help integrate the pastoral nomadic populace in the economy.

5.7 Politics of Policy and Pastoral Nomads

The public policy in the post-independent India traversed through a politics of the public policy. The electoral politics has largely prevailed over the public policy. The structural-functional understanding of the policy making and policy application helps in identifying its beneficiaries. It is important to find out how the state selects the public as the target for the execution of the public policy. How the state, during the formulation of the policies, identifies the policies on the basis of social understanding of the caste, communities, language, etc. in the society. What kinds of politics influences the policy making? How do policy makers treat the issues of policy making? Who frames what kinds of policy? Do the issues of policy making accompany filth or privileges? Does policy function merely as trade off among the various communities? How do preferences operate while policy formulation? Whether a public should be considered as an overarching community or many publics exist? Is there any distinction between the public sphere and the public policy? Does public sphere dictate the public policy? How does one understand the public sphere? These questions deserve attention while addressing the policy gap in India. Nancy Fraser (1990) tries to explicate how the public spheres are created resituating the Jurgen Habermas. Fraser argues:

The political and theoretical importance of this idea is easy to explain. Habermas's concept of the public sphere provides a way of circumventing some confusions that have plagued progressive social movements and the political theories associated with them. Take, for example, the longstanding failure in the dominant wing of the socialist and Marxists tradition to appreciate the full force of the distinction between the apparatuses of the state, on the one hand, and public arenas of citizen discourse and association, on the other. All too often it was assumed in this tradition that to subject the economy to the control of the socialist state was to subject it to the control of the socialist citizenry. Of course, that was not so. But the conflation of the state apparatus with the public sphere of discourse and association provided ballast to processes whereby the socialist vision became institutionalized in an authoritarian statist form instead of in a participatory democratic form (Fraser 1990, 56).

Like Habermas, Fraser points out the 'confusion' in the public sphere. This confusion makes the policy homogenous and uniform. Homogeneity is an assumption that champions uniformity. The authoritarian statist forms of the public policy derive its authority from homogeneity. There are various ways to arrive at the uniformity. Homogeneity is not

necessarily to drive uniformity. The confusion in the public sphere tends to excite the feelings of the homogeneity. Homogeneity is an anxiety popularized by the dominant groups in a linear manner. The homogeneity operates in a linear-sequential manner rather than collaborative sequential manner. The confusion in the public sphere is largely caused because the homogeneity orders the public sphere as it is imagined by the dominant in the society. The imagination of the dominant operates consequential linearity that puts the dominant at the original position. Whether it is a socialist state or Nehruvian state, when it looks at the public sphere from the perspective of the consequential linearity, the public policy of such state considers the dominant as the major economic actor in the economy. By doing so, it executes the confusion in the public sphere. Therefore, the public policy emanates from the public sphere associated with the sedentary society. The consequential linearity projects homogeneity as public and diminishes the chances of identifying various publics in the public sphere. In India, the concept of public revolves around the sedentary castes and pastoral nomads becomes the public associated to it in a consequential-linear manner. The consequential linearity places the not-so-dominant-groups at the peripheral and emphasizes the dependency on the dominant imagery of the public. The homogeneous imagery of the public misleads the public policy and fails to equilibrate the interests of the pastoral nomads with the sedentary castes. Gunther Schlee (2013) writes:

A rational, revenue-maximizing government would refrain from removing key resources from the pastoral sector, if that led to losses that were higher than the gains achieved through alternative forms of land use. If the aim of the government policy was maximization of overall economic output of all sectors, taken together, then such a policy would preserve livestock routes and access to river banks and other watering points wherever the losses to the livestock sector incurred by not doing so would exceed the benefits of competing kinds of use. It would also preserve the open range wherever the disruption to the pastoral sector and the ecological damage done by attempts to practice crop production exceeded the benefits of agriculture. This would be the case under marginal conditions where crop production was possible but risky. There, one might obtain a crop one year in two or three, but the yields would be lower than that the gains obtained by allowing continued use of these lands by pastoralists, either by with regard to the same surface area or considering this area as a part of wider system of which it is necessary component without which other parts of the surface cannot be effectively used (Schlee 2013, 12).

