Consortium for Research on
Educational Access,
Transitions and Equity

South Asian Nomads - A Literature Review

Anita Sharma

CREATE PATHWAYS TO ACCESS
Research Monograph No. 58

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University of Sussex
Centre for International Education

Create

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List of Acronyms

ABL	Activity-Based Learning
ADBI	Asian Development Bank Institute
CREATE	Consortium for Research on Educational Access Transitions and Equity
DNT	Denotified Tribes
EFA	Education For All
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
NGO	Non Governmenal Organisation
NLM	National Literacy Mission
ODL	Open and Distance Learning
OUP	Oxford University Press
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
Rs	Rupees
RTE	The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education
RPK	Rural People’s Knowledge
RLEK	Rural Litigation and Entitlement Kendra
SSA	Sarva Siksha Abhyan
SC	Scheduled Castes
ST	Scheduled Tribes
TRFA	The Forest Rights Act 2006

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Preface

India passed the Right to Education Act in 2009 and committed the state to ensure that all chidren from 6-14 years of age have access to basic education. Though most primary school age children in India do enrol in school; as many as half fail to complete the elementary cycle successfully. In addition there are small numbers of children who never enrol and many of these are found in communities with livelihoods that require movement from place to place. The term nomads if often used to describe such communities. There are over 350 such groups formally identified in India.

This monograph explores the issues that surround access to education for nomads. It notes the apparent paradox that though materially poor many nomads have high levels of knowledge and skill about the environment that sustains them. This knowledge and skill is acquired outside any formal school system. But those who do participate in conventional schooling may be less capable of maintaining a viable nomadic lifestyle and risk becoming part of an underclass on the periphery of mainstream society. The monograph details several different approaches to making education available to school age children including mobile schools. It also notes that Jammu and Kashmir has been excluded from the right to education act – an omission that seems to compromise the rights of those nomads who live there. The monograph provides much food for thought about how to deliver promises on access to education in ways that are sympathetic to ways of life that will continue to be under threat as the Indian State modernises.

Keith Lewin
Director of CREATE
Centre for International Education
University of Sussex

Summary

This review of literature on South Asian nomads is part of a series of monographs on educational access published by the Consortium for Research on Educational Access Transitions and Equity (CREATE). In the context of India, most recent work has focused on access to the education system for the poor. CREATE research in India has focused on nutrition (Sood, 2010), governance (Govinda and Bandyopadhay, 2010; Little, 2010) and dropout (Anugula and Reddy, 2010) as well as seasonal distress migration (Smita, 2008). The focus on seasonal migration in recent years has yielded results in the form of a proposed amendment to the government's SSA policy framework in July 2007. Through this amendment, the government of India has made mapping migration-prone geographies, and educational coverage of migrant children a mandate for all states. The aspect of mobility of these families has also been recognised. It is now a requirement for administrations in both sending and receiving areas to work together to ensure schooling of migrant children (Ibid). This monograph focusing on communities *who migrate voluntarily as part of their way of life*, proposes to further refine this initiative, offering insights into how educational access can best be widened in a culturally sensitive manner for South Asian nomads. Children of nomads largely fall into CREATE's zone of exclusion 1, as they are denied any access to education. The conceptual framework of CREATE acknowledges that expansion of formal schooling can enrol only a proportion of these children (Lewin, 2007); this monograph attempts to understand nomadism, and then explores how their basic education needs can be addressed.

This review makes available an information base and findings of different research studies on the region's nomads, with a specific focus on the problems of access to education for mobile peoples. In the section *Nomadism: A General Introduction* the attempt is to define nomadism and discuss some characteristics of nomadic cultures, and the evolution of ideas on nomads in literature. *Nomadism in South Asia* outlines the main features of nomadism in the region. The subsection *Criminals by birth* briefly describes the historical injustices done to South Asian nomads and the policies and regimes that have made this possible. In *Nomads and the changing urban and rural landscape* there is a discussion on the increasingly estranged relations of nomads with urban and rural populations, not because this is the 'natural' state of things, as may be perceived, but rather owing to the increasing marginalisation of nomads in policy and planning; this is demonstrated by a review of specific policies and their impact on nomads in *Ignored in policy*. The sub-section *Lines of flight* is a term borrowed from the inventive French philosophers Deleuze and Guattari (1986, 1987), the creator of the idea of Nomadology: theorising a dynamic relationship between sedentary power and "schizophrenic lines of flight". I examine what these may be for nomads. I ask that while nomads are being systematically marginalised by nation-states and developers, what is it that nomads envision as a way out? The answer in the literature reviewed is a way out through education. This is both a reaffirmation of the purpose with which CREATE was set-up — to "increase knowledge and understanding of the reasons why so many children fail to access and complete basic education successfully" — as much as it is indicative of a need to re-examine the so called transformational possibilities of education from the point of view of the *periphery,* such as nomads.

Nomads have learnt that in the present political climate, access to education and health facilities provided by states is contingent on their willingness to sedentarise — instigating them to part with the aspect of their culture many consider fundamental — forcing them also to compromise or altogether abandon those specialised production strategies that still offer the highest returns in their operating conditions. It is this idea that is explored in *Mobility, a*

cultural signifier. The sub-section *Manners and morals* (a term borrowed from Rao) endeavours to compile the available information on significant cultural features linked to nomads.

The section *Nomads and Education* is a discussion on how nomads find it increasingly difficult to negotiate with the outside world with their traditional skills and knowledge, and seek external educational inputs to support their process of adaptation. *Education for minority elite* inspects how the entire schooling system in the region transmits the dominant culture. *Education and sedentarisation* is a look at how rigid perceptions of ‘development’ are a conditional offer for nomads, the condition being sedentarisation. While options are discussed, it is argued that primary education, at least, should not automatically imply sedentarisation, and in this regard the mobile schools of Jammu and Kashmir are innovative steps in the right direction. There is a brief discussion on how curricula must adjust to local needs and capacities, and that education must be more creative and practice oriented. .

Alternative Models of Education attempts to bring out some exemplary practices in alternative education aimed at mobile peoples. These alternative models, that range from schools on boats in Bangladesh and India, to schools in vans in Siberia, have endeavoured to incorporate elements of local knowledge with a context specific and sensitive approach.

South Asian Nomads - A Literature Review

1. Introduction

The literature on South Asian nomads is scarce. Research on individual countries is even more sparse and varying in quality, and is spread across time and geographies, making it difficult to get a larger view. Apart from the body of work by Rao and Casimir (and their associates), authors of studies on South Asian nomads and co-editors of *Nomadism in South Asia* (2003) — the OUP reader that has brought much needed academic visibility to the millions of South Asians who use mobility both as a survival strategy and as a cultural signifier — few academics or institutions have devoted single minded attention to the life and times of nomads in the region. This is paradoxical considering South Asia is home to the world's largest and most diverse nomadic population (Rao and Casimir 2003). Yet, it is the nomads in Africa and the Middle East that have been under far greater research scrutiny[1].

The peripatetic artisans and entertainers of Pakistan are studied by Berland whose work gives us insights gained by having followed specific families for over 20 years of ethnographic research (1982, 1987, 2003, 2004). His approach is noteworthy in directing attention towards a context-relative theory of cognitive performance and is an important contribution to cross-cultural studies of cognition and socialisation (see especially 1982). The Sherpas of Khumbu, Nepal are studied by Brower (1991, 2003). The work of historian Chetan Singh (1998 among others) work on Himachali pastoralists, and Gooch's (1988, 1998, 2004) efforts in documenting the Van Gujjars of Uttranchal and their political mobilisation to access resources is also noteworthy. The Raikas of Rajasthan (called Rabaris in Gujarat) have been researched by Agrawal (1992, 1993, 1994, 1999 and 2003).

The research on South Asian nomads is mainly centred on pastoralists, and chiefly investigates aspects of 'nature' and 'culture', but, with some exceptions, is silent on issues relating to health, education and development. The gap in education is perhaps best addressed by the works of Dyer and associates (2006), who have had a sustained interest in the region's nomads, and most significantly on the Rabaris of Rajasthan. Her work is exceptional considering that most education and development oriented research views the lack of education/development among nomads as a singular problem that needs to be addressed, while ignoring the aspect of mobility as inherent in the life of nomads and their culture.

The archaeologist-historian Ratnagar (2004) and Heredia and Ratnagar (2003) has given us perhaps the most diachronic insights on nomadic peoples of the region. We learn about the fluidity in reliance systems and human adaptation to these, and how the idea of being mobile or sedentary is not set in stone, and how nomadic cultures have had an impact on much larger spheres in South Asia. Yet, even from the most cursory glance at bibliographies of nomadic studies, or at the contents of *Nomadic Peoples*, a journal solely focused on nomads, what is clear is that an overwhelming amount of research on nomadic peoples, especially pastoralists, is singularly devoted to the area of sustainable ecology, rangeland management, pasturage, grazing, and its relation to environmental degradation — as if to justify mobile pastoralism. While the significance of this work can scarcely be underestimated, what becomes clear is that South Asian nomads have attracted little attention *in themselves*: characteristics of their society and culture, their rich knowledge traditions and its transference, their strategies of

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1 The first study aimed at a holistic overview was the report of the Mogadishu 1978 Seminar on Basic Education for Nomads.

flexibility and resilience, their music and lore, their institutions and organisations all remain gravely understudied and unrepresented in literature.

More focused research on specific kinds of nomads, especially non-pastoral nomads, is severely lacking. Some of this gap especially on peripatetics was addressed by the first International Symposium on Peripatetic Peoples in 1985. This was followed by three collections of papers dealing with the cross-cultural manifestations of peripatetics[2]. With reference to South Asia (including Afghanistan), the works of Rao (1987) and Berland (1987) have been especially significant. The term "peripatetics" was coined by Berland and was a manifestation of Simmel's (1908, published 1950) use of the trader as a prototype for his essay "The Stranger", and has also been instrumental in developing a concept of the "customary strangers" (in Rao and Berland, 2004).

There is almost *no* research on sea nomads, especially on fully nomadic 'pagan' ones, "a type no longer thought to exist" (Sorenson, 1998) but in fact do, as the author reveals after two chance encounters around the Andamans and the southern coast of Burma. After decades of ethnographic research in West Asia, Berland (2003) reports another paradox based on his fieldwork in the Punjab (Pakistan):

> Almost every village, and most neighbourhoods in each of the towns and cities ... is visited at least twice annually by small groups, from at least eight distinct communities of peripatetic entrepreneurs. Given their perdurable vitality and pervasiveness, I find it interesting, challenging, often frustrating to note that I have yet to encounter a village study that either systematically records the visits of peripatetic artisans and entertainers, or calculates the impact, if any, of their transactions on the village economy or social organisation. While the countless villagers of my experience acknowledge, and often anticipate, the seasonal arrival of the nomadic specialists who pass through their neighbourhoods, it seems as if these tenebrous others are invisible to visiting ethnographers (Berland, 2003:108, also see Clifford, 1997).

Indeed the marginalisation of nomadic peoples is clearly reflected in the research on South Asia, which has largely prioritised the village as the locus of investigation over other areas. Studies on religion, caste, aspects of kinship and stratification, social movements, and sedentary tribal populations of the subcontinent have attracted much greater interest from social scientists. Nomads remain unrepresented in the volumes of Subaltern Studies as well — ironically, an endeavour specifically aimed at correcting the historical wrong of continued marginalisation within academic literature.

In education and development research among the marginalised, nomads are too often ignored and it is the tribes, 'lower' castes and people living in rural poverty that largely represent this section — the otherwise excellent *PROBE Report* is a case in point, also the *Oxford Handbook of Poverty in India*. According to Blench (2000) Indian pastoralism is the worst documented of all pastoral populations. Social science largely continues to represent and study communities as bounded and static rather than dynamic and mobile.

In the past two decades, however, studies such as the ones mentioned above have brought the rich culture and acute marginalisation of nomadic peoples to the fore. This body of work has made it possible to push for a more systematic campaign towards their inclusion in provisions of health and education and advocate for greater recognition of their culture and way of life, both in and outside the academy.

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[2] Who have also been referred to as "non-food producing nomads" (Rao, 1982), "symbiotic nomads" (Misra, 1977 in Berland and Rao, 2004), "the motley others" (Ingold, 1986) and again, Rao's (1987) "the other nomads".

The establishment of the Nomadic Commission, a temporary commission set up by the ministry of Justice and Empowerment, Government of India, with the aim to examine the marginalisation of nomads and propose recommendations towards their inclusion is a case in point; as is the growing political mobilisation of nomadic peoples in certain parts of India such as Maharashtra and Uttranchal. Internationally, report by UNESCO (1989) marked a renewal of research interest on nomads in general, however, again, reports from international agencies are mainly on Africa and noteworthy for the lack of space dedicated to South Asian nomads.

With relation to education, in the present time, national and international bodies are in anticipation of the deadline of achieving Millennium Development Goal No. 2 (UN-MDG, 2001) that promises Education for All (henceforth EFA) by 2015. India has recently made basic education a fundamental right for every child, and South Asia as a whole has made steady progress towards meeting MDG 2 (UNESCO, 2008, for India also see *Probe Report*). However, even if we simply look at the yardstick of enrolment in school, governments are slowly realising that nomadic groups — often grouped with migratory labourers and classified as ‘migrants’— challenge the possibility of success in achieving MDG 2. This is over and above the fact that even today many nomadic communities are not even part of the census and remain surprisingly invisible and un-enumerated as citizens (Rao and Casimir, 2003, Dyer 2006, Sharma, 2009).

For India, this is especially embarrassing, as it harbours ambitions of being a superpower in the near future, yet is today equally infamous for having in its folds among the largest number of poor and uneducated peoples of any nation[3]. India has launched various schemes to correct this imbalance. The Sarva Siksha Abhyan (henceforth SSA) is an effort that aims to universalise primary education in the country. But serious shortcomings in both the conceptual and practical side of SSA and the global monitoring of the MDGs remain. Undeniably, the conceptual framework of education in India is undergoing a shift and gradually gearing itself to address the problems of its marginal populations with regard to education. Yet, according to Dyer (2006) the progress made is slower in comparison to Africa especially with regard to policy awareness and nomadic education. As a region, by simply looking at the sheer numbers, it is clear that South Asia has much to gain from addressing the imperative of inclusion of nomads into the development framework.

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3 India is home to 260 million poor people, the largest number in any single country. 81% of the poor in the country belong to the socially disadvantaged groups like scheduled castes (SC), scheduled tribes (ST) and Other Backward Castes (OBC) (in the years 1999-2000). 47% of children are malnourished and 74% are anaemic. (Ray, 2006). The percentage of people going hungry in India hasn't budged in 20 years, according to the 2010 U.N. Millennium Development Goals report.

Box 1: Nomad Numbers

INDIA: India alone is estimated to have a nomadic population of at least 60 million (between 7-10% of the population) (National Convention, 2005 in Krätli & Dyer, 2009). According to the chairperson of NCDNSNT, the above-mentioned nomadic commission, Balkrishna Sidram Renke, there are 11 crore (a crore is 10 million) Denotified, Nomadic and Semi-Nomadic people in India.

AFGHANISTAN: According to Morton (2008), 6% of the total population of the country are nomadic pastoralists: 1.5 million people (Krätli and Dyer, 2009).

PAKISTAN: No figures are available but include "significant concentrations of pastoralists", estimates to be in the millions, especially in Balochistan and North West Frontier Province (Krätli & Dyer, 2009).

BANGLADESH: No numbers available, but "gypsies are a significant element of the social landscape" (van Beurden, 2007 in Krätli and Dyer, 2009). "The Bede in Bangladesh estimate their total population to be 1.2 million, while official estimates put their number at around half a million, as the government does not recognise those without fixed addresses and many Bede live on boats that ply the country's rivers." (Ibid). The Bede people are also known as 'water/river gypsies'. According to IIAS Newsletter 2007, however, by Bede's own estimates there were 1.5 million in 1987. 90% of the Bede are highly mobile. "Traditionally snake charmers and performers, as well as healers, they move in some 10,000 nomadic groups around the year, in Bangladesh and also across into India, and gather in about 65 areas in Bangladesh for two months. About 98% of them live below the poverty line; more than 95% are not literate; and over 90% are disenfranchised, lacking either the tax registration or school leaving certificate required to be eligible to vote. They are socially excluded and stigmatised, and yet unrecognised by the government of Bangladesh as a specific ethnic group. Therefore they receive no positive discrimination to ameliorate their situation" (Maksud and Rasul, 2006 in Krätli and Dyer, 2009).