Schlee puts emphasis on the distribution of the land use for the pastoral economy and agricultural economy to maximize the revenue generation of the state. He emphasizes the imbalance in terms economic growth caused by the excessive land use for the agricultural production. For that matter, he intends to conserve the pastoral ecology so that the multiplicity of the land use survives. In India, the experiment of the Green Revolution to increase the agricultural production was attempted in 1960s using the high yielding varieties of the wheat and rice. The agricultural public policy of the green revolution was particularly targeted the dominant agricultural communities across India. This experiment also brought huge tracts of grazing land under irrigation. No specific public policy since independence has exclusively targeted the pastoral nomadic communities to increase the food production in India. The tertiary attempts have been made to cover the pastoral nomads under the public policy. The public of the public policy in India has been the agricultural castes. As Dipankar Bhattacharya (1999) points out how the landowning castes became the target groups of the Green Revolution. He argues:

This pattern of economic development facilitated the rise and consolidation of India's dependent capitalist class along with a rich upper-middle class and upwardly mobile sections of the middle class. Interlinked with this was the growth of the kulak lobby, alongside of course the old landlord class, as the biggest beneficiary of the Green Revolution (Bhattacharya 1999, 1408).

The Nehruvian model of development made the agricultural castes as its central beneficiary of the public policy. What is striking in the policy of the green revolution is the absence different publics in the policy. This move made the dominant landowning castes replace the pastoral nomadic public from the public policy. The institutional displacement and the replacement of the pastoral nomadic public was carried out by incorporating the activities of the pastoral nomads into a homogeneity of the green revolution. Even the class perspectives of the Marxists in India on green revolution fails to acknowledge the pastoral nomadic public. C.H. Shah (1970) observes:

In the wake of the revolution in agricultural production the economy itself had released certain forces, some healthy and others not healthy at least in the immediate context. Rising incomes in rural and urban areas had put pressures on supply of milk and other animal products; in response to this some of the small farmers were shifting to production of milk for market and thus adjusting their personal economies with benefit. In some other instances, small farmers were

being pushed out by big farmers who either purchased their land or leased it from them at the high rent. High value of land or high rent gave immediate gain to the small farmer and if he had the capacity to quickly adjust to the new situation, he took to non-farm enterprise. Those lacking such enterprise would simply swell the ranks of farm labour. (Shah 1970, 42).

The Marxist scholarship on the Green Revolution puts the pastoral nomads under the category of the small marginal farmers or landless agricultural labourers dependent on the big farmers. Reducing their mobility to the category of the marginal farmers homogenizes them. Therefore, even Marxist approach fails to look at the pastoral nomads from the consequential collaboration and falls short of arriving at the social contract between the agricultural farmers and pastoral nomad farmers. The consequential linearity attaches the concept of the farmer to the agricultural castes and seem to arrogate them to the agricultural society by terming them as landless transient peasantry.

5.8 Pedagogy and the Pastoral Nomads

There is a need to explore the political connotations which have influenced the socio-economic aspects of the educational system in India. It appears that the political elites have adjusted the educational system to their advantage. How the electoral equations have shaped the educational discourse is very important to acknowledge. The background that shaped the colonial and post-colonial education system is very important to understand. This segment of this chapter tries to bring out the educational discourse that revolves around the regional elites in India. Therefore, it is consequential to know the dominance of the landed political class over education and how it has benefitted in retaining the electoral success in various states of India.

With the dissatisfaction with the national leadership of Indian National Congress, the state leaders created their own regional constituencies to bargain the political power. Leaders from numerically large and landowning agricultural castes chose to influence the educational institutions to guarantee their dominance. Agriculture emerged as the main aspect of market economy. Occupations associated with numerically small communities, especially pastoral nomads, were disrespected. Students from these communities forced to consume the social capital of landowning castes in educational institutes. While the children of landowning families enrolled for management courses in Ivy League institutions, the regional educational institutions produced a servile labour force for the empire of

landowning castes. Numerically small communities emerged nomadic transient labourers which is one of the worst affected labour forces during COVID 19 pandemic. Therefore, it is imperative on the higher education institutions to bring the respect to the occupations of numerically small communities. This would bring dynamism to the market economy.