While the Bede boats have been granted a pride of place in Bangladeshi heritage the Bede people remain largely un-enumerated.

NEPAL: Brower (1991) Notes that in the Kumbha there are about 3,000 Sherpas, many of whom herd yak. The Kumbha is a region of rugged mountains and extends into Tibet. The total nomadic population of Nepal is unknown. Sherpas are now increasingly turning to tourism as a means of livelihood. Other pastoral communities like the Gurang, moved to the lower valleys due to environmental and demographic changes and became farmers (Messerschmidt, 1976 in Dangwal, 2009).

BHUTAN: Nomadic herders in Bhutan live in the alpine/cool temperate areas and keep yaks and sheep. They live in Dzongkhags of Haa, Thimphu, Paro, Gasa, Wangdue Phodrang, Bumthang and Trashigang. Pastoralists in the east also herd cattle as in the region of Haa in western Bhutan. Numbers are unknown (Moktan *et al* 2008).

Box 1 contd

SRI LANKA: Vadda nomads or the so-called “aboriginal” are peoples live in poor conditions, in the area of Bintanna and Maha Oya. The most important Western representation of the Vadda that set the stamp for later characterisations comes from Robert Knox who for the first time in 1681 “typologised” the Vadda as the “wild man” according to Obeyesekere[4]. He, however, rejects this claim and proposes there were no “aboriginal” people in Sri Lanka. The Vadda were grouped as hunter-gatherers but also practice swidden cultivation, even keeping cattle, while some Vadda live in close contact with neighbouring Sinhalas. Their numbers are known to have drastically come down in the 19th and 20th centuries, Obeyesekere writes:

> “Many had been physically decimated by an epidemic of fever (perhaps the flu) around 1809, according to oral histories ... after the rebellion of 1818 those Sinhalas and Vaddas living in the vast area known as the Vadi Rata and Maha Vadi Rata died during the resistance or fled elsewhere, some to the hills and others to the Batticaloa district where many of them became absorbed into the Tamil communities in that area. Coffee and later tea took over the wild country where many Vaddas lived, especially the area of Namunukula right down to Passara. What happened to them and many others living in the hill country is anybody's guess”.

Finally, research on nomadism has witnessed a gradual increase in empirical detail but is strikingly bereft of any theoretical underpinnings. Scholars such as Ingold (1985) note that hardly any development on the level of theory that might allow us to discover the common principles underlying this diversity have been made. Few scholars have attempted to conceptualise nomadism. As Ingold notes, “theory building is low on (the) scale of priority” when given the more immediate fate of nomads. The research on nomadism is also plagued by the “heavy regional concentration” attached to this area of study. Research on mobile peoples should reflect the interlinking dynamics of nomadism.

Khazonav suggests that pastoral nomadism is also historically adaptive in the sense that it developed in the context of the formation of state societies, “the change in which may dramatically affect its future evolution” (Kazonav 1984 in Balland 1991:7). Balland looks at the evolution of the migratory patterns of eastern Afghan nomads to and from the Indian subcontinent in the last 100 years to exemplify the primacy of external political factors in the transformation of pastoral society. His work also demonstrates the continuity of ‘South Asian nomadism’ beyond its political borders, and demonstrate how political borders — and other sedentary frameworks — seldom reflect cultural or economic ones especially for nomads. The influence of Afghan nomads on South Asia was considerable, so much so that it penetrated into popular culture and was eulogised in a legendary short-story by Tagore (Quayum, 2009).

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[4] (http://www.artsrilanka.org/essays/vaddaprimitivism/index.html). Gananath Obeyesekere is Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at Princeton University.

However, with political changes in the Subcontinent, this once enduring link has faded from the recent mind, establishing Salzman's significant claim that "politics *sensu lato* prevails over all other factors" for nomads (Balland 1991). The title of this review on 'South Asian' nomads is thus itself incongruent with nomadism considering the ramifications of political boundaries on the lives of nomads[5].

The problems faced by South Asian nomads find an echo in the ongoing trials and tribulations faced by the Roma people in Europe as they make news headlines on a daily basis as I write this review. One idea of conceptualising the universal and systematic marginalisation of nomads in the nation state regime — and the mechanisms adopted by states for their sustained marginalisation — is through the "State of Exception" proposed by the Italian philosopher Agamben (2005). Agamben explains how through the mechanism of the exception, totalitarianism can be defined as the restoration of law, by means of the state of exception, as a *legal* device which allows for the elimination not only of political enemies but of civil citizens which for several reasons cannot be *integrated* into the political system. Agamben notes that the creation of a permanent state of exception, seldom officially declared, has, willy-nilly become one of the *essential tasks of the modern state*. I briefly discuss the state of exception with relation to the current situation of nomads in the concluding paragraphs of the review, that I hope to use as a key conceptual tool in my research on mobile education of the nomadic pastoral Bakkarwals of Jammu and Kashmir, India — a region where the otherwise fundamental right of education to every Indian child is not applicable *by law*.

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[5] This case is also noteworthy in demonstrating the adaptive, multi-resource strategies used by nomads and their substantial influence on markets in recent history. According to Balland (1991) the policies to regulate nomads are an echo in all colonial attitudes towards nomadism, such as the containment policy introduced by the French in Algeria after 1869, or the reserve policy of the Germans then taken up again by the British in present day Tanzania.

2. Nomadism

The word “nomad” is etymologically identical with “pastoralism”, and derives from a Greek term meaning “to pasture”. “Pastoralism”, in turn derives from the Latinic term *pastor* and refers to raising livestock. Thus, the first meaning given to “nomad” in the Oxford English Dictionary recorded by quotes since 1587 is “a person belonging to a race or tribe which moves from place to place to find pasture; hence, one who lives a roaming or wandering life.” However, anthropologists have found it useful to distinguish between the two components — raising livestock on natural pastures and the element of constant mobility — of the term “nomad”, referring to raising livestock on natural pastures as pastoralism and the element of constant mobility as “nomadism” (Salzman, 2002)[6].

Being nomadic does not imply wandering aimlessly. Instead nomadic movement is highly precise and calculated and aimed at achieving targeted objectives and goals. They are experts at maximising the use of rangelands, a capability demonstrated by numerous research studies (Galaty and Johnson, 1990). Furthermore, people are nomadic within a specific range of territory, which they are accustomed to and have knowledge of, and an area to which they thus, have at least a measure of political claim (Galaty and Johnson, 1990; Salzman, 2002; Rao and Casimir, 2003).

The reach of nomadic pastoralism is immense. While nomadism is perhaps most widespread today in far-flung, remote and unpopulated regions, it is also found in more crowded and developed regions. Some nomadic populations occupy remote regions, environmentally marginal and distant from centres of civilisation and power, but other nomadic pastoral populations like the Bakkarwals, Gaddis and Gujjars migrate through regions of agricultural settlements and pass, and even stop at, major cities and towns. Stopovers at markets may in fact determine some of the routes taken by nomads. Thus nomads have long negotiated both wilderness and busy settlements. Rao and Casimir (2003) write that in times when settlements were few, roads limited, and communication over long distances rare, nomads were seen to be the carriers of news, goods and resources from other societies.

Nomadism itself emerges from an environmental and cultural context and may or may not be exclusively practised. Emphasising the fluidity and exchange among seemingly disparate groups, Ratnagar (2004) writes that even rural economies cannot be reduced to agricultural production; “The livestock input, extent of nomadic or agropastoralism, or specialised pastoralism also needs to be examined”. She adds that mobile pastoralism takes on a special relevance in times of drought or famine.

Pastoralist production can also impinge on urban economies when it comes to markets and trading for meat, leather products or wool. Additionally, intensive cultivation or unsustainable collection of timber for fuel and other uses in the urban fringes and surroundings would in turn have an impact on pastures and grazing. Also, the relation between pastoralists with settled groups have a significant impact on trade, for political processes, as well as for detribalisation. Ultimately, there are also cultural symbols and the amalgamation of pastoral cults into the religious representations of the literati (Ratnagar, 2004)

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[6] However, both definitions are a compromise on what they emphasise (for details and confusions on nomadic terminology see Kazanov 1994).

Similarly, tracing the cultural hybridity of the Vaddas and Buddhists, and their links to other Sri Lankan communities Obeyesekere (2001) notes that the mortuary rites in the practical religion of Buddhists are “very likely derived from Vadda ideation” and hints at a cultural hybridity that goes both ways (also see Casimir and Rao, 2004)[7]. Perhaps, as Salzman (2002) notes, “sedentary” and “nomadic,” rather than being perceived as two distinct types, are better understood as “opposite ends of a continuum with many gradations of stability and mobility”.

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[7] “But this affirmation of hybridity is not that of our postmodern situation where one can self-consciously affirm one's fragmented and hybridised identity. The Sri Lankan historical conjuncture is but a phase in a larger movement from Vadda to Buddhist, accelerated in our own times where the dominance and new hegemonic intolerance of Buddhism cannot be gainsaid, quite unlike in the past where Buddhists also could become Vaddas”. Gananath Obeyesekere (2001) is Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at Princeton University.

3. Nomadism in South Asia

South Asia has the world's largest nomadic population. Nowhere else is there such a variety of creatures systematically herded … nor is the diversity of peripatetic professions to be matched (Rao, 2003).

Rao and Casimir (2003) write that even though we have come to perceive of the civilised as those who live sedentary, settled lives, the idea of motion in fact runs deep in India culture and history: the timeless wheel, the wandering *bhikshus* (monks, mendicants), *jhum* (rotation) cultivation, settlements in steady flux, sages, pilgrims, mobile fairs and *haat* bazaars (travelling, open-air markets), itinerant singers and performers; bards and tellers of myths, all, underpin the idea of movement. We could add South Asian rivers to this list, who are personified goddesses that travel across the parched land giving it life, and the centrality of the *vahan*, the vehicles of gods, in Hindu mythology (Sharma, 2009). Among several early Indian texts such as the *Mahabharata*, the Tamil *Tolkappiyam* — perhaps the oldest extant South Asian literary work (ca. 5th-6th century B.C.) — mentions various types of nomads such as peddlers, dancers, itinerant minstrels and dramatists (Berland and Rao, 2004).

The element of nomadism in itself does not determine caste hierarchy in South Asia. The classification of nomads into castes and tribes being a rather random process where at times the same community could be a tribe in one state and classified as a caste in another. Gardner (2003:142) writes that in specific religious contexts, "the hunter-gatherer Paliyans have been accorded a paradoxically high degree of ritual purity by some Hindus, which might have a complex relation to wandering ascetics". However, this status is not generalised in ways that would elevate their rank in other kinds of encounters with sedentary peoples. The illiterate pastoral Rabaris enjoy a high position in the caste hierarchy, but find themselves disadvantaged in comparison to educated members from otherwise 'lower' castes and tribes who have benefited from affirmative action (Dyer and Choksi, 2006:169). Unlike most sedentary populations in Pakistan, the notion of *zat/caste* has very little meaning in determining social organisation for the Qalandar (Berland, 1982:84-86). Berland notes that like other nomads, the Qalandar rely on flexibility in social organisation, emphasising the absence of strong political authority or hereditary office, pliability in-group membership, and individual (and not lineage or group) skills in subsistence activities. The notion of *biradari* — similar to the anthropological notion of maximal and minimal lineage — is used more as an organising principle within the community. Kinship is a component of the alliance among tents owing to *biradari* and *zat* endogamy. Kin affiliation beyond the tent depends upon how a person wishes to trace affiliation based on what will best serve his interest at a given time.

Kavoori (1999) observes that it is not always accurate to regard nomadic 'communities' as such, since individual members of entire families may stay behind in the camp or village (for several reasons like taking care of the very young, very old and ill, and in many nomadic pastoral communities women in any case do not migrate to the highest pastures), while at the same time individuals among so called sedentary communities may migrate much more frequently and longer in certain years for a variety of economic and ecological reason.

A related concept is that of the *perception* of nomadism itself. Rao and Casimir (2003) discuss that there are communities such as the Gaddis whose mainstay may continue to be nomadic pastoralism but in their self-perception they are not nomadic. Even the Mughal imperial capital (comparable to the 'wandering capitals' of Ethiopia) could be classified as nomadic owing its frequent movements but is not perceived as such by its inhabitants. On the other hand, the self-image of the Raika of Rajasthan is as much that of ‘wanderers in the wilderness’ as that of ‘hamlet-dwellers’ (Ibid). Rao and Casimir (2003) thus conclude that the quality, distance and frequency of movement alone do not determine the (self)-perception or perception by others of any community as nomadic. As Spooner (1973 in Rada and Neville Dyson-Hudson, 1980) sums up, there are no features of culture or social organisation that are universal to all nomads or even that are found exclusively among nomads.

If Spooner is correct, the question arises as to why nomads — pastoralists, peripatetic, hunters and gatherers, foragers, entertainers, acrobats and a host of other communities who practice constant spatial mobility as a permanent and often ‘traditional’ lifestyle for sustenance — continue to be a topic of discussion and some academic scrutiny. I propose that the category nomad continues to be relevant and in fact *necessary* because of two main reasons: the first being that the particularism of constant mobility is used by many peoples as a *unique cultural signifier*. Unlike forced migrants who find themselves moving from place to place because of harsh circumstances, nomads use mobility to *distinguish* themselves culturally from others (Berland, 2003). However, even within academic literature on nomads, many studies do not mark this all-important threshold, and migrants are often grouped together with nomads[8]. The other basis being that the specificity of constant mobility, as a way of life, is at odds with modern development frameworks aimed at nomads that are embedded in and, in fact, biased towards a sedentary lifestyle. As numerous studies on nomads including Gooch’s (1998:41) notes, nomads simply do not fit into the “modern project” of development. The challenge for the future, write Dyer and Choksi (2006), is to change this perception. The two factors mentioned here have a significant bearing on each other. As non-specialist academic literature has not been careful to distinguish cultural nomads from forced migrants — who would readily settled down given the circumstances — governments and development officials wrongly perceive that all ‘nomads’ want to do so, and plan provisions and strategies accordingly. This confounds the case for nomads for whom being a nomad is much more than envisioned — it is “a world view” (Berland, 2003:111).

Since 1947, a series of development, industrial, mining, and military projects have uprooted and pauperised nomads in India (Rao and Casmir, 2003). It must be pointed out that nomads across the world are facing a time of siege today, given the increasing pressure on land and the political economy of globalisation**.** This is aggravated by the fact that, perhaps with the possible exception of Mongolia and to an extent Iran (Krätli, 2001), official ‘development’ projects are imposed without a proper assessment of their needs in education, infrastructure and political representation. Conservation programmes benefit only the elites who have appropriated resources after the privatisation of common lands in India. This was all done in the name of sustainable use of resource (Gadgil and Guha, 1992).

But while mainstream ideology and modern legislators advocate sedentary patterns of living as ‘civilised’, at least for semi-arid regions pastoralism remains an efficient subsistence-base (Rao and Casimir, 1992, 2003) and constant mobility as a “best defense” strategy for many peripatetics (Berland, 2003:116). Nomadism continues to be a valid choice for many, and transhumance is growing in areas like Rajasthan (Rao and Casimir, 2003; Randhawa, 1996; Kavoori, 1999). It is for this reason and their systematic marginalisation from development and education initiatives, discussed later, that it remains pertinent to focus on nomads as a unique category. Indeed, the aspect of spatial mobility as a unique cultural signifier is the element that helps classify nomads a category *sui generis*.

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[8] According to the UNICEF Report (2004:56), roughly 20% of the Indian population is considered migrant, of whom 77% are women and children (Govinda and Bandyopadhyay, 2008:57).