With a universal franchise, numerically large castes mobilized their people to win the electoral mandate under the banner of national and regional political parties in post-independent India (Varak and Naik 2022). Members of erstwhile bureaucratic families of the Mughal-British Era and numerically large castes came to exercise political power. The transfer of power from the British Crown to the Government of India necessitated the immediate inclusion of experienced bureaucrats from colonial governments (Baru 2021). Indian National Congress (INC) came to power in the first parliamentary elections in 1951-52, celebrated the idiom 'Unity in Diversity. However, dissatisfaction mounted against the central leadership from regional leadership. This led the regional political leadership to reorient education in the states to their advantage.

Regional political elites floated regional sentiments centred on language, caste, region, class and religion to remain relevant in electoral politics. Dominant castes such as Maratha (Maharashtra), Kamma (Andhra Pradesh), Vakkaliga (Karnataka), Nair (Kerala), Jat (Punjab) and many from other states came to leverage their dominance in state politics. They established their educational institutions. The faculties in various disciplines were drawn from the dominant communities. Student leaders were elected from these communities. Regional pride based on language, castes and culture became the thrust of student movements in the state and central universities. Farmer's movements, to whom the dominant castes belong, drew major attention in social sciences. Even Communist political parties like the Communist Party of India (CPI) especially from the southern states came to support regional movements. Shivsena, a regional political party in the state of Maharashtra, especially in Mumbai, came to re-fashion the academic curriculum in the institutions of Higher Education. Telugu Desam Party (TDP) which politicised the Telugu language largely benefitted Kamma Castes of Andhra Pradesh. The victory of the Congress (Requisitionists) in 1971 led by Indira Gandhi re-established the ties of the Congress with its regional allies and congruence of the student bodies across India (Rudolph, Rudolph and Ahmed 1971, 1659).

The dominant sections of the students in the student politics brought the language and caste to assert their relevance in the educational campuses (Altbach 1968, 269). Thus, region, language, caste and class regionalised public education in Post-Independent India. The student leadership after the independence departed from the politics of creating the national consensus among the caste, class, language, ethnicities, and so on as their career depended on the relevance of congress party (Altbach 1968, 261). The students from the lower castes or the first-generation learners were reluctant to risk their career in political activities in the college and university campuses and tried to find the space in the extracurricular activities (Altbach 1968, 262). The student politics failed to acknowledge or form the separate category of the pastoral nomadic students in the educational premises. They largely subsumed under the overarching frames of the Bahujan or Other Backward Classes. The participation of the pastoral nomadic students in student's politics has not been quantifiably researched as those of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Education in the initial years of Congress was driven by a sense of nationalism. As a result of it, national education institutions like the Indian Institute of Technology (IITs), Indian Institutes of Sciences (IISCs) and Central Universities were set up. The rise of regional parties and coalition governments caused to place of 'region' over 'nation' in academic curriculum and extra-curricular activities. Regional parties try to bargain with the national or other parties in the coalitions by asserting their regional dominance or mass base in dominant communities. Regional parties also attract students from disadvantaged and rural areas easily. The college-going students from disadvantaged sections feel that the regional parties aggressively address their concerns. Lack of educational infrastructure causes frustration among the aspirants of higher education in rural areas. The hope of representation drives the students to support regional parties and regional interest groups. Recently, the students from rural and disadvantaged sections are trying to enrol into elite institutions through affirmative action. Still, the majority of students are studying in regional higher education institutions. Regional education has posed challenges to the upward mobility of first-generation learners from the numerically small castes. All the epistemologies of the knowledge stem from the culture of dominant elites. It makes the new learners find out their subservient past into the larger culture of dominant castes. This compels them further forcefully consume the dominant cultures. Many times, dominant castes name educational institutions after their family names. Overemphasis on dominant cultures in the curriculum makes the new learners feel humiliated. This prepares the graduates from numerically small

and economically disadvantaged castes only eligible to the tasks lower in the organizational hierarchy. It limits their area of work to that region, thereby sustains the role of dominant castes in deliberating the centre-state relations. To maintain the top positions in socio-economic and political affairs, regional educational institutions usually do not invest much in the social and cultural history of the numerically small communities. It leads to 'Crony Capitalism' in education. It charges exorbitant educational fees without ensuring employability. Thus, it normalises education without responsibility. It violates the terms of the social contract that the constitution espouses between the political elites and the citizenry. It fails to build an inclusive social contract. Education strives to create value in society. Regional education lacks humility when it fails to consider any numerically small community a unit of equal value and derecognises their participation in the market. The social contract that suppresses dynamism associated with numerically small communities would not eventually create a resilient market economy. Therefore, the regional elites who boast of inclusive social capital in the region to bargain political power at the national level only serve their private interest.

The dominant communities acted as the physiocrats in the education sector in post-independent India. Physiocrats consider that agriculture is the only source of value in the market. Agriculture emerged as a heavily invested sector in the Indian economy. The value creation and value extraction revolved largely around agricultural products in Indian Markets. Landowning communities that owned and managed educational institutions emphasize agriculture in the curriculum. Marxist intelligentsia in institutions of higher education also emphasized agricultural mode of production as the main aspect of the Indian economy. This physiocrat's view dominated education in India and thereby devalued other modes of production associated with many nomadic and artisan communities in the economy. COVID19 pandemic has unsettled this physiocratic view of forging gross binaries and synergies in higher education. Lockdown exposes many realities which remain hidden till the economy came to halt. The government compelled to deliver the essentials to the needy at the doors. Transient migrants thronged railway platforms and bus stands. Online education became difficult due to network problems. Hospital infrastructure pressured due to a huge number of patients. COVID19 brought to the notice of the citizenry that previous governments have not invested in the future of its population. Therefore, understanding the regional dynamics of the pedagogy in education deserves attention.

Therefore, it is politically essential to recognize the pastoral nomadic mode of production as a part of core courses in the academics in the schools, colleges and universities. There is also need of making the category of pastoral nomad as equivalent to the agricultural farmer in the theoretical frameworks. The exercise of the searching the national history needs to shift its focus from the 'core and periphery' to 'nomadic'. This will make the public policy in India resilient and inclusive.

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Chapter VI

Conclusion

Aftermath of COVID 19 has accelerated the global food scarcity and destabilized the food markets across the globe fluctuating its demand and supply sharply in relation to its export and imports. The pandemic also exposed the crucial role of the 'immunity' in surviving the coronavirus. The concept of immunity is not only bio-logical, it is mostly a social and economic in nature. The mode of production determines in a particular political system determines the individual's vulnerability as well as immunity. The relations between the life and the politics are curated by the immunization that percolates through the body, nation and constitution (Esposito 2006, 24). The political economy of the state that relies on economic activities only of the sedentary society leads to deficiency. Such attempt under the guise of immunity gradually builds deficiencies that paves towards long term irreversible vulnerabilities. Whether a community in the form 'state' or 'sub-national entity' builds immunity or drive away from the immunity is the question to be explored amidst the pandemic. The attempts are also needed to verify the need of the reclamation of pastoral nomadic space to burst the myth of the immunity superimposed by the sedentary agricultural society. Roberto Esposito (2006) writes,

Tracing the term back to its etymological roots, *immunitas* is revealed as the negative or lacking form of *communitas*. If *communitas* is that relation, which in binding its members to an obligation of reciprocal gift-giving, jeopardizes individual identity, *immunitas* is the condition of dispensation from such an obligation and therefore the defense against the expropriating features of *communitas*. Dispensation is precisely that which relieves the pensum of weighty obligation, just as it frees the exempted one from that onus, which in origin is traceable to the semantics of a reciprocal *munus*. Now the point of impact becomes clear between this etymological and theoretical vector and the historical or more properly genealogical one. We can say that generally *immunitas*, to the degree it protects the one who carries it from the risky contact with those who lack it, restores its own borders that were jeopardized by the common. But if immunization implies a substitution or an opposition of private or individualistic models with a form of community organization- whatever meaning we may wish to attribute to such an expression- the structural connection with the processes of modernization is clear (Esposito 2006, 27).