Figure 1: Categorisation of nomads in South Asia. Ghumuntu/ Khanabadosh/Pukiwas (Nomads)

1. Hunter-gatherers

2. Khanabadosh/Chaupani/Paliwala (Nomadic Pastoralists)
   a. Semi-settled Pastoralists

3. Paryatan (Peripatetics)
   a. Mirasi (entertainers, bards, genealogists, singers, dancers, prostitutes impersonators)
   b. Jogi, Kanjar (snake-handlers, potion & charm peddlers, terracotta toy makers)
   c. Qalandar (animal trainers, jugglers, acrobats, magicians, impersonators)
   d. Artisans (Chungar or basket and broom makers, Churigar or bangle and jewellery peddlers, Kowli or tinkers peddlers, Gaduliya Lohar or smiths)

4. Qafila/Powindah (Caravaneers, Smugglers, Dacoits)

5. Chuhra/Goghra (Scavengers, Beggars)

6. Chaolay (Sea Nomads)
   a. Semi-settled sea nomads
   b. ‘Pagan’ sea-nomads

Note: Communities are mostly endogamous, have their own language/dialect and legal system (revised from Berland, 1982:380)

3.1 Criminals by Birth

History is always written from the sedentary point of view and in the name of a unitary state apparatus ... even when the topic is nomads. What is lacking is a Nomadology, the opposite of a history. (Deleuze and Guattari, 1987)

In 1871, the British government in India listed certain communities as “criminal” including nomadic cattle grazers, itinerant performers and acrobats. In the famous *Report on the Census of Panjab*, Ibbetson (1882:307 in Berland and Rao, 2004:11) writes: “the wandering and criminal tribes ... and ... the gipsy tribes ... are so much akin that it is impossible to draw any definite line of demarcation”. Another colonial document describing nomads in northern India states:

When a man tells you he is a Buddhuk, or a Kunjur, or a Sunoria... he tells you...that he is an offender against the law; has been so from the beginning, and will be so till the end; that reform is impossible, for it is his trade, his caste, I may almost say his religion to commit crime. (Cssner, 1870, in Ibid)

For the British colonial government pastoral nomads, the itinerant traders and other unsettled communities were different from the settled agriculturists fixed within domiciles. These wandering communities could not be situated within preconceived slots — administrative, economic, and social. They were therefore located as aberrant factors within a more predictable and tractable human landscape, to be 'controlled' through the colonial legal and penal institutions for the maintenance of 'law and order' (Dandekar, 2009). This was the background to the passage to the "Criminal Tribes Act of 1871 or Act XXVII (henceforth CTA). Ironically, these communities were declared "criminal" not long after they had been established as "exceedingly useful members of society" by the same people. Their being labelled as criminal followed the laying of roads and railways after which their "usefulness" was not as acutely required (Berland and Rao, 2004:12). Although the government of independent India officially 'denotified' these tribes in 1952, it made no provisions for their livelihood, and in any case the "Habitual Offenders Act" (1959) was little different from the act that had been repealed. "In practice", write Berland and Rao (2004:12), "This Act gives the police arbitrary powers to even kill members of these communities".

Nomads across the globe too often comprise disenfranchised and marginalised groups who are perceived as, "a threat to the established social order" (Dyer and Choksi, 2006:160). Police and civil atrocities on members of the former criminal tribes are common in contemporary India. Foucault saw such modern form of power as producing biopolitical regimes where states control populations in increasingly intimate spheres of their bodily existence, to the point of producing new forms of subjectivity and even life (Ferme, 2003:89). Nomads, many of whom do not have any documents at all fall easy prey to the disciplining regimes in modern states, for whom special legal mechanisms, such as the Criminal Tribes Act and the Habitual Offenders Act" (1959) are put into play.

Investigating the livelihood strategies of the Bawarias, a nomadic hunting community in Rajasthan, Dutt (2004) informs us how Bawaria huts were burned down by neighbouring villagers because they did not want them to settle there. The sub-inspector informed Dutt (2004) that "even the worst kind of police torture … does not work on them; the Bawarias will always be criminals", (see also Gardner, 2003, Barland, 2003:121). According to Dutt (2004) the Bawarias are keen to settle down owing to a ban on their traditional profession of hunting, but cannot do so because of the strained relations with the sedentary and dominant local populations in the region. Members of the former criminal tribes continue to be criminals in the eyes of state and society and this past history of criminalisation frustrates their chances for either easy assimilation with the 'mainstream' or remaining nomadic. In India, over 150 such communities who were part of the erstwhile criminal tribes face harsh discrimination on a daily basis. The UN has asked India to repeal the Habitual Offenders Act and rehabilitate the denotified tribes (Asian Tribune, 2007).

Interestingly, the legends of origin of many nomadic groups have a recurring theme of "ancestral guilt". This, according to Casimir (1987), is not uncommon among South Asian peripatetic peoples as an explanation of their origin and position in society, and reflects an internalisation of a certain insufficiency in self perception as well.

3.2 Nomads and the changing urban and rural landscape

Berland (2003:122) is of the opinion that rural people "have always seemed more tuned-in to camp etiquette" while urban people, especially those "representing officialdom" intrude often without provocation into the spatial and social boundaries of peripatetic groups. He adds that in his 25 years of working with peripatetics in Pakistan, Afghanistan and parts, these communities have increasingly been subjected to "*lathi* law" (stick law) or what he terms arbitrary actions, "and now must tether tent dogs in order to protect them from being struck or summarily shot". He notes that peripatetics have to now contend with moving further away from their traditional client locales as the urban-industrial sprawl engulfs earlier empty plots of land. Berland (2003:122) adds that the urban milieu, thus, constantly places new premiums on approach and avoidance strategies, boundary markers and more fluid group organisation among nomads. Nevertheless, as we see in the case of the Bawarias, village organisation can pose unique problems of assimilation and boundary maintenance as well.

Nomads who once enjoyed excellent relations with rural farmers are now increasingly perceived as a threat by the same people. Dyer and Choksi (2006:163) write how Rabaris used to sustain migrating animals by offering farmers the dung and urine as fertiliser in exchange for resting places along migratory routes. The farmers welcomed them and even gave them gifts. Their few cash requirements were taken care of by selling *ghee*. With time and the growing pressures on land there is a greater need for more and more hard cash. Ironically, this is mainly fuelled by the success of the state's agricultural policies for farmers. Pastoralists are now being viewed by farmers more as a threat rather than an opportunity; to offset this threat they now impose a fee from pastoralists for squatting on their land (Dyer and Choksi, 2006:163). This is not simply a case of competing for scarce resources but an illustration of the state's bias towards *one way of life over another* and the repercussions of such a standpoint for those who are left out. On the other hand, Berland (2003:112) notes that, peripatetic artisans who trade in clothing, bangles, baskets, sieves and the like; as well as weavers, smiths and genealogists have "regular" ties with specific clients and patrons, and may be included in regular service and gift-exchange (*jajmani*) relations (also Berland, 1982, on Afghanistani peripatetics see Rao, 1988). Gooch (2004) writes how in Himachal Pradesh pastoralists still maintain good relations with their settled "family friends", but these are progressively relations of power where having powerful settled friends is an advantage[9] According to Agrawal and Saberwal (2004:43) Indian pastoralists have not had to deal with the level of impoverishment faced by pastoralists in sub-Saharan Africa, yet, with the decrease in availability of forage, herders are increasingly forced to function in a socially hostile environment discernable from the tendency among pastoralists to migrate as collectives, seen as an essential prerequisite to physical security in herder interactions with potentially hostile settled communities (Agarwal, 1994, 1999).

The equation of relations that nomads traditionally shared with settled peoples have undergone a significant transformation from being one of friends and equals to an association where nomads are increasingly disadvantaged.

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9 "To them they (Gujjars) give 'gifts' of butter and other milk products and receive items such as vegetables or apples ... The Gujjar may take animals for grazing from a settled 'friend' in Himachal – either for the summer or for the winter – and for such services they may obtain ... flour or other necessities which they would otherwise have to buy. The Gujjar also stay with such family friends when going to the village and the high caste (Rajput) Hindus (with whom most of the relationships exist in these cases) keep special utensils for their (Muslim) Gujjar guests. Such 'special friends' may further protect the Van Gujjar in conflicts with other villagers or help them in dealings with the forest administration. For a small Van Gujjar kingroup it provides added security to have — as they said themselves — a 'powerful friend' in a local village" (Gooch 2004 8:2).

3.3 Ignored in policy

The Criminal Tribes Act and the Habitual Offenders Act demonstrate how policy formulations have dehumanised nomads for generations (Dandekar, 2009). Nomads have been ignored in matters of policy in both colonial and post-colonial South Asia, and legal mechanisms have largely favoured settled agriculturalists, urban planning and infrastructural development and forest ecology and preservation. The policies of the Indian government with regard to wildlife conservation involve a ban on grazing, felling, foraging and hunting, and have led many national parks and forest reserves to expel foragers and pastoralists (Rangarajan, 1996a; Gadgil, 2008; Rao, 2002b, for Pakistan see Sidky, 1993b:163). The bias is perceptible and Rao notes that forest departments have been forced to adopt this attitude of alienating pastoralists. Guha and Gadgil (1998) write that the impact of deforestation on Indian hunter-gatherers is one going from “decline to extinction”.

This has also had a catastrophic impact on the lives of many peripatetic communities who earned a living by moving from place to place exhibiting animal acrobatics and tricks, like the communities of Saperas or snake-charmers, and Kalandars/Qalandar, who train animals such as sloth bears and monkeys to perform tricks. Berland (2003:106) has called them the “masters of diversity”. The International Animal Rescue news bulletin reports that on 18th December 2009, a coalition of conservation and animal rescue groups made “animal welfare history” by taking the last dancing bears off the streets of India — bringing an end to a centuries-old tradition that inflicted terrible cruelty on … endangered sloth bears”. However, there was no mention of the centuries old cruelty meted out to the Kalandars[10].

Similarly, nomads who depend on making and selling traditional medicines are sometimes harassed by authorities under the Drugs and Magic Act. And, while the Prevention of Atrocities Act applies to SCs (Scheduled Castes) and STs (Scheduled Tribes), the Act does not apply to Denotified Tribes (DNTs). The Rajasthan Forest Act, 1953, prohibits local communities and traditional foragers to hunt most wild species in the state but grants rights to the “Rulers ... or members of their families” to hunt in specified areas (Rao and Casimir, 2003:153). A national park created in Sri Lanka in 1983 expelled the Vedda and reserved hunting there exclusively for tourists (Stegeborn, 1999 in Rao and Casimir, 2003:153). Nomadic and Denotified tribes were grouped with other advanced sections of the society in the Mandal Commission Report (Budhan, 2000). The 1991 amendment to the Indian Wildlife (Protection) Act 1972, banned trapping of all birds except the crow and has further affected a range of foraging and peripatetic communities such as the Baheliya, the Chirimar (literally bird-killers), the Paydami and some among the Pardi (Gadgil, 2008). These communities have long been working within a bird-market right across South Asia, snaring and selling birds to people who keep them in cages as song birds or let them fly again to gain merit (Ibid). In a recent study the environmental historian Madhav Gadgil (2008) writes:

The enactment of the Wildlife Protection Act of 1972 (paid) no thought also to how the many nomadic communities … dependent on hunting, would subsist once these activities were declared illegal. No attempts were made … to find for them alternative livelihoods. Instead, the Government machinery turned to extorting bribes … to permit them to continue their traditional hunting practices. There is no data on the extent of such corruption. So I attempted to make a rough-and-ready assessment from a Phase Paradhi group of Vidharbha. They report that over 2006-07, forest and police officials have extorted Rs. 1150 in cash and another Rs. 3245 in kind from eight of their families[11].

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[10] The event is widely reported in press, but largely from the animal perspective (International Animal Rescue, 2009). A report by the Wildlife Trust of India gives extensive details of plans to rehabilitate the animals, but says little about the state of the Kalandars whose main source of livelihood has been taken away (Occasional Paper No. 15 Wildlife Trust of India). Apart from providing a “rescue package” to the concerned families, and giving alternative employment to a few men involved in the 400 years old profession. According to Berland (1982:73), however, they go back to the late Vedic period.

To mark a break from the past, the Indian Sate for the first time acknowledged the 'historic injustice' done to the tribal and forest dwelling communities in India through The Forest Rights Act 2006 (TFRA) which confers secure community tenure on "Community Forest Resources" — defined as customary common forest land within the traditional or customary boundaries of the village or seasonal use of landscape in case of pastoral communities, including reserved forests, protected forests and other areas to which the community had traditional access. On such land, pastoralists and other nomads established as forest dwellers will enjoy: "Other community rights of uses or entitlements such as fish and other products of water bodies, grazing (both settled and transhumant) and traditional seasonal resource access of nomadic or pastoralist communities". The TFRA also assigns rights to non-ST forest dwelling communities including many nomadic communities who have traditionally depended on forests[12].

While the change in policy is a welcome shift, much is left to be desired in the practice of the policy adjustment and many communities, including nomads, are not able to access the resources that are rightfully theirs. The most powerful sections of the Act concern the community right to manage, protect and conserve forests, the first step towards a genuinely democratic system of forest management (sections 3(1) (i) and 5). Yet the government and especially the forest department have ignored these community rights and instead treat the Act as if it is purely about individual land rights, which in any case many peoples are not able to establish (Gadgil, 2008).[13]

While this is positive step in acknowledging the condition of certain categories of people beyond the SCs and STs, from the point of view of nomads, it leaves out all communities that cannot be classified either as "forest dwellers" or the former.

As follows, in the present climate of state atrocities on 'non-assimilating' 'traditional' communities nomadic communities are caught in a vicious cycle: those who remain nomadic are unable to access basic development measures as these are designed for sedentary populations, and nomads who would rather settle down given the often harsh environment of remaining nomadic are seldom able to do so because of a severe lack of legal and development measures catering to their needs. Many such peripatetic peoples are reduced to being beggars today. Often, their past label of criminalisation continues to haunt them and nomads are seldom able to foster relations of mutual goodwill and respect with sedentary communities. Other civil society bodies, NGOs, and the administration take on at best a patronising attitude when dealing with nomads — treating them as people who need to be

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[11] While Gadgil gives us some figures on bribes paid by some nomads, he does not explain what the numbers mean to the individuals concerned in terms of economic loss. Agrawal (1994) writes that the Raikas pay about 3% of their total income in bribes and fines during the entire migration cycle. However, this percentage could vary from community to community and might be substantially more for communities with greater reliance on forest reserves and national parks.

[12] for more see www.forestrightsact.com

[13] For details see www.forestrightsact.com/component/content/46?task=view

'reformed', or people who are simply a "nuisance" to the public (Dutt, 2004).[14] Indeed, the fear of many nomads, such as the Rabaris, is scarcely misplaced when they feel that sedantarisation may in fact lead to loss of culture, identity, splitting up of the community, unemployment and adverse economic conditions (Dyer and Choksi, 1998) but as significantly, bearing out the conclusion of other scholars, sedentarisation often lowers levels of health and nutrition (Little and Leslie, 1999). The sweeping proposal of the Nomadic Commission to sedentarise all nomadic communities should therefore be questioned and re-examined.

3.4 Mobility, a Cultural Signifier

Difficult as life may be for many nomads in the present climate of change, the aspect of mobility itself is regarded favourably by most nomadic communities, and the time of mobility as a time that denotes adventure, freedom invigoration, and a good source of rejuvenation for the well-being of both individuals and the larger community (Barth, 1956 in Berland 2003:110). Berland writes that:

> … the meanings implicit in the sequence of activities related to moving, take on almost ritual significance for the Qalandar by symbolising the interplay among mobility, freedom, resourcefulness, and honour, that sustains well-being and binds people together. (Berland, 2003:110)

The Qalandar often emphasise that if someone gave them land and resources and asked them to settled down in one place, they won't be happy. They compare it to a bird being trapped in a golden cage (Berland, 1982:124). Thus while some communities may wish to settle down owing to changed circumstances, it does not take away from the sense of vigour and vitality that nomads derive from their way of life, and should not be construed as such.

Even if mobility among nomads may be viewed by governments, developers and the 'mainstream' as a difficult feature of nomadic existence, nomads themselves derive a sense of their traditional values from movement which gives them self-identification, freedom, well-being, honour and even adventure. Barland (2003:110-111) writes that among the Qalandar in Pakistan, the loss of mobility is a major source of shame, dishonour, loss of respect and well-being, "and ultimately loss of individual, group, community, and even identity, as a people". He writes that mobility is much more than envisioned... and is in fact "a world view"... 'I am a *pukiwas*' (nomad), or 'I am a Qalandar' are "necessary and sufficient statements of identity for those who say them — they explain everything among peripatetics". Gooch (2004) writes of similar sentiments emanating from the Van Gujjars. Hence while it is equally true that there are communities who wish to settle down, as Dutt (2004) reports of the Bawarias, she, however, does not inform us of the larger internal semantic ideas related to movement among the people she reports on.

In the present context nomads such as the Rabaris, however, see their transhumant lifestyle as the cause of their being "left behind". Dyer and Choksi (2006:171) write that, it is this mobility rather than the rigidity of government provisions and the nature of development policies that is viewed by pastoralists, rural communities and educational managers as the reason for Rabaris' 'backwardness'. The Rabaris complain that while they wish to study, there are no provisions for them to do so; and they are ill fitted to fit onto the system because of its nature and timing. The proposition of mobile learning for the Rabaris was insufficient because the education they sought was not literacy within pastoralism. Their view of pastoralism itself as outmoded made them view the idea of mobile learning itself as retrograde, something that would keep them 'backward' (Ibid). Since the adaptation of pastoralism along the commercial lines advocated by the government did not make any sense to them, they sought a way forward, out of pastoralism, associating it with formal schooling of children, with its promise of enhanced status and occupational diversity (ibid). Elsewhere, however, Dyer and Choksi (1998:102) mention that sedentarisation for the Rabaris is indicative of loss of their culture and way of life, splitting up of the community, unemployment and further deprivation. Dyer and Choksi, while insightful on the place and plight of the Rabaris' in the present context, like Dutt, do not inform us of the internal meanings of what mobility actually means to the Rabaris, (apart from its relation to the structures of power), and it is an area worth exploring in future research.[15]

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[14] According to the Indian Administrative Service official in Srinagar, Kashmir, in 2003, "all Bakkarwal movement should be stopped in Kashmir as they are a "nuisance".

Physical mobility is also reported as a strategy frequently employed by nomads to get out of conflict situations and undesirable circumstances, especially when facing police brutality or officialdom (Gardner, 2003:139). Accordingly, both physical and cultural mobility, pliability, flexibility are all hallmarks of nomadic culture and aid their resilience and adaptability in a continuously changing world. Research on nomads should reflect the relationship nomads have with mobility, not least to impress upon states and developers the need for mobility-sensitive mechanisms in health and education; the lack of which, in literature (such as Krätli, 2001), is said to be the single most important factor why nomads often shun such provisions.

3.5 Lines of Flight?

Shepherding in Kangra, Himachal Pradesh in India, is reported to be highly profitable, with herding families being reported as being among the most prosperous land-based peoples in the region (Saberwal, 2003:217). The pastoralists of Himachal Pradesh, have managed to do, "relatively well over the past decades, and admit to an improved access in forage — a reference to the growing political clout of the state's herding communities" (Ibid:214). Political intervention on behalf of individual herders has increased the extent of grazing lands available to them, thereby balancing to an extent the loss of pastures to other competing interests (Ibid:222). While modern states are hostile towards nomadic communities, pastoralists in turn exercise their agency to negotiate with the powers that lie in opposition to their interests. In spite of the growing "alarmist rhetoric" by states, forest departments and wildlife experts, who foretell the ecological disasters awaiting us if pastoralists are encouraged to infiltrate into woods and reserves, "pastoralists are not passive bystanders to this lament"; they, in turn, have used the available loopholes in the 'system' to negotiate by actively engaging with politicians and other resourceful individuals and groups to access resources. Thus, pastoralists have utilised electoral politics and divisions within a state to access both *de jure* and *de facto* rights to pastures, and continue to negotiate and evolve with communities they interact with, forming new and dynamic links and exchange-relations with other communities as new scenarios emerge around them (Agrawal and Saberwal, 2004).[16]

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[15] Dyer and Choksi (1998: 405, 413) briefly mention, however, that "Rabari occupation was hard but much enjoyed by pastoralists, even though it was becoming increasingly difficult to find fodder and water"

[16] Also Saberwal's *Aparna Rao Memorial Lecture*, INTACH (Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage), New Delhi 2005

While Saberwal may be right about the increasing prosperity of the Himachali Gaddis, I argue that such gains are usually accrued by the semi-nomadic peoples or the very elite among the entirely nomadic. Saberwal makes the above point based on his fieldwork among the Gaddis pastoralists in the Himalayan state of Himachal Pradesh but falls short of pointing out that the Gaddis have long been a part of the village economy and are a semi-nomadic people with perhaps much easier access to local politicians and men of influence; more importantly, according to Rao and Casimir (2003), the Gaddis are *not perceived* as nomadic unlike groups such as the Bakkarwals who remain almost entirely nomadic and are perceived as such[17]. It is these people, left outside of the nucleus of the much written-about village in South Asia, for whom life in an increasingly globalised environment becomes more challenging. The question remains whether any group of people can withstand such acute marginalisation. As discussed, farmers are increasingly demanding cash for an overnight halt, over and above the manure that is deposited in their fields, when earlier they would welcome pastoralists (Agrawal, 1999; Dyer and Choksi, 2006). Forest officials are either reluctant to or demand higher bribes to allow pastoralists access to forest land (Rao and Casimir, 2003; Dyer and Choksi, 2006; Gooch, 2004:2, for peripatetics see Berland 2003:121).Yet, this is not to say that such groups are hapless wanderers, indeed they exploit gaps in policy and practice and negotiate to access resources. Gooch (1998), who has worked on the Van Gujjars since 1987, notes the concrete impact the innovation of the prefix *Van* had on the identity of Uttaranchal Gujjars:

> A very important part of the message was the establishing of a special Van Gujjar identity as *jangli log* (forest people or those close to nature): ‘There are many Gujjar in India but we are the Van Gujjar, the Gujjar who have looked after the forest and have lived in harmony with it’. Mustooq played a major role in expressing the otherwise tacit knowledge of the Van Gujjar and thus providing them with a collective identity. The strategy used by him and other Gujjar leaders was to establish the *Van* (forest) Gujjars as ‘natural ecologists’. Adding the suffix *Van* to the common Gujjar name has been a very recent strategy used to demarcate this group from the countless other Gujjar groups in northern India. As the conflict over conservation intensified into a fight for the rights of this specific group of Gujjar, the identity of the community, to benefit from the struggle, had to be made crystal clear. The name of the Van Gujjar, established by leaders such as Mustooq, is now so widely recognised that it is used by administrators and in official documents. Earlier the community existed as a close knit endogamous entity but without a separate name with which to identify itself (Gooch, 1998).

Interestingly, the idea of being ‘close to nature’ — long been used to set such communities apart from the ‘mainstream’— is now being utilised by communities such as the Van Gujjars to claim resources.

Berland (2003) notes how peripatetic communities are experts at cultivating a certain mystique and secrecy to evade scrutiny from officialdom and access resources. Gardner (2003) elaborates how hunter-gatherers use mobility to avoid conflict. Yet, both Berland and Gardner note how their way of life is increasingly precarious. As discussed in more detail later, the acute social, political, climatic, environmental and demographic pressures that nomads face today on a daily basis have made their ‘traditional’ way of life increasingly challenging. In a sense, these changes seem irreversible. Nomadic groups are all too aware of these changes and chief among their coping strategies is a way out through education, at least for their children.

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[17] According to a Bakkarwal elder 97% of all Bakkarwals live only in tents and are not a part of village life (Sharma, 2009).

Bourdieu's (1977:38) idea that education lends hope in restructuring the habitus is shared by South Asian nomads such as the Bakkarwals and Rabaris. In the Rabari case however, the lines of flight seem to be a way out of nomadism itself: Dyer and Choksi observe that the peripatetic approach to literacy that they were trialling with the Rabaris:

> … sought to reconcile literacy provision with the occupational imperative of movement. There was, however, mounting evidence that ... Rabaris are becoming uneasy about the future of that occupation itself. Dyer and Choksi (2006:168)

This unease has resulted in an inclination towards exploring alternatives to transhumant pastoralism, both as an occupation and as a way of life, and the role that education could play. Thus education is increasingly being perceived by nomads as both a source and a result of successful access to socio-political knowledge and information (Rao, 2006) but, as shall be discussed, there are grave problems in adequate delivery mechanisms aimed at nomads.

Frater's (1999) work deals with the dynamism in Rabari embroidery and shows how traditional Kachhi Rabari embroidery has changed over the past century, and how these changes reflect a trend toward sedentarisation. She, however, notes that the Rabaris continue to be dubious about education.

Ganguly (1997) proposes that one reason for the current situation of turmoil in the Kashmir Valley is the political mobilisation of Kashmiri Muslim youth who were exposed to modern forms of education. According to Rao (2006:71) the link between education and rebelliousness is not a new phenomenon.[18] She adds that among those Bakkarwals who have been resisting traditional community leaders and their exploitative ways (and are said to have recently appealed to Islamist separatists for help), mainly come from middle-income families with access to schooling. But it is not yet clear whether they contest the dominant value system or its incompatibility with community-specific educational values and ideals. She asks whether it is possible for a child who does not belong to the dominant stratum of society, to undergo existing forms of schooling and simultaneously retain its identity and heritage? Rao proposes that much more research is required to understand what happens to 'private experiences'... *when these children '... recognise themselves in the public objectivity of an already constituted discourse*' (Bourdieu 1977:170, in Rao 2006:72).

While education may be envisioned as a line of flight for many nomads, the demand of nomads for provisions in education has implications for educationists and anthropologists. Berland (1982) urges research to enquire upon the basic behavioural skills characteristic of different types of subsistence strategies that nomads employ, and how they acquire and utilises psychological experiences and skills. Research is also severely lacking on nomadic childhoods, and the study of cognitive amplifiers as they manifest in everyday life. Furthermore, there is a need to enquire upon what nomads think basic education is, and how is it achievable? What are the contents of education for mobile people? What is the role of education in the short and long term? In keeping with the hope offered by education: what are the transformative aspects of education for nomads? Such insights shall help provide a more

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18 In 1536 someone opined 'Some say povertie is the cause that men come to be theves, murderers, rebels, but I thynke …Education is a great cause of these …' (Anon. 1536 in Rao 2006:71)

nuanced understanding of individual voices and their communities, and generate a deeper understanding of what education means to nomads, and indeed what it provides access to. Dyer and Rao in their respective studies present some such insights on the Rabaris and Bakkarwals, discussed later; however, more such research is required on the hundreds of the yet undocumented nomadic communities for a more holistic discussion on nomads and education and the possibility of a better life through education.

3.6 Manners & Morals

Berland (2003:108) writes that ironically, while nomads might be ignored by the 'mainstream' and the academy, service nomads themselves diligently take note of every aspect of settled communities they interact with:

> Every aspect of village life, from the economic, political and social milieu, to interactions among villagers, and attention to those that pass through each community are carefully noted and analysed by peripatetic entrepreneurs.

He adds that in addition to this they also share general schemata for classifying and dealing with a wide variety of mobile people as well.

We can safely assume that the reservoir of knowledge on classification of other communities, and other information held by nomads and *how* it is acquired and transferred to the next generation, as pointed out by Berland, is yet to be adequately documented by researchers and this is an area that could be covered in future research: covering the gap in the existing knowledge about nomads themselves and on the knowledge that nomads hold on other peoples. In this section the endeavour is thus to compile some of the available information on significant cultural features linked to nomads that could facilitate our present and future understanding of nomads in the region, and their relationship, if any, to education.

3.6.1 Manners & morals among Paliyan hunter gatherers

Gardner (2003) writes that decision-making among nomads can be highly atomised; their ideology centres on the importance of maintaining individual autonomy. Consensus is sought when necessary. Gardner (2003:138) writes that for the hunter-gatherers in south India, the Paliyans, their ideology "is incompatible with development of specialists or authorities, for other people would become dependent on them, an undesirable outcome for all concerned". He adds that no prestige accrues to distinguishable individuals and those individuals in turn "downplay that which sets them apart". Even deities are mocked at periodically, in what is interpreted as a "symbolic rejection of human dependence upon them". Paliyan beliefs are also incompatible with promises or contacts. It is thus generally understood that they speak only for themselves and only for the moment. Gardner (2003:139) adds that nineteen months of fieldwork impressed upon him the fact that among the Paliyan "verbal communicative persons are regarded as abnormal and often as offensive". They also do not like to discuss conflict and unless witnessed, it usually is nearly impossible to document in any detail.

There is very little known about the needs, if any, in education and development of hunting-gathering communities of South Asia, and is yet another aspect that needs further research.

Interestingly, many aspects of culture in the hunter-gatherer community brought out by Gardner finds an echo in the descriptions of sea-nomads by Sorenson (1998) and his research on isolated nomads of Tibet (2008): their preference of socio-sensuality instead of spoken language ("though such communication may seem ambiguous, it unites them more powerfully than words"), ideas on individuality and the intuitive rapport of the group, their unwillingness to dwell on emotions such as conflict, as much as the use of mobility to escape negativity and 'modernity'. I have not come across any such comparative research and this is yet another gap that could to be addressed. Sorenson writes:

The individual imperative requires that relations be consensual. Coercion is so deep a violation of rapport it paralyzes life as if such acts were so far beyond the realm of rationality that no response is possible. They have no formal rules or regulations nor anyone who would or could enforce such things. No one forces anyone against their will or demands obedience (even of children). When no welcoming consent to some interest or inclination is forthcoming, the impulse fades without sign of disappointment or annoyance, and no melancholy or chagrin is seen when someone's passion does not catch on. In the grand melange of ardours constantly presented by these active children, something just as good will be lying there in wait. If the same impulse again arises, it might be entertained the next time around. All depends on momentary mood and context. Nothing seems to be a social blunder. It's just that the mood and interests of the group whirl in different ways at different times. They all seem to know this, and take whatever life proffers at the moment. As for adults their hypersensuality constantly adjusts to the feelings and passions of the children, remains ever ready to support whatever might be in their hearts.

> Imperatives such as these hold up only where formal rules are not imposed. On islands where mainlanders have brought rules of precedence and conformity, these more traditional nomads blank out, their affect temporarily paralyzed. Less traditional ones get drunk. Sorenson (1998:9)[19]

Studies on drawing parallels and cross-connections between pre-conquest nomads such as hunter-gatherers and 'pagan' sea-nomads might perhaps lead towards greater conceptualisation and clarity about their culture. Such theorisation could not only pave the way towards investigating the role of education among such peoples but might engender a reflection on education itself from this rare standpoint.

3.6.2 Manners and morals among the Chaolay or sea nomads

Sorenson's (1998) chance encounters with entirely nomadic 'pagan' sea nomads (previously no longer thought to exist) — first with a band of unknown origin, and second with an aboriginal Moken-related group off southern Burma and the Andaman Islands — while he was researching the semi-settled sea nomads in the area, reveals some extremely rare and interesting findings, especially in areas of sensuality and consciousness of these children in contrast to school going children. He notes that unlike formally schooled children or those living in commercialised societies the propelling force of sea-nomads is *ecstasy*. He writes:

When nomad children of either type (nomadic and semi-settled sea nomads) explore, a sparklingly inventive tactile ambience builds up among them. While they do bring in seafood, their ventures are less a hunt than children's play in which surroundings get probed in league with comrades. This occurs within a fluctuating fusion of individual ideas and whims which tactile zest refines. As it does so, their exploratory actions become more smoothly integrated, as if hearts had become more closely bound together. The more fluid the interaction, the greater the pleasure rushes seem to be. As this ecstasy-through-unity builds up, so does intuitive rapport. Not just among nomadic nomads but the semi-settled ones on islands, too. It *doesn't do so* on islands that have been commercialised or where *children go to school*. Both roving and semi-settled nomads possess a synchronous capability in action. And both achieve that quiet hypersensuality the foundation for which emerges from socio-tactile nurture of infancy just as it does among many preconquest people. Ecstasy seems the main propelling force to sea nomadic life. To achieve higher levels, children explore conjointly, merging interests, feelings and affection. Ecstatic feelings flare when a hunt succeeds, and again when, as successful hunters, they go back home. They also flare when individuals share what they have with others whether food, sensuality, or knowledge. And they can be triggered by the novelty of friendly strangers who, by whatever oddity of appearance or demeanour, happen to engender *oohh* (or a warm feeling they located in the solar plexus). They surge dramatically at unexpected meetings with long separated comrades. The more integrated are their actions, the more ecstatic are their lives, the profoundest level being reached during the hypersensuality that develops during adolescence — a higher state of ecstasy that seems much preferred to sex. All the ecstasies, especially the progression to hypersensuality, keep these seafaring individualists nonhierarchical, physically united, productively linked to the sea, prepared for novelty and surprise, and much in tune with one another. Sorenson (1998:9)

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[19] Sorenson also notes that, "The small mountain isolated nomad bands are the most preconquest in behaviour. They are also the most intuitively integrated with each other, with their animals, and with their natural surroundings. In this sense they resemble the sea nomads of the eastern Andaman … Preconquest traits are less visible on the main plateau — particularly in areas of commerce, herd size competition, and where a sense of wealth is pursued." (Sorenson, 1998).

As pointed out above, research on such peoples throws up challenging questions on the idea of education and its transformatory aspects. The contradictory nature of the effects of education also finds an echo in the work of the author's research on Tibetan nomads (1998), and Ciotti (2006, also Dreze, 1999) research based on a scheduled caste community in India, who demonstrates that education as an individualising experience and related processes of upward mobility fragment the community body politic, leaving the emancipatory impact of education embedded in the *production of new inequalities*. The universal project of education must address this aspect of education and its impact on such communities if it is to meet desired results.