The interpretation of the words 'immunity' and 'community' traced etymologically, genealogically and historically by Roberto Esposito help in understanding the immunity paradigm in India. The sedentary society styles itself as 'civil' and hence, 'modern' by attributing itself the form of 'community'. The self-declarative of the community attributes immunity on itself. The sedentary society declares the immunity from the diseases or the vulnerabilities that it is unknown to. The concept of purity shapes the understanding of the immunity in India. The 'pure' and 'immune' reciprocate each other. The settled agricultural society and its communities therein feel immune due to their sense of purity-based immunity. The entity of the sacred grove and the community hamlets in the western ghats is one of the examples of the locational purity. The self-declarative concept of the local, region and nation are driven by the 'locational purity'. The locational purity is the demarcation of the territory that should be untouched by the outside people and hence invokes 'locational untouchability'. This happens because the sedentary society carries the conception of the immunity that is antithetical to it. What it calls 'immunity' is result of the contempt towards the mobility. What it calls 'immunity' is nothing but an act of putting the sedentary servility into an endangerment. The immunity is observable only when various mobilities collide. It is verifiable only in interpersonal relations of the individuals. The health of the political economy relies on the immunity and therefore not on the community.

The cherishing of the binaries between the sedentary and the pastoral nomadic communities, instead of immunizing, risk their survival and increase the vulnerabilities. The reclamation of the pastoral nomadic space is not only about the rights of the pastoral nomadic people but also equally about the social immunity a nation requires. The decolonization premises on recolonization and later on settles in colonization. Therefore, it fails to guarantee the immunity. The task of the constitutional democracy is to ensure the immunity to its people. The immunity ensures the demographic dividend of the nation. Therefore, the pastoral nomadic space immunizes the social space and makes it conducive to the human-animal existence and environment friendly.

This research has explored the possibility of employing the pastoral nomadic space as a research method in the social science. It demonstrated its applicability and the urgency in identifying vital aspects of the political economy in the western ghats in particular and in general in India. The dominant and the widely methods of social inquiry end up eventually sustaining the social binaries and continues the hierarchical recolonization. This happens largely because the researchers locate the subject at a particular place rather than placing the

subject in its mobility. The pastoral nomadic space adds this dynamic mobility in the political inquiry. The pastoral nomadic approach in social science identifies the remnants of colonization in decolonization and the recolonization and helps in keeping the social inquiry immune from the biases.

It is quite pessimistic to argue that the decolonization democratizes the social space. The decolonization is possible when location is fixed or immobile. In India, the benefits of the social justice are based on the social genealogy. The affirmative action in the form of the social justice decolonizes those whose social origin is traced to a fixed location. There are many pastoral nomadic people in India who fail to locate their origin. In such circumstances, the juridical measures of the social justice fail to meet the expectations of the pastoral nomadic populace. The historical and genealogical mobility brings major sections of the society under the state security and those who fail to trace the genealogically historical origins fail to access the social justice. In this context, the assertion of the pastoral nomadic space democratizes the social space. As a result, this approach makes the pastoral nomads bonafide matter of the social justice in India.

There is a need of the rethink on the public policy. The public policy that considers the sedentary society to begin face the 'directional crises. The directions it decides are premised what it thinks left and right and so on. It decides the origin of the direction without amplifying what may conflict in the course of time. Most of infrastructural projects that evicts the pastoral nomads from their settlement stems from this understanding of the direction. The direction takes them towards what is open. They equate space with openness. The sedentary gaze at the oppresses is devoid of the human attachment. What is beyond the 'locational purity' is open for them. Therefore, the directions of the sedentary society move without the civic virtues. Rather, its directions are the way the birds find the new tree as their habitat. If the tree has canopy enough to accommodate their flock, the birds make that tree their settlement. Before flocking the tree, the birds do not acknowledge that the same tree is habitat of the other living beings. The sedentary directions lead to overpopulate the social space that was presumed to be open for them. It entails the public policy intervention to regulate the directions of the sedentary society. The state governments largely execute such directions on behalf of the sedentary society. In the post-colonial India, pastoral nomadic populace inhabits the forested areas or the resides on the peripheral areas of the villages. The dominant narratives on environmentalism discredit the human existence in the ecological space. For them, locational purity guides their understanding of the ecological

space. The popular image of the ecology marks the absence of human intervention. The categorising the space between the sedentary and ecological discredits the existence of the pastoral nomadic people. Rather it inculcates the human-animal conflicts. The reclamation of the pastoral nomadic space bridges these gaps.