3.6.3 Manners and morals among the Qalandar

The Qalandar believe that children are a gift of god, and god created children to serve their parents**.** Berland (1982:87-89, 113) notes that from the time of birth children are expected to take on this role, especially older children with greater earning capacity. Parents are extremely supportive and loving to their children in their growing years. The parent-child relationship till when the child is about 10 years old is referred to as a *guru-chela* (teacher-student) bond.

Child rearing practices among the Qalandar emphasise individual development and basic sociotechnological skills. Each Qalandar is treated as a unique individual and is trained to obtain the best fit between a person's ability and skills required for sustenance. The behaviour patterns between birth, marriage and death — considered the most important events in a Qalandar's life — correspond with five stages in individual development: infant, birth to three years, young child, four to seven years, student years are from eight to puberty, adult, marriage (fourteen to forty), and old age from forty to death. By the time the infant is about a month old it is considered an integral member of a camp and is passed from one camp member to another. At night it is returned to the family tent, and often left in the *jhula*, a small hammock. Qalandar children from a very young age are encouraged to participate and explore the world (Berland, 1982).

Infants are rarely bathed as according to the Qalandar they are more appealing as beggars when dirty, and less likely to catch the evil-eye (Berland 1982:120-122). From an early age of three to eight years children are made to participate in the economic activities of adults according to the child's abilities. For leisure they play games such as marbles, "tent" and tag, but mostly sit with adults as they chat and groom each other. Adults assist children in learning balancing acts, dancing etc and develop the skills according to the child's abilities. Gradually children are trained as acrobats, singers, dancers etc. Girls more often assist their mothers in begging or beg in pairs. Marriage is arranged only if a boy is seen to fend for himself. The social world of both the child and adult are the same, "this contributes to perhaps the most striking characteristic of Qalandar children — their self-assurance" stemming perhaps from the training in basic skills of the nomadic entertainer. Berland (Ibid:125) adds that the varied subsistence activities and the diverse contexts in which the Qalandar acquire and perform emphasises sensorimotor, perceptual-cognitive, and interpersonal experiences and skills that contrast sharply to sedentary groups. He adds that the Qalandar are also different from other nomadic artisan communities who rely on sale of material resources; whereas the primary resources of the Qalandar are individual social skills.

3.6.4 Qalandar and education

A part of Berland's (1982:150-158) research was also comparisons between nomadic and sedentary groups for which he conducted tests with different communities making them perform certain perceptual tasks. The Qalandar rightly guessed that since this is part of the their special skills both villagers and urban dwellers would have difficulty with the tests apart from those who have been formally educated, and thus might be able to perform as well or better than the Qalandar, as the test material would be more familiar to school children. Over time they had observed that *school children are not as easily fooled* by their tricks as children who have not received formal education. They believed that "something" in the experience of schooling enhanced *rokna*, or restraining abilities. Qalandar argued that within groups women would outperform men. (When asked about their opinion on women in a veil they said "A fox behind a bush is still a fox"). Berland (1982:156) notes that the predictions of the Qalandar "were more in keeping with my results than were my initial hypotheses". The comparison between the comparatively less mobile group Kanjar and the Qalandar revealed that the Qalandar are more perceptually field-independent than the Kanjar.

Berland (Ibid:180) writes that compared to settled populations (at least half of whom went to formal schools) in towns and villages, the nomads (without any formal education) are characterised by the following:

- Display emotion and affection openly and freely
- Behave more independently, particularly in choices of residence and affiliation
- Are more direct in interpersonal relationships
- Display and reinforce for independence of action and self-sufficiency
- Emphasise individual accomplishment, autonomy, and disembedding skills
- Include children at a very early age in the social, economic, and political world of adults, emphasising diverse experiences and skills through lifelong socialisation activities

- Are more spatially mobile, with more contact with diverse social and environmental elements
- Have high levels of fluidity (fusion and fission) in social organisation
- Compete for more variable resources
- Have much greater flexibility in sex roles

Berland (1982:180-181) remarks that the most striking difference between the curriculum of nomads in the study and that of formally schooled sedentary children is the nature and context of learning. In contrast to nomads primary schools in Pakistan, especially in the villages, emphasise rote learning, most early training is memorising the Koran. Independent thought, analysis, and interpretation are negatively reinforced in the home and school. Basic education always takes place in the classroom rather than the household and general community.

Berland notes the observations that the Qalandar make on sedentary people and the contrast they draw between those with and without formal education, but is silent on the views of these communities about receiving formal education themselves. An update on similar findings could also reveal whether the cognitive skills of nomads and schooled children have changed since Berland studied them.

3.6.5 Manners morals among the Bakkarwals

Rao (1998a) writes that the Bakkarwals divide the human life cycle into seven main phases. In the first three phases the children are referred to as *balak*, and gender based terminological differentiation begins at the age of four. From then on till one has children of their own, people are classified as *jawan* or young. The next stage is old age. The first four stages from birth to puberty are considered to be part of childhood (Rao, 2006). Major aspects of one’s inherent nature and temper are determined at birth by one’s sex. Females are considered imperfect from birth, and this inherent imperfection precludes every attempt of a girl or woman to reach certain social and moral standards. It restricts a woman’s capacity and ability to be responsible and accountable and has lasting consequences for her access to information (Rao, 1998a). Children are highly valued; great care is taken to protect them from evil influences and infants are not exposed to stares of strangers if possible.

A key notion in the idea of being well bred is encompassed in *suluk* among the Bakkarwals. The acquisition of *suluk* begins at an early age when *osh* or personhood is more recognisable. *Suluk* is acquired with ways of dressing and by body posture and is gender specific. Elements of *suluk* are also dependent on an individual’s *osh*. Being properly clad is part of being well mannered and well clad, and since this relates to the economic condition of people, really impressive *suluk* is largely the keep of the wealthy, especially wealthy men. Body posture denotes a set of what Rao terms as “secular social morals” and are summed up in the concept of *uthan bethan* (literally: getting up and sitting down), which include values such as those pertaining to social responsibility, sexual control, the domestic space and well being (Rao, 2006:57). Well-being is demonstrated through social and physical expanse. Families with demonstrated well being through wealth and good pastures spend summer at higher altitudes where there are no crowds (Casimir, 2003, in Rao, 2006). The quality and amount of space among the Bakkarwals is hierarchised; with wealthy men having the most legitimate space of their own, poorer men having less space, with women getting little space and children getting none at all (Rao, 2006:58). However, children make their own spaces around the *dera* or camp where they play games like cricket, or slide down mountain slopes covered with pine needles, however, Bakkarwal children remain within shouting distance from the older members of the family in the *dera* (Sharma, 2009).

Rao adds that gender differences in terms of body posture, *uthan bethan,* come in as boys and girls get older, however, from an early age boys and girls are left to develop “a certain physical autonomy” when a child below about seven years of age is seldom chastised, as he or she is considered too young to have any *osh* or personhood. After this stage has passed Bakkarwals over seven years of age or so are expected to take on increasing cultural competence and the age between seven and ten are considered crucial in terms of acquiring the basics in *nafas* (selfhood) and *osh*, in tune with this stage the young people are expected to contribute to everyday tasks of a herding household (Rao, 2006). By the time a child is about ten years old, the biological and social foundations are said to be laid for the capacity which develops to fend for him/herself and be responsible. From now until they reach puberty, a girl and a boy are termed *betki* and *laraa* respectively, and this change of terminology marks the entrance into the next phase of the life cycle (Rao, 1998a). Rao and Casimir (1990b, 1992, 1995, 1988, 1998a, and 2004) has also written about the gender roles, kinship practices, sexuality, and life cycle of the Bakkarwals.

3.6.6 Education a way out for the Bakkarwals?

Rao notes that most Bakkarwals want their children to have an education, especially boys. To them educating children means future economic well being for their sons, future wealth and prestige, but most linked this to their own security in old age. Sending daughters to school implied imbibing the culture of what they see as domesticity in the dominant culture. Among the parents who did not want schooling for their children the reason cited was a fear of their child learning the evil ways. Two mothers also thought it detrimental to their son’s health; intelligent children are especially prone to the evil eye (*ak*). Some mothers reasoned that schooling leads intelligent children to think too much, to reflect and to worry, while a good thing in itself too much pondering can be bad as it leads to cooling down and sickness, early aging and even death (Rao, 2006:61). Education, as mentioned, is seen both a source and a result of successful access to socio-political knowledge and information, which is highly valued (what Rao terms as “private, public and alien” information) there exists an intergenerational hierarchisation of information processing leading to social, economic and political hierarchy in the capacity to make choices and take decisions (Ibid). Rao notes that only families with a certain degree of wealth sent their children to school among the Bakkarwals. Such families had a few servants to tend to their herd and sent their sons to school. They were also families who did not depend entirely on pastoralism but also had farmland and cattle, and felt such diversification could be a way out of the pastoral life for their sons.

3.6.7 Problems of Access to Education for the Bakkarwals

Rao (2006:64) notes that the above does not imply that poor families do not want their children to be educated or were not in a position to send their children, at least their sons, to school; the reason for poorer children not receiving formal education is instead the *shortage of schooling facilities to cater to their needs*, as the existing educational facilities have been taken over by the wealthy in the community. Nevertheless, Bakkarwals have mobile schools for the primary level operating in Kashmir for the past few decades, which have deteriorated considerably since the time of strife in Kashmir. Various districts also have Gujjar and Bakkarwal hostels for the secondary level, but most students are unable to qualify for admission in the Gujjar Bakkarwal hostels (Rao, 2006) and these hostels have only a limited number of seats. Furthermore, these hostels isolate children not only from their families but also from the other students in Kashmir and have not succeeded in bridging the social divide. Parents are reluctant to send girls to hostels, and in any case most girls lack incentives to study, as hardly any older women in their families are educated.

3.6.8 Manners, morals (and markets) among the Rabaris

Dyer and Choksi (2006:161) write that the marginalisation of nomads from official agricultural policy, and the absence of any other state development paradigm into which to fit transhumant pastoralists, translates into very patchy outreach services offering veterinary resources and wool gathering centres, where the ideologies of the state and nomads "clash head-on". Government services view animal husbandry as a minor industry and a commercial enterprise, and assume that pastoralists want to become more commercially competitive and market-oriented. But for Rabaris, as with other nomads, values of herd growth outweigh economic means-ends calculations (Gooch 1998:43; Galaty et al., 1981 in Dyer and Choksi, 2006). Dyer and Choksi (2006:163) opine that perhaps the religious foundation on which their pastoralism rests is for them a stronger force than the profit and loss values of the market place; the basis of their pastoralism, "is a moral, not market, economy".

As cash requirements generated by changing agricultural, ecological and industrial contexts began to escalate the sale of *ghee* alone was insufficient (Dyer and Choksi 2006:161). Rabaris supplemented this by beginning to sell milk, which was seen as a compromise with the divine purpose of guarding the animals, since to misuse the animal milk, which has nourished their children, is seen to be the same as selling the blood of their sons. In later years, however, Rabaris have had to intensify their efforts to alleviate their cash-flow problems, and have taken to selling animals to butchers. This is seen as a much worse sin than selling milk and being regarded as a butcher. The idea of sin attached to such an act is so grave that the Rabaris have to use the services of middlemen, in spite of the cost implications. "But this is how they keep their peace of mind" (Ibid:165).

Rabaris know little of how and why these pressures are generated, but understand all too well how they force them to transgress their own moral codes. They are therefore inclined to hold themselves and their impious actions responsible for what they see as their own moral downfall. Rabaris have thus come to believe that their occupation is incompatible with the modern world. The pious basis of their occupation— Rabaris believe that goddess Saraswati created them with her own hands and assigned them as care-takers of camels — which is a way of life and not a business, and the moral dilemmas induced by trying to find pragmatic solutions are in sharp contrast with the official discourse of modernising the sheep and goat husbandry (Ibid; For more on the Raika/Rabari view of religion, asceticism and renunciation, see Srivastava, 1997).

3.6.9 Education a way out for the Rabaris?

As mentioned above, it is this very conflict of assumptions and the apparent inaccessibility of the modern market economy over the moral economy, which Rabaris have practised so far, that has fuelled Rabaris' interest in 'education'. Over time, the growing pressures on pastoralism have "encroached upon that moral economy in increasingly unacceptable ways" (Dyer and Choksi, 2006:165).

While teaching adults and children Rabaris Dyer and Choksi (2006:166) report that the classes they offered, “Belied one of Rabaris’ own beliefs — that *if you had sheep and goats you would never have time to learn to read and write*”. They add that the literacy ambitions of the Rabaris were modest and related to their immediate needs: to learn to read bus destinations, boards and tickets; women wanted to learn how to read and write so they may write letters to their married daughters, and they all wanted to read numbers on currency notes (they reported that some of them could not do so and were prone to being cheated). Dyer and Choksi (Ibid) add that the women who were skilled in embroidery, rapidly learned to associate spoken sounds with new symbols — letters of the alphabet. Among the Rabaris’ it is the women who handle cash, shopping and accounting, they could calculate far more rapidly and accurately “than either of us” and learned the number symbols in a very short time. The men, who were used to handling only a small among of cash to buy *bidis* (local cigarettes) and other essentials, could not count sequentially, or calculate; a handful could also not recognise different currency notes. (Conversely, the same community, (Raikas of Rajasthan) in Agrawal’s (1994) research come across as much more skilled. The paper explains how the Raikas minimise the possibility of being cheated).[20] Dyer and Choksi (Ibid:167), however, note that even if the men never count their animals, when small flock has about 350 animals, they know each by face and name, “and can immediately tell if one is missing”. They add that this faculty made them “critical of the readymade picture cards with their generic and inaccurate representation of animals — the autonomous model was after all lurking in the very few, decontextualised, commercially produced materials that we had brought along! All the learners preferred to generate their own drawings; interestingly, these were also highly stylised even when they drew sheep and goats, who do not figure in embroidery”. The Rabaris did not associate literacy with the potential uses within animal husbandry but more with being able to read hoardings, signs, adverts from films etc.

3.6.10 Problems of Access to Education for the Rabaris

Dyer and Choksi write that while working with the Rabaris they found two aspects of the NLM (National Literacy Mission) particularly problematic. The first was its reliance on decontextualised primers for literacy, source material, which in Gujarat were transparently used to spread state-sponsored messages of health, hygiene and the small family norm, in an approach to non-literal people that somehow holds them responsible for what the state perceives as society’s ills. The second was its use of untrained volunteer labour as the main teaching force, underpinned by an incorrect assumption that teaching literacy to adults is easy if you can read and write yourself, and does not require any specialisation and training. Both of these tend to be characteristic of mass literacy campaigns around the world (Dyer and Choksi, 2006:167).

The model of adult literacy provision under NLM is what Street (1984) terms ‘autonomous’ model of literacy, which sees literacy as a self standing entity regardless of context that is associated primarily with cognitive development that among others, Ong (1982) and Goody (1987) hold is unattainable through orality. Street (1984) instead proposes an ‘ideological’ model of literacy that encourages us to view *literacies* rather than a unitary idea of literacy, and of literacy practices and events that occur within social contexts (in Dyer and Choksi, 2006).

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[20] Agrawal (1994:140) writes: “We find that in most situations where the camp leader could make money on the side, institutionalised practices among the Raikas either preclude or minimise the possibility of large-scale exploitation.”

Dyer and Choksi (2006:165) propose that the government should develop education facilities in consultation with the Rabaris catering to their specific needs. In addition a policy for small husbandry to add to the large-animal policy that currently exists. Develop supporting infrastructure to provide adequate wool and veterinary services, and support for sheep and goat husbanders during lean years. As, in the absence of a carefully developed and specific education component to help Rabaris relate modern veterinary science to their own beliefs and traditions of pastoralism, “this modernising project is incompletely conceived”.

4. Nomads and Education

Pastoralism has been viewed by some as an evolutionary dead end or cul-de-sac and education has been used by governments and development specialists not so much as a right of citizenship but more as a mode of transforming pastoralism and pastoralists into "something else" — again as something it is "not yet", something they are "not yet". (Krätli, 2001)

These ideas, although not universal, have fundamentally shaped the ways in which nomads have come to experience education (ibid), and also why they have often shunned it. With regard to education and nomads we must proceed with this framework if we are to make any headway. The key proposition being that education has for long been at odds with and antagonistic to nomads and their culture.

Education is presented both as a fundamental right (with its inclusion in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948) and a way towards economic and social empowerment. The government of India recently made education a fundamental right for every child between 6 and 14 on April 2010 through The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act 2009 (DL—(N)04/0007/2003—09).

Education, as we all know, does not operate in a vacuum but is a social, political and economic phenomenon. Dyer writes that for centuries nomadic groups passed on their socio cultural and economic knowledge to their children to pursue their traditional occupation without recourse to non-indigenous education. Over the last few decades nomadic groups have had to deal with rapid changes to their way of life, often a consequence of an increasingly globalising world in which development measures remains highly unsympathetic to nomads. Such people are finding out that their traditional education and skill-sets are inadequate to survive in the present time, which has encouraged them to seek external educational inputs to support their process of adaptation (Dyer, 2006).

4.1 Education and nomads: a paradox

Krätli (2001) writes that from the point of view of official education nomads are a complete failure: in terms of enrolment, attendance, classroom performance, gender equations, and dropout rates, they continue to be at the bottom of the ladder. However, although some of them are poor, they are far from being a drifting, unskilled underclass as they presumably should be without formal education. On the contrary, as a necessary requirement to survive in dry lands, every day pastoralists perform high levels of individual and social specialisation. Krätli (2001) proposes that, "a consideration of this paradox should be at the *centre of every analysis of the continuous failure with regard to nomads of the universal project of education*". He adds that instead, "education programmes seem to oppose nomadic culture at all levels: in their principles and goals, in their explanatory paradigms, in their solution and implementation; in their approach to evaluation". Krätli (2001:1) narrows down the problem in saying that as a universal project education so far has had a very broad goal: the fulfilment of all individuals as humans, and a very narrow view: the structure and content of the service and proposes a reversal of this paradigm for nomads, adopting a broader view and focused goals. The focused goals point to a *sui generis* approach towards the education of nomadic communities, where provisions cater to the specific needs of each group and more differentiated approaches to planning. The boat schools, elaborated later, exemplify such an approach. Krätli (2001) proposes that policies should expand the view from statistics and the classroom to education as a broad phenomenon, including situations and dimensions that are so far overlooked but influence both the way education is received and its potential for fighting poverty. He proposes that education for nomads should be flexible, multifaceted and focused towards structural problems of social, political and economic marginalisation as well as geared towards interacting successfully with the changes and challenges raised by globalisation (Ibid:1); helping them to cope with both pastoral and non-pastoral livelihoods (Ibid:72). As Lewin (2008:9) notes, in education planning, "new balances need to be struck that reflect the demands and pressures that globalisation generates".

Krätli and Dyer (2009) subscribe to a broad view where education is no longer simply reduced to schooling. They report that the conceptual terrain of education has undergone a shift where it is viewed as a holistic endeavour and need not be reduced to what takes place in classrooms and formal schools alone, though this may remain the major medium of education. In 1990, the World Conference on Education For All (EFA) further reinforced this position, proposing a holistic, broadly conceived vision of Education For All that includes neglected groups such as indigenous peoples and nomads (Ibid). However, the Millennium Declaration (UN-MD, 2000) backtracked, reducing the conceived holism in education to the more specific and time oriented MDG, with explicit focus only on primary schooling, which lends itself to the "the target setting mode of the MDG framework" (UN-MDG, 2001), making it easier to draw quantifiable indicators of success in contrast with literacy or life skills. Dyer and Krätli (2009) further note that this "reflects the continuing dominance in international agency thinking of the 'human capital' approach to education's role in human development". Commenting on the problematic nature of education targets, they add that unfortunately as the MDGs now provide the global framework for development investment, "it is this truncated version rather than the entire EFA agenda that attracts priority attention and action".

With specific reference to India, the focus on seasonal migration in recent years has yielded results in the form of a proposed amendment to the government's SSA policy framework in July 2007 (Smita, 2008), regarding seasonal labour migrants. However, this amendment (and Smita, 2008) are further evidence of the confusion of forced migrants with nomads. The amendment and provisions are largely geared to suit seasonal migrants rather than nomads for whom schooling has to be much more culturally meaningful to retain students. The extension of the SSA framework in the form of bridge-schools, discussed later, is more in line with a *sui generis* approach proposed for nomads, but falls short of accounting for nomad children and their adaptability at the post-primary level when such idyllic provisions are no longer available. Govinda and Bandyopadhyay's (2008) propose that research should focus on empirical studies which examine the exclusion of unaccounted for children, as "Exclusion from schooling as a process rather than a single event; looking at life histories of children; tracking them individually and in groups; looking at children as they join school, move up the grades or drop out"; and "longitudinal studies on factors which affect decision making … around schooling" (Govinda and Bandyopadhyay 2008:72).

The above points to an important gap that needs to be filled with specific focus on hundreds of nomadic communities, and their children, that remain unrepresented both in the census and in academic literature.

Additionally, to correct the recurring ambiguity in policy circles related to terminology Krätli and Dyer (2009) urge that the overlapping of terminologies such as 'education' and 'schooling' threatens the narrowing of education to schooling, which has repercussions (especially for mobile peoples), and should not go uncontested. In fact, equating education to schooling can engender serious misunderstanding where, for several reasons, exclusion from education is rooted precisely in the formal school-based system. While it may be easier to boost primary enrolment figures by building more schools in areas that lack infrastructure (particularly in pastoral areas), what is needed instead is to develop novel methods to target communities for whom the school based system is either inaccessible or has proved inefficient.

4.2 Education as schooling & illiteracy as epidemic

Reducing education to schooling lends itself to the strengthening of an old institutional inclination within national and international education systems that fall short of recognising alternative educational techniques. Such a belief is coupled with the misplaced understanding that even poor-quality schooling is better than remaining illiterate, implying that outside schooling there is *no* education (Krätli and Dyer, 2009). They note that this perspective "can completely rule out specific minority groups, such as nomads". They add that there is evidence to establish that the inclusion of nomadic children in primary education can increase sharply by using alternative non-formal education techniques, discussed later in the review.

Further, those people who are left out of schooling are described in negative terms as being uneducated or illiterate. The language used to 'uplift' people from illiteracy and 'eradicate' it, is often that of an epidemic or disease.[21] In India where about half the population is indeed 'uneducated', are thus viewed as having this 'disease'. Dyer and Choksi (2006:169) write that Rabaris — like other illiterate adults — keenly feel the social stigma attached to being illiterate. They sought skills that gave them more independence as they felt compromised in having to seek the assistance of strangers. Particularly those who, according to their moral code might not be perceived as 'good' and may "deliberately mislead or scold them". Here it is not simply a question of being able to read and write but as much the structure of power that tied to literacy which is described as "learning how to speak" (Ibid). For the Rabaris one function of education is to teach people how to speak, and like the Bakkarwals and other nomads, they seek this power for themselves. Dyer and Choksi add that the Rabaris are aware that the ascribed status, that emanates from their own high position in the caste status, is contested by a new power: the power of being educated.

As the Rabaris migrate, conflict situations for them tend to involve people in low-level but distinct authority positions within government (such as police constables, forest guards and officers and so on, often members of SC and ST) who bar them from things they consider their traditional right. These officials who have benefited from affirmative action now find easy access to education facilities and jobs within government. Dyer and Choksi (2006:169) write that for the Rabaris, the rise to positions of authority of those with lower ascribed status as a result of being educated is further evidence of the links between education and power.

Galaty's (1986) work with the Maasai, however, challenges claims of specialist competence through basic education. During his fieldwork he found that boys without any formal education performed much more complex classifications and identifications of family cattle than those who attended school. Berland's (1982) work, already discussed and to follow, attests this point. Yet, this is outside the purview of the link that nomads associate between education and power. The relation between power and education pointed out by Dyer and

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[21] Those thought to be uneducated are posed as requiring to be 'quarantined' and as such ideas of disease start to shape notions of social life, with education representing order and its lack as disorder (interestingly, a similar language of disease is also used in the context of communal riots in South Asia, see Chatterji and Mehta 2007.

Choksi (2006:170) is also manifest in what is told to the Rabaris by farmers, government officers and shopkeepers, and the need to be literate. "Underlying these words are many negative messages about the status of those who are not..."Unconsciously reflecting the state discourse that links education with development, conceived as universal movement in a direction that represents the state's view of progress".

4.3 Education and poverty

Street (1984) proposes a more enlightened idea of literacy than is commonly understood. It is to this idea that we must return to when referring to those people who are monetarily poor but rich in (indigenous) knowledge — the belittling of people without formal education in the South Asian context again is a huge paradox, for it is a well known that education does not necessarily mean social mobility — the Delhi and Bombay slums are full of matriculates and even graduates. While such people may have lifted themselves out of the 'epidemic of illiteracy', the much more pressing plague of poverty remains. This is not to say that education is a 'bad thing' — although Sorenson (1998) perhaps suggests this based on what may be termed as the 'happiness quotient' of sea nomads. Most nomadic communities in South Asia, whether Rabaris or Bakkarwals, are, in the present context, inclined to educating their children to equip them to survive in the present context and it is education that is seen to offer a way out of the impasse they find themselves in. However, while numerous studies point to the role of education in removing poverty. The education that comes into play here is an education of *quality* and not simply enrolment and primary school certificates as targeted in the MDG's. According to Krätli (2001) it is difficult to find substantial empirical evidence to establish the link between poverty removal and education with reference to nomads, though he admits that it is difficult to establish this claim as nomads are largely uneducated.

The ADBI report states that in India, about three million graduates and post-graduates are "churned out from the country's colleges and universities". But a vast majority of them lack the skills necessary for acquiring jobs in the growing sectors of the economy. The expansion of education, particularly higher education, has created "an army of so called qualified youth" with graduate and post-graduate degrees, but shortages of middle-level technicians and supervisory skills persist, "This mismatch between demand and supply of skills in the labour market and the perceived shortage and poor quality of trained persons is likely to become an impediment in the path to sustained economic growth in the absence of timely corrective measures" (2008).[22] This needs to be addressed. With regard to nomads little will be achieved in simply bringing children to school unless these schools can be improved to the *point of usefulness* and this has to be done by the full participation of the larger community which will shift schooling in a more responsive direction (Krätli, 2001; Carr Hill, 2006:65).

Furthermore, Krätli (2001) writes that the link between pastoral poverty and education concerns the nature of education undergone by pastoralists' fellow citizens at least as much as it concerns the 'knowledge gap' about the outside world amongst the pastoralists themselves; and so poverty eradication among pastoral groups seems conditional upon a radical review of the way pastoralism and pastoralists are represented in mainstream culture. Krätli (Ibid) identifies the arguments used to assert pastoralisms' inadequacies and suggests how this inaccurate image of their backwardness among others, can be turned around, and the role formal education can play. One way to bridge the knowledge gap is by improving communication between all the stakeholders, and refining their understanding of the dynamics of different pastoral systems. This might include facilitating existing and nascent civil society networks, to improve the interface between pastoralists (communities/groups/associations), governments, (regional/national) and international institutions; and improving knowledge creation and exchange with regard to resource management and market structures. Education in this sense implies re-education of the educated, and is a much more broadly conceived, and shared project in relation to nomads and education than simply the schooling of pastoralists.

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[22] The NASSCOM-McKinsey report 2005 projects that there will be a shortfall of about 500,000 suitable professionals by the end of the decade and in the absence of corrective action, this will continue to grow. The development of adequate professionals and knowledge workers both in quantity and quality is another major challenge facing the Indian labour market as it tries to move towards a knowledge economy (In the ADBI Report 2008).

4.4 Education for minority elite

Having access to various types of capital (Bourdieu, 1977), including education (a form of cultural capital in Bourdieu), operates at different levels. SV Rao (2006) writes that contrary to the state's expectations, the educational system in India has perpetuated an increase in social segregation and widened economic differentiation. The amalgamation into the elite in South Asia is subject to and dependent upon an individual's integration into an urban, English speaking, 'globalised' environment which is not necessarily desired by nor available to everyone with an education, let alone everyone who doesn't but could receive an education. SV Rao (2006) suggests that the primary school curriculum is irrevocably tied to the requirements and values of the urban sector. The school is influenced by the certification needs of a small minority of students who will continue their education possibly all the way through to university, and not by the requirements of those who will not.[23]

With reference to nomads, Rao (2006:72) writes that the entire schooling system in India transmits the dominant culture, passed off as either 'modernisation' or as 'tradition', both of which are assumed to be of equal relevance and significance to all loyal citizens for whom certain elements of belief, practice and ideology are selected from a vast repertoire, while others rejected leading to the assertion of the dominant classes. Thus, while the elite have access to a schooling system which undoubtedly works, and works in the way in which it was intended to according to the English language based, empowering, and modern agenda. But can it be a universally applicable model? Like the education during the Vedic period and ideas of Gandhi and Tagore on acquiring both vocational and theoretical knowledge (Cenkar, 1977; Kumar, 1999), post-independent India has also laid emphasis on vocational training but in spite of the introduction of several schemes and programmes only 5% of youth in the 20–24 year age group are found to have undergone any sort of formal training (ADBI, 2008). The ADBI report specifies various valid reasons for the Why, such as lack of skill, infrastructure, training facilities, teacher motivation, lack of links between institutes and industry, outdated models and skill, etc. These shortcomings should be addressed and incorporated in learning.

In 1976, the government of Jammu and Kashmir introduced mobile schools for the young children of nomadic pastoralists in the region. But their functioning was debatable in the 1980s before the tension-riddled period in Kashmir (Rao, 2006:65). The few Bakkarwals who at the time were qualified to teach in the mobile schools all came from wealthy families and it is generally believed that they help only their own kin group (Ibid). Thus Rao notes that

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[23] The current system of education in India is again a British legacy and was started by the British for their administrative needs. At the time of Indian independence less than 16% of India's population was literate. In spite of the gradual expansion of education facilities in rural areas, the orientation in education remained urban driven by the lure of white-collar jobs. This then became the guiding principle in performance for both teacher and student (SV Rao, 1985).

‘reliance on internal teaching staff (to) encourage internal cultural and ethnic solidarity and joint perception of child development...’ (quoting Meir and Barnea, 1987:34), “Can not be presumed” (Rao, 2006:65). Education has always been an ideological practice.

Dyer and Choksi write that by ignoring their research findings and recommendations, and more importantly the demands made by Rabaris for their own residential schools, the state effectively denies the Rabaris access to education, countermanding both Article 45 of Education for All which India signed up to in 1990 and reaffirmed in 2000 (and, the recent RTE making elementary education a fundamental right to all Indian children). The state’s unwillingness to effectively communicate with the Rabaris underlines what Krätli and Dyer (2006) identify as a significant shortcoming that governments see in nomadism as a lower stage of human development.

4.5 Education and sedentarisation

Based on rigid perceptions of ‘development’, assumptions of sedentarisation have everywhere largely determined educational facilities for migrating families. Dyer and Choksi (1997:320) write that Kutchi Rabari wanted the state to provide them with boarding schools for their children’. In a later study (Dyer and Choksi 2006:168) write that the Rabaris have a growing unease with their traditional way of life, and one extreme solution (that may be precipitated by animal disease or misfortune) but is viewed increasingly as a positive choice, is to sedentarise specifically to allow children access to schools. Dutt (2004) hints at similar wishes emanating from the Bawarias, and Chaudhuri (2000:55) writes that for the Chang Pa nomads in Ladakh, moving to the capital city of Leh means health and education facilities for their children. Dyer and Choksi (2006:160) write that during the early 1990s the National Literacy Mission (NLM) was predicated on an entirely sedentary model of education provision, which thus immediately excluded migrant groups. Some mobile communities like the Bakkarwals and the Rabaris opt for a more gradual process of adaptation by educating one son in sedentary schools so that this may lead to him getting employed and support the family should pastoralism cease to be a viable option in the future (Dyer and Choksi 2006:168). However, Dyer and Choksi add that the Rabaris’ aspirations are vested in state schools that are known for their high drop-out ratios and in any case retention of students does not always lead to learning outcomes, “defined with rather different learners in mind” (Ibid:169).

Rao writes that at least primary education should not automatically imply sedentarisation, and in this case the mobile schools of Jammu and Kashmir are an innovative step in the right direction (Rao 2006:72). However, she adds that education in the way that it is present today in South Asia almost inevitably implies that:

> … not only do the children not gain any knowledge and interest in their own community’s traditional occupations, but also look down upon these and hence also on family members practicing them (Rao, 2006:72)

Steyn (1995, 2001) reports similarly from her work based on South African peripatetics). Since the existing content and quality of education does not help individuals to find gainful employment, educational norms and values must change according to the needs of targeted students. Primary curricula must adjust to local needs and capacities, and for all children education must be more creative and practice oriented (Rao, 2006:72). Education must be seen rather as “a process of pleasurable instruction” (Spencer, 1928:83, in Rao, 2006).