To make these assumptions meet the realities, the history writing plays a crucial role. The history that popularizes the dominant role of the sedentary castes or village as a social unit of human beings causes to naturalize these gaps. The history which bases itself on the sedentary claims produces exclusionary and discriminatory social space. Therefore, the nomadic pastoral space offers a rejoinder to the popular and the sedentary history. This rejoinder helps not merely in democratizing the history, but also rejuvenates the nation making process in the age of globalization. The sedentary image of the 'space as open' and hence, 'empty' causes the environmental degradation. Dipesh Chakrabarty (2014) writes,

Anthropocene global warming brings into view the collision- or the running up against one another- of three histories, from the point of view of human history, are normally assumed to be working at such different and distinct paces that they are treated as processes separate from one another for all practical purposes: the history of earth system, the history of life including that of human evolution on the planet, and the more recent history of industrial civilization (for many, capitalism). Humans now unintentionally straddle these histories that operate on different scales and at different speeds. The very language through which we speak of the climate crisis is shot through with this problem of human and in-or nonhuman scales of time. Take the most ubiquitous distinctions we make in our everyday prose between non-renewables sources and the 'renewables' (Chakrabarty 2014, 1).

The pastoral nomadic space offers a kind of resilience to the histories that humankind straddles with these days. This space is not to return to the history but to renew the space which has been subject to the sedentism, hence, overuse and exhaustion. The climate change further exacerbates these concerns and put the humans under regimes of probabilities and radical uncertainties (Chakrabarty 2014, 3-4). Amidst these global uncertainties about human concerns, this pastoral nomadic approach presented under this thesis intends to reorient the modes of production at local, regional, national and global level. The probabilities and uncertainties require a social contract among the sedentary as well as the pastoral nomadic people. Generally, as argued earlier in the thesis, the mainstream political

theory in India lacks the understanding of the social contract. The articulative emphasis on the nomadic pastoralism resolves the federal conflicts in India. The federal intervention in the climate change and allied uncertainties would bring the resilience. The mechanisms of sustainable development need to employ the pastoral nomadic approach at various levels of intervention. The methods of returning, retaining, restoring, redistributing, reimagining and re-envisioning of the social space needs to integrate pastoral nomadic mobility in its functioning.

This research traces the political economy of the pastoral nomads from the ancient, medieval, to modern history and comments on the ongoing discourse on the pastoral nomads in India by designating the western ghats as the site of the research. One of the important methods, it employs is comparative method. It helps in systematic comparative analysis of the local, regional and national issues of the political economy (Byres 1995, 509). The systematic analysis comparison between the pastoral nomadic mode of production and the sedentary agricultural mode of production identifies the loopholes in the political economy approach of many developing democracies in the world. Rather than considering the economic model of the state as base developmental model in comparative studies of the countries offer fragile picture of the development and growth. The extension of the comparative method in studying the local economic model, as it is demonstrated in this thesis, provide more programmatic understanding of the development. The comparative study of the major engines of the economic growth helps in assessing the participation and contribution of the stakeholders in the polity. The post independent political economy needs to be probed to find out the how the conservative landowning elites resorted to conveniently maintain their supremacy in the economy. The political equality ensured through the universal adult suffrage needs to be understood with the social and economic equality. The nature of the regional political mobilizations as well as the mobilizations during the national elections deserves probing from the comparative analysis. In Europe, the political regime shares the interests with the agricultural mode of production and benefits the agrarian elites in the social, economic and political realms (Meadwell 1991, 405). The thesis leads to produce a rational understanding political regionalism. In India, regionalism is not seen from the political point of view, rather it is employed as one of the major strategies to bargain for the socio-economic incentives for the state or the region. While doing that, the mobilizations largely rely on the homogenous-unanimous approach towards the national governments. The regional elites weave all the regional aspirations in a priority of their convenience. Such

approach of the bargaining of the federal affairs skips the rational approach towards the regional aspirations. The comparative study of the agricultural as well as pastoral nomadic sync such aspiration and offers rational choices of political mobilizations at the regional and local level.