It might be worth stressing here that the model — that successfully produces the South Asian elite has created aspirations that are now shared not only by the elite, but even by the Bakkarwals (if not for themselves then at least for their children), and are *unfulfillable*. We need to address this issue if education is to make a meaningful contribution to the lives of nomadic South Asians. *Dalit* politics and the mobilisation of some sections of the marginalised has corrected the class/caste divide to some degree. Yet, for those people who fall through the gaps of vote-bank politics, such as nomads, there seems little redress. Does this imply that nomads have to mobilise themselves like sedentary people living in villages and towns such as the *dalits* to seek their fundamental rights? Murmurings of such endeavours are already being felt in some parts of India like Uttranchal (Gooch, 1988), and Maharashtra where the DNT's (Denotified Tribes) have united under a common umbrella and demanded access to resources from the state (Budhan, 2000). The recommendations of the above-mentioned Nomadic Commission include resettlement and rehabilitation of the DNTs. However, these findings are yet to be scrutinised to reveal their means and methodology. In any case, the recommendations to sedentarise all nomads are in direct opposition to the critical research on nomads and have to account for this. Consequently, we need to address not simply the educational apparatus and supply and demand issues but call into question the larger structures of society that buttress the status quo and the *role of education* in keeping things as they stand. Sociological research is fundamental to this project, as is a more inter-disciplinary approach in social sciences and the inclusion of participatory anthropological research in the field of education and development.

The government of Gujarat did not accept the Rabaris' claim for more schools of their own, or the suggestion of Dyer and Choksi (2006:172) to develop flexible and responsive approaches to educational provisions. They write that if the government had done so, it might have run the risk of:

> … disrupting the processes of sedentarisation which are quietly taking place as hundreds of individual households reach the conclusion that the future of pastoralism is finite and that an alternative, almost certainly involving sedentarisation, must be found. Had it done so, the government would have implicitly endorsed pastoralism as a legitimate occupation, and transhumance as a legitimate way of life. Dyer and Choksi (2006:172)

The above implies that states do not see nomadism fitting in with the modern project of a developing country and the challenge for future research is to change this perception.

4.6 Framework of the national history of modernisation

While the Rabaris of Gujarat know that the quality of village schools in Kutch is tempered by teacher absenteeism and corporal punishment and often slow progress, the 'education' they seek is most likely to be available through this channel (Dyer and Choksi, 2006:168). Indian success stories are largely those of individuals who find it in themselves to 'beat the system' and flee sites of destitution and neglect, carving a path of achievement against all odds. A phoenix rises from the ashes every other day in India and is much eulogised. The onus of success in the face of an indifferent educational framework is on the student and family. With reference to nomads, Krätli and Dyer (2009) note that if people such as nomads are seen to be outside of the framework of the national history of modernisation, of which formal education has historically been an expression and instrument, they become "irrelevant" and can remain outside of the system.

Nomads themselves are aware of this and many have even settled down to educate their children. Dyer and Choksi (2006:169) add that a possibility for the few wealthy Rabaris is to send their children to a private residential school, where the teachers, students and the local context of the school are entirely Rabari. The parents are happy to send their children to such schools as their social-cultural norms are respected here. The formal syllabus, uniform, etc. are all state prescribed, the Rabaris do not contest this but view it more as an aspect of the modernising project of which education is a part. Before the earthquake of 2001 in Gujarat there used to be three such schools in Kutch, Gujarat (only one of which was a full-fledged elementary school) and two more were planned. Earlier petitions to the government to establish two more boarding schools in Kutch had failed, as had requests to increase the number of subsidised places in private schools.

Such special provisions for every mobile community, however, are neither feasible nor desirable. As discussed in the Bakkarwal case, schools and hostels with students only from single communities fail to bridge the cultural divide between them and the ‘mainstream’ (that education is said to encourage) and alienate the children from their own culture.

Educating nomads is, as Krätli and Dyer (2009) note, a challenge of “massive proportions”, and education has to coexist with sustained development measures for either to have any tangible impact.

4.7 Development and South Asian Nomads

4.7.1 The Number Game

One of the major problems that development officials face while dealing with nomadic peoples is the fact that they continue to be unenumerated. The methodology of the census only accounts for people living sedentary lives in villages and hamlets (Dyer and Choksi, 2000; Morton, 2008; Sharma, 2009). Dyer and Choksi (2006:160-161) write that according to community leaders among the Rabaris of Kutch their population is a “best guess” of 90-100,000, though this is not supported by ‘hard’ evidence. Rabaris are on the move when the census counts take place and are “wary of the motives” of people questioning the number of animals they have or family sizes. Berland (2003:113) observes that some nomads might not see being enumerated in government records favourably. In public domains, peripatetics normally refer to their identity or group affiliation by using specific skill or service terms, which promotes ambiguity concerning group resources and private domains by drawing the client’s attention to specific individuals, and their skills and services. “This method of public posturing inhabits the collection of accurate census, income, or other information about them that may be sought by governments, police, social service agents”. Peripatetic groups, especially entertainers, potion-sellers, snake charmers and peddlers, *create a certain ‘mystique’ as a socioeconomic strategy* while dealing with sedentary peoples. Berland (2003:114) notes that they in fact “carefully craft their entire public personae ... in order to manipulate client perceptions ...” and enhance both freedom and flexibility. Such demarcations also act as important boundary markers that ensure access to evolving opportunities. Peripatetic peoples stress greatly on information control, and sharing accurate information, involving ‘outsiders’ in their internal affairs is discouraged and considered a major breach of conduct, “a sure source of shame, and an act deserving severe retribution” (Ibid:114).

Thus, while states are certainly negligent, and are often oblivious to nomads in their sphere, nomads, both pastoralists and especially peripatetic entertainers, in turn utilise specific strategies to sometimes *remain invisible* to states. This need also perhaps derives from having often undergone brutal treatment by the hands of authority figures and the entire history of the criminal tribes, which continues to govern, in many ways, how such peoples are viewed. Nonetheless, a detailed census of nomadic peoples and their migratory routes and their length of halts and movements is indispensable towards creative planning processes if nomadic children are to be included in educational provisions. Steps should also be taken to win the trust of nomads through sensitive development measures by involving the communities in the process and data gathering should take place through informed consent.

4.7.2 Social vs. political borders

Nomads in South Asia and their trade routes, as in other parts of the world, are split across national and international borders. Changes in international relations, trade laws and import-export regimes, boundary marking and control, all have a significant impact on the livelihood of nomadic communities who live and migrate along national and international borders (Balland, 1991). Rauber-Schweizer (2003:346) documents how the salt and rice trade carried out by the Humli-Khyampa nomads of Nepal between India, Tibet and Nepal was marginalised owing to changes in trade regulations and changes in border relations after the Chinese occupation of Tibet (Ibid:362).

In India different states (provincial governments) contest whether certain populations belong to them, and they are reluctant to take responsibility for a shifting population. Provincial governments distinguish between ‘local’ pastoral nomads and ‘outside’ nomads. Singh (2010) notes the distinction made between local flocks and those of foreign shepherds; where ‘foreign’ nomads are made to pay higher taxes. Thus nomads often find themselves in a kind of ‘no-man’s land’ and administrative bodies utilise this lacuna not only to ignore their responsibilities towards nomads but also to exploit them.

States must create zones of responsibility where provincial governments work together to cater to the needs of nomads. This should ideally extend to collaborations between nation states as well.

4.7.3 Pigeonholing

Another aspect that makes it difficult for nomads to access development initiatives is that nomadic groups are split into different categories — some nomads are DNT, some SC, others ST while others may be OBC. Sometimes the same community is in different administrative categories in different provinces (see the attached list of nomadic communities in India and their categorisation for details). This adds to the problem of not knowing how to categorise nomads, and a lack of coherent information about them in government records. In 1997, the Gujarat government turned down the Rabari claim to re-classification as ST. Dyer and Choksi (2006:171) write that without ST status the Rabaris cannot claim residential school facilities available to STs. Their experimental work with mobile education among the Rabaris garnered little interest from the government in itself or for its replicability, or drawing on the research findings to develop alternative approaches to educating nomads (Ibid).

Dyer and Choksi (2006:171) add that given the striking appearance of the Rabaris, ironically, they feature prominently in the region’s promotional tourist literature. Thus, the state capitalises on and pigeonholes their ‘tribe-like’ appearance, even if they do not categorise them as such. The official website of Jammu and Kashmir similarly capitalises on the visual ‘exoticness’ of the Bakkarwals demonstrating how states often successfully keep nomads from accessing resources while exploiting their exoticness for their own ends: to showcase the secular nation-building catchphrase of “Unity in Diversity” especially popular in India and Pakistan. It becomes helpful to theorise this reoccurring phenomenon through what Das and Phoole (2003) note: that marginal populations, often formed of “indigenous” or “natural” subjects, are at once considered to be foundational to particular national identities and excluded from these same identities by the sort of disciplinary knowledge that mark them as racially and culturally “other.” In these cases, “juridical claims to inclusion are undermined in interesting ways by disciplinary forms of power that destabilise the very discourses of belonging that claim to bind subjects to the state and its laws”. This irony of considering the impoverished state of marginal people as ‘natural’ must be replaced by concrete provisions that allow diverse peoples to access resources.

4.7.4 State development and markets

Development initiatives also support only those pastoralists who have large flocks and little help is given to owners of small flocks. Dyer and Choksi (2006) report this in Gujarat where Rabaris who no longer keep numerous camels do not receive help from the government. For large husbanders there are provisions in migratory routes and cattle-camps in lean years, in keeping with the large animal dairy model promoted under Operation Flood (George, 1985 in Ibid). At both state and national level the contribution to the economy by small animal husbandry has been largely ignored. And although, formally noted (GOI, 1987 in Ibid), there are few signs of any substantial change to an established policy direction that favours large-scale agri-industries (also Rao, 2003). Governments must enumerate and acknowledge the contribution of pastoralists and perapetitics to the national economy and generate mechanisms that support small scale pastoralism and other nomadic endeavours, much like the support for small-scale industry and farming.

4.7.5 Physically dispersed peoples

Nomadic groups are also geographically dispersed and it is difficult to mobilise whole groups politically because of the spatial segregation inherent in nomadic lifestyles. All these factors impinge on development provisions both from the supply side and from the delivery side. Yet cases such as Mongolia, Siberia, Iran (Krätli, 2001) demonstrate that nomads can be reached through development and education measures. Literature points to a *lack of will* emanating from state’s and developers with regard to nomadic peoples. It is the policy frameworks and administrative will that is lagging and instead blaming nomads for what is largely a failure in state development provisions (Ibid).

4.7.6 Decontextualised discourses

The vision of education invoked by EFA is that which meets basic learning needs, characterised as “the knowledge, skills attitudes and values necessary for people to survive, to improve the quality of their lives, and to continue learning” (WCEFA, 1990:ix). However, Dyer and Choksi (2006:172) point out the contradictions such a framework has for the Rabaris. They write that their research with the Rabaris complicates knowing which knowledge, skills, and attitudes are relevant to survival:

… and illustrate the hollowness of decontextualised discourse when it comes to acting on the EFA promise. Rabaris preferred model of schooling presents a risk to the state that is easily countered by a refusal to grant funds, and so Rabaris' survival needs at the beginning of the 21st century are actually making them use, and therefore implicitly legitimise, educational provisions that in many respects, both directly and indirectly, contribute to their marginalisation.

4.8 Alternative Models of Education

There is evidence that the inclusion of nomadic children in primary education (MDG 2) can be sharply increased by using alternative modes of education. For example, non-formal education and Open and Distance Learning (ODL) are both capable of bypassing the physical limitations of a school-based service. Such types of provision have shown bursts of nomads' enrolment with no difference between girls and boys and a strong interest among adults (UNESCO, 2002; Carr-Hill and Peart, 2005). Pastoralists' resistance is not, in fact, to the idea of formal education; nor is there necessarily any incompatibility between pastoralism and education. On the contrary, the practical challenges faced in providing education to nomads appear to be rooted in the tendency to provide formal education in a solely school-based system (Krätli, 2001).

4.8.1 Local knowledge

Anthropological research has continually shown that economic development comes in many shapes and forms and we cannot generalise about transitions from one type of society into another. Yet modernisation strategies rarely pay heed to local knowledge. Local culture is generally ignored by planners or treated as a constraint. This is a grave failing, (Pottier, Bicker and Sillitoe 2003:12) shows how local knowledge — in this case aqua-culture among low-income fish-seed traders in Bangladesh — may be harnessed in way that effectively reduce poverty.

More recent debates on indigenous knowledge have moved from a static idea of indigenous knowledge to one that is dynamic and evolving. For example, both Rural People's Knowledge (RPK) and western agricultural science, as Scoones and Thompson (in Pottier, Bicker and Sillitoe, 2003:6) argued, are general *and* specific, theoretical *and* practical. Both are value-laden, context specific and influenced by social relations of power.

Bourdieu's (in Corbett, 2004) analysis of forms of capital includes not only economic but also intangible cultural, social, and symbolic capital, providing a framework for understanding educational achievement. The Bakkarwals are unmatched in their depth of knowledge of Kashmir's terrain, flora and fauna, but they have not been able to accrue full advantage from this. Native Kashmiri shopkeepers receive government contracts to extract medicinal herbs whose price is fixed in advance. They employ Bakkarwals, who are paid in grain while the shopkeepers make a large profit (Sharma, 2009).

Berland (1982:4) similarly notes how "impressed" he was to learn that the subjects of his investigation (peripatetic specialists in Pakistan) "were extremely curious and knowledgeable about ... the nature of group differences in behaviour" he remarks that their knowledge about other social groups was far superior to the curiosity and information that he observed among sedentary people he previously conducted research with. Their diversity and skilfulness in interpersonal as well as intercultural perception "are basic behavioural skills characteristic of this type of subsistence strategy" (Berland 1982:4). Just as perhaps with groups such as hunters and some sea faring peoples must be skilled in identifying and organising a wide range of perceptual cues, such as the horizon, clouds, winds, stars, sounds, and tracks. A sensitive and supportive attitude is key to gaining the trust of nomads and all development and education initiatives have to be geared towards such a framework to make any progress.

4.8.2 Child centred education

In literature, children rarely feature as members of a group in their own right outside their location within families, with duties as family members in terms of household chores, caring for siblings and involvement in pastoral activities. Burawoy (2005) observes that it is imperative to engage with students and their spontaneous sociology, which, through pedagogy, is transformed into an understanding of the social contexts that shape it. Berland (1982:8) is critical of the Western oriented classifications of enculturation domains into discreet areas such as "work", "school", "play", family" as they tend to be ethnocentric, especially insensitive to the *interpersonal* nature of the cultural milieu. This is quite the case with the highly fluid social camp of peripatetic specialists. He contends that it is more fruitful to study cognitive amplifiers as they manifest in everyday life in determining psychological functioning. These also help in the analysis of socioecological niches in which each person acquires and utilises psychological experiences and skills (Ibid:6).

Few studies on nomadic peoples have focused on children; Berland's work is a noted exception. Much more research is needed on childhoods and enculturation practices among nomadic peoples.

A study of innovative best-practices in rural education can be useful to gauge if and how indigenous knowledge and skills could be incorporated in nomadic education. For example, the introduction of Activity-Based Learning (ABL) in schools in Tamil Nadu capitalises on the natural motivation of students to know and learn. There are several aspects of Bakkarwal culture and knowledge systems that may be fruitfully combined with such programmes. Traditionally, the education of Bakkarwal children consists of being allowed to participate in the work of adults. Fieldwork with Bakkarwal families revealed that a limitation of formal educational institutions is that they impose constraints on children for whom the landscape shapes all experiences of work and leisure, and is invested with meanings and ideas of beauty that form an essential part of their cultural heritage. Pedagogy should be encouraged to incorporate games played by Bakkarwal children and the practices of story-telling used to communicate their rich folklore.

4.8.3 Moving schools

The mobile boat school approach developed by Grambangla Unnayan Committee, an NGO in Bangladesh, to serve the Bede community is an example of flexibility regarding both mode and content of education provision. Emanating from Participatory Action Research (PAR) the programme was used to initiate a needs-based development programme, in contrast with earlier research on Bedes that had documented but not addressed their plight (Maksud and Rasul, 2006 in Krätli and Dyer, 2009).