The rational choice at regional politics leads to reform the economy. The reformative economy further reforms polity. In China, initially economic reforms were aimed at integrating the local and regional into political thereby forming the Chinese polity though the constitution of 1978 (Bennett 1985).

The comparative method relies on the historical approach and empirical approach leads to explore the ways in which a communitarian society is established. The study on the pastoral nomadic communities in relation to the sedentary castes is also an attempt to follow this method, thereby enhancing the horizons of the comparative study in India. The ignorance towards the comparative analysis at local and regional levels hides the reasons for the economic imbalances in academics. Rather this ignorance perpetuates regional inequalities. This study identifies two major sources of the mode of productions that distributes goods and services in the traditional economy of India. As the politics in the post-Independent India dominated by the agricultural elites, the other distributor, the pastoral nomads, of goods and services neglected and competitiveness that pastoral economy may have in reforming the economy has remained under-researched. Therefore, this research opened the gates wherein the distributors in the markets and the commodities of the consumption change.

This thesis also wants to build the political capital for the pastoral nomads in the markets. The good and services that are transacted in the market rely on the political capital. The criminalization of the pastoral nomads during the British India took away their political capital. The criminalization doubted the reliability of the product and created the suspicion in the minds of the buyer about the product. The buyer seems to buy the product which has social and economic capital. Political capital endorses the productivity of the product in realizing the intended interests in a particular political system (Nee and Oppen 2010, 2107). The criminality and its furtherance in post-colonial society marginalized the capacity and questioned the confidence of the pastoral nomadic sellers in the economy. The sedentary networks that endorse the political capital of the community found the tradability in the

market. The comparative analysis of these transactions needs historical understanding where the origin of the inequalities in trading stems from.

The comparative empirical inquiry from the historical point of view explores the how the geographical cartography is adjusted in the regional political economies of the state. The second chapter of this thesis employs comparative empirical inquiry in understanding how the geographical affection operates the political capital in favour of the sedentary castes. The shift in the micro-foundations of the commodity production reassembles the value chains in the particular geography (Sheppard 2011). Therefore, the first chapter explores the micro-foundations of the social space. The two major pillars – pastoral nomadic and the sedentary-determine the micro-foundations of the economy in historical sense. The foundations of the pastoral economy blurred in the course of times as the political capital it requires to survive concentrated in the sedentary castes through a process of foreign colonization. The pastoral nomadic space is a comparative political analysis that rethinks and retells the various systems, associated regimes and its institutions and thereby reclaim the space. The nomadicity connects the sedentary castes which largely represents the agrarian elites to the global economic centres. The post-colonial theory from the point of this elites, many times, disguise the comparative studies. This largely results in making the only the agricultural mode of production a norm under the comparative politics. The use comparative method at national and regional level offset such homogenizing efforts which blurs the multiplicity of the actors in the economy. Pastoral nomadic perspective is one the such attempts at the micro level. The comparative method leads to reclamation and recovery. Reclamation deals with the history of political science to give resurgence to and guide the future research with pragmatism (Farr 1999). The chronopolitics of the state passes through a continuous structural and functional change in its systems and functions. The state traces its past through chronopolitics. To understand the chronopolitics, the theorization of the its regions and institutions is necessary. This thesis, rather than simply accepting the growth of the state in terms of institutions, exposes the growth that has inclined in favour of the settled castes. The western ghats as one of the regions of the state of India and its comparison with other regions and sub regions would build a comparative history, comparative political economy, comparative linguistic discourse.

To undertake a comparative study of politics in India, the pastoral nomadic approach will help in uncovering the various political processes and its specific contours. Therefore, this

research is not conclusive at this stage and attempts to inspire debates and discussions in the future on the pastoral nomadic space in relation to sedentary space.

The study will continue and will try to bring various regions of India under its fold. This research will also examine the crisscrossed linearities across the regions. The Himalayas, North-Eastern Region, Eastern region and so on deserves the political inquiry from the pastoral nomadic approach. The pastoral nomadic perspectives in various regions of India will help in exploring the political culture, political processes, political mobilizations and regional political economies, etc. This will pave the way for democratizations at various levels that is expected in the Constitution of India.

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