Dyer writes that the PAR process was successful in identifying a range of lifelong, gender differentiated learning needs among the community, and aimed in the first instance to set up mobile boat schools. Dyer reports that there are now eleven boats, each managed by a PAR group serving as a school committee. External animators are phoned up as a boat arrives at an agreed point and each spends five days each month living on the boat and working with teachers and children. The boat schools use government curricular materials to promote their access to the formal school curriculum, and the model envisages children spending two months in a government school during the time of community convergence (Ibid).

This gives Bede children options of whether or not to take up the traditional occupation. Maksud and Rasul (2006) report that this model has succeeded in getting the Bede to think about self-determination and has created a change in self-perception. Importantly, the endeavour has also increased their policy visibility: the Bede's special needs now find mention in the Bangladesh Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). The project has also provided a model which donor and government agencies have been able to see work, resulting in inputs of expertise to support specific activities. Media coverage highlighting Bede issues of disenfranchisement has also helped to raise their profile. However, teachers' own limited educational experience, and their training requirements place some limitations on the scope of the mobile schools. There is also a need to officially address Bede 'drop-out' patterns which make schools who educate them for only two months appear to have high dropout rates, attracting negative attention from government officials targeting universal retention (Ibid).

A similar experiment has been going on in Andhra Pradesh, India. 'School on Boat' is an initiative by East Godavari district SSA authorities for the "universalisation of education" for the children of 180 odd migrated fishermen families in Uppalanka Mandi. Started in the year 2004 the initiative has already enrolled 92 'most difficult to reach' children out of 238 in the age group of 5-15 years.[24]

In the beginning the surveyors and other officials of the district received very lukewarm response from the parents and the children when they tried to motivate them for education...They zeroed in on a beautifully decorated boat, which they built, with play materials and a motivator cum instructor on it. The motivator went on collecting the children who used to loiter around the canal bank and the children who were helping their parents on their respective 'Donelu' boats (Ibid).

Gradually, however, the SSA authorities built a thatched hut on the bank of canal. Two "motivators" from the local fisherman community were appointed to teach children the basics of letters & numbers. "The constructive hours at the thatched hut were used to orient and prepare the children with the objectives of enrolling them in residential Bridge Courses and enrolling them in regular formal schools." The experiment was also used to motivate the parents and attract more children who were still on the 'Donelus'. The materials from their day-to-day lives like dried snails etc were used to teach letters and numbers or story telling (Ibid, scare quotes in original).

According to the SSA website, 13,733 children are brought into the educational fold through innovations like boat school and doorstep schools during the year 2006 –07.[25]

It remains to be seen, however, if these "bridge-schools" or any such experiments can possibly impart education in a truly non-alienating scenario, or whether Deleuzes' (1992:3-7) idea of "control" model based increasingly on seduction and enticement through manipulation of opportunity and desire, is what is at play here, rather than the more obvious Foucauldian (1975) idea of control through coercion or constraint. A healthy dose of scepticism must be exercised by researchers while reviewing such experiments, given the chequered past of mobile peoples while dealing with state or any other authorities. Are these bridge-schools more than a specific technology of power through which states attempt to manage or pacify marginal populations through both force and pedagogy of conversion, intended to transform "unruly subjects" into lawful subjects of the state?

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[24] www.education.nic.in/AR/AR2005-06-E/EEL0506.pdf

[25] ssa.ap.nic.in/Alternative%20schooling.pdf

We must also problematise whether such a model can possibly "succeed in getting the Bede to think about self-determination". If the idea of bridge-schools is to transfer nomad children who have completed primary education to 'normal schools' we must also call into question the changes in self-perception and identity that take place in such a transition? Can such a model truly work for nomads?

Another point to be made here is the correlation between a state and its ambitions to meet targeted objectives (here SSA and MDG 2) such as, for national and international repute. To achieve such objectives states and developers might be willing to bend backwards by providing unprecedented infrastructure such as "beautifully decorated boats" and possibly sensitive "motivators" for teachers.[26] However, we must also question what happens to these children after they have received education in such an idyllic setting at the primary level, and then find themselves in secondary schools that are opposite in every way to what they have experienced in their beautiful boat schools. As Lewin (2008:6) notes:

> … social polarisation might increase rather than reduce with expanded access to primary schooling whose quality was compromised by rapid growth … (and) what the opportunity costs would be of privileging the completion of the last child of primary schooling over investment at higher levels.

The recent findings of NGO Pratham's Annual Survey of Education Report 2010 attests this point.[27]

Indeed, there is a likelihood of very high drop-out rates at the post primary level with children alienated both from their traditional way of life and that of the larger world. Again, we must ask the state to explain what happens to its relationship to these children once the state's targeted objectives have been met or improved. Much more research is required to evaluate what happens to private experiences of children, and their families, once the period of enticement is over.

4.8.4 Moving with learners – using community volunteers

An innovative literacy drive, from the Rural Litigation and Entitlement Kendra (RLEK), again an NGO, focused on the pastoral Van Gujjars of North India who move between

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[26] Lewin (2008:9) notes that "a common language has developed around EFA. National planning systems with limited capacity have been heavily skewed towards EFA Goals and MDG related activities. Sub-sectors not within EFA have been neglected and data collection systems have been allowed to degrade in non-EFA areas".

[27] 96.5% of all children aged 6-14 years being enrolled in schools, an extensive private audit has revealed. NGO Pratham`sAnnual Survey of Education Report says the proportion of girls in the age group of 11-14 years too increased to 94.1%. But there was an overall decline in students` ability to do basic mathematics and only 53.4% of children in Class V could read Class II level textbooks ("Primary Education Inches Ahead"The Economic Times Jan. 18th 2011).

between Shivaliks and the Upper Himalayan Region (Kaushik, 2008 in Dyer, 2009). No-one within this group was literate thus the Literacy Programme depended on the use of volunteer teachers from other communities, one of whom was appointed for every five Gujjar families living nearby. Most volunteers had gained qualifications at the secondary school level but were unemployed. They chose 350 youths who were secular, physically fit and committed to the project. Volunteers received a month's training in the culture and practices of the Van Gujjar community, including training on how to survive wildlife without guns, as they had to trek and stay in the forest. They were given contingency expenses at the rate of Rs. 1 / km and were provided food and lodging by the community (Krätli and Dyer, 2009).

The Van Gujjars were asked to specify what they would study and opted for accounts, to be able to deal with milk traders; and English so that they could read road signs, billboards and registration numbers of heavy vehicles so they could note those that killed their cattle on the road. RLEK prepared three primers (basic textbooks) called Naya Safar (New Journey) based on the technique of Improved Pace and Content of Learning. The writers were exposed to the culture and lifestyle of Van Gujjars; and one male and one female prospective learner were involved in preparing these primers. Stories in the primers were selected to enable the students to identify with the problems such as the death of a buffalo, dispute between friends, looking after the jungle, maintaining individual health and community hygiene and planting saplings. Subjects dealt with in the primers included cooperative systems, social harmony, improvement of environment, significance of conservation, personal hygiene, family planning, child health care, immunisation, cattle breeding, milk production and marketing. In the teaching-learning sessions, the focus was on the 3 R's – Reading, wRiting and aRithmetic (Krätli and Dyer, 2009).

Classes were conducted under the shade of a tree at noon and in Gujjar camps or *deras* at night. The adult literacy campaign faced opposition from Rajaji National Park authorities who tried to block the movement of volunteer teachers. The Forest Department also threatened to arrest volunteers, warned that the programme should be stopped immediately and branded it anti-national. To address these problems, RLEK called a meeting of Van Gujjars and volunteers and declared that any volunteer arrested for educating the Van Gujjars would be rewarded Rs. 10,000 by RLEK; and a letter would be written to the President of India to honour such volunteers. Taunts that it was a publicity stunt have been mitigated by an annual literacy fair where Van Gujjars can demonstrate their educational and literacy skills to journalists, social workers and educationists (Krätli and Dyer, 2009).

The programme claims that since it began, 21,000 Van Gujjar adults have become literate and can now negotiate better terms of re-settlement with Rajaji National Park authorities, and have been offered 2 hectares of land. They have also begun to form milk co-operatives, and have fought for and procured their voting rights. The adult literacy work has also led to a demand for formal schools for Van Gujjar children and the NGO has set up four exclusive schools for them. In collaboration with local communities, it has also formed 20 schools in the hills, for all the hill communities in the area. Each school has at least one teacher from the Van Gujjar community; schools are monitored by the villages' Self Help Groups. Questions over the sustainability of the programme remain, as there is no state support for it, and success is leading to the classic dilemma of potentially overstretching the NGO and thus potentially weakening its capacity to respond flexibly (Krätli and Dyer, 2009).

A major success of this programme has been that several learners have gone on to become para-vets, which has improved animal health, along with the Van Gujjars' own new abilities to check expiry dates on medicines. This underlines Morton's (2008:5) view that 'A specific institutional innovation of value to pastoralism is that of community-based animal health systems, which can deliver animal health more widely and more effectively than either governmental or private systems based on the use of qualified vets' (Krätli and Dyer, 2009).

Dyer rightly notes that this question requires a reflection also on the role of voluntarism. The measure, while certainly a useful short term strategy that provides 'teachers' who not only offer a service but also, as RLEK demonstrates, find an application for their own education. The Indian government appealed to such altruism in its Total Literacy Campaign as well. It is ironic that such teachers are only available because the kind of education they have experienced may have enhanced their social standing (Jeffery et al., 2007 in Krätli and Dyer, 2009), but has not been effectively linked to employment (Krätli and Dyer, 2009).

Gooch (2004) who has closely documented the Van Gujjars and the work of RLEK with the community, among other aspects, writes that for a period in the middle of the 1990s the Van Gujjar also seemed close to attaining their goal of '*jangal ka haque*' (forest rights) and community forest management. But the movement lost momentum partly because RLEK, that had lobbied for the Van Gujjar case among politicians and the media, lost interest in the nomadic issue and started working among settled villagers in the hills instead. This highlights the problems of reliance on external motivators such as NGOs and the media.

4.8.5 School for Siberian nomads[28]

The French ethnologist Alexandra Lavrillier took it upon herself to help the Evenki people to safeguard their culture. She started a mobile school which has been up and running since the start of 2006. The school was granted the status of "official experimental school", recognition that may pave the way for similar experiments elsewhere in Siberia.

Now at last Evenk children have a school that can travel with them, that is adapted to their lifestyle and, most importantly, does not require them to be separated from their parents. The Rolex Award presented to Lavrillier in 2006 can pay for at least the crucial first three years, covering the cost of teaching materials, multimedia equipment, a team of reindeer for transport and salaries for three Evenk teachers, including Lavrillier, and for a guide. The Award also covers the costs of printing and distributing books that the nomadic school will produce on Evenk language and culture.

The 23 six- to ten-year-olds from several different camps now attending the Evenk nomadic school have all the benefits of a full educational programme. The teachers travel from one camp to another, with the time spent at each camp depending on the educational level and needs of the children, who then continue their work on their own until the school returns. As well as the traditional Russian curriculum, the subjects include English, French and an Internet-awareness module, using a computer powered by an electric generator. Lavrillier insisted on language and computer courses because she believes the students must have the tools they will need to deal with the modern world – and to benefit from it. "The state infrastructures that used to provide jobs for Evenks are being shut down one after another... In the very near future, they will need to be ready to defend their rights and learn about the market economy. Some of them might even want to start their own small businesses" writes Lavrillier.

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[28] http://rolexawards.com Not Dated, Referencing Guide, available here: http://rolexawards.com/en/the-laureates/alexandralavrillier-laureates-in-paris.jsp
Alexandra Lavrillier was one of three Laureates whose work was presented to the French public in 2008. The nomadic school she founded is changing the lives of its students and raising interest in a rich and endangered pastoral culture. The school is now the subject of a prize-winning documentary by French film-maker Michel Debats.

Modern education is now balanced by the cultivation of the Evenk heritage in the travelling school, which allows the children to stay with their parents and elders and continue to be part of their own community. The young Evenk can learn to fish, look after reindeer and be initiated into various rituals. They will also have an opportunity to study their traditions in class – and a chance to help conserve them, as Lavrillier is relying on their cooperation for the books the school is producing, including a guide to the flora and fauna of the taiga that will explain how the Evenk use and manage this environment with its often extreme conditions. The guide will also explain how the Evenk separate and spread out in winter in order to make the most of the few resources available. When warmer weather returns, they attend a large gathering before accompanying their herds of reindeer to high-altitude pastures where the summer heat is less harsh on the animals. The guide on the flora and fauna is accompanied by a handbook on the Evenk language and a book on their traditions and beliefs. The guidebooks should help the many Evenk people who have settled in Russia to rediscover their roots.

These new guides will be critical to revitalising Evenk culture. Since perestroika in the late 1980s, Russia has rediscovered the richness of its ethnic peoples and has tried to rehabilitate them. The Evenk, like about 30 other Siberian minorities, have been granted special status and a degree of autonomy intended to enhance their identity, beliefs and traditions. Resources, however, are often too scarce to repair the damage done by centuries of cultural erosion. There are only 30,000 Evenk left in Russia. Most of them have completely abandoned the nomadic way of life and the taiga, and now live in villages and towns, with no memory of their ancestral hunting and fishing techniques. More often than not, these men and women have switched to agriculture, and two-thirds of them can no longer speak their traditional language. Generally there is little to envy in the way of life of these settled Evenk. They find it hard to fit into modern Russian society, and, as with all the Siberian minorities, the proportion of unemployed Evenk is far higher than the Russian average. Only a few of them reach higher education.

However, it is among these settled Evenk that Lavrillier has recruited the two teachers who work with her at the nomadic school. To leave modern living, however modest, in order to return to nomadic life – especially one which requires enduring the harsh Siberian winters – is a difficult decision to take, even when jobs are scarce. Lavrillier is now making the Evenk way of life better known to the outside world, through lectures and articles, and, in 2005, a doctoral thesis presented to the Ecole des Hautes Etudes in Paris for which she received the unanimous congratulations of the jury. "It is only because I know all about the Evenk nomads, their living conditions and their environment, that I had the confidence to put forward this project for a nomadic school, as a feasible, viable project," says Lavrillier.

In June 2008, the first series of pupils from the nomad school scored top marks at their third examination by the Russian education authorities. Throughout the school year, seven teachers travelled on sledges to teach the children as their nomadic families moved across a region covering over 1,500 square kilometres. The results exceeded all expectations. "The children who learned to read and count in the taiga scored better than those from the village school where they sat their exam," says Lavrillier, who is using the funding from her Rolex Award to run the travelling school for five years.

This is a great story but ultimately dependent on individual passion and motivation and difficult to replicate in its holism. Yet, important lessons can be learnt and models created for replication. The above experiment is noteworthy for combining skilfully both ‘modern’ and ‘indigenous’ curriculum and teachers, and inculcating teaching and learning practices that emulate both lifestyles. However, the idea of attracting teachers from the community for greater reliance to encourage internal cultural and ethnic solidarity and joint perception of child development, as discussed above, “can not be presumed” (Rao 2006:65). And any such intervention has to be made keeping in mind the inherent problems of such an approach.

In South Asia where nomads and other marginal populations live in marginal spaces, with an absence of roads, schools, or other signs of the presence of the state, ideas of well-equipped mobile schools in vans itself seem ambitious. However, recent innovations in school education for the marginalised in India include connecting even far-flung areas with internet via satellite connections. I have witnessed the extension of such facilities to among the most remote settled ‘tribes’ in the Himalayan belt in Arunachal Pradesh and Sikkim where sometimes computers have been carried to subalpine remote Himalayan locations on the backs of donkeys. And sometimes, state run schools are established for as little as ten children in parts of north-east of India. Be that as it may, the north-east, for various political reasons beyond the scope of this review, is a much pampered region for the Indian state. The question I am trying to raise here is to ask what allows the state never to be held responsible to its own promises to populations it does not have to lure, such as nomads. It is a combination of an exploitation of the physical location of some peoples combined with other ideas about their “natural” marginality (Das and Poole 2004:17). The state always strategises between people it must entice and those it can choose to ignore, passing it off as the “natural” state of being of some peoples.

4.8.6 The Gobi Women’s Project

The project addressed how best to meet the newly-arisen needs for information, providing culturally appropriate materials within a decentralised framework of lifelong learning, but in the context of very high adult literacy. This experiment used radio and print combined and was supplemented by visiting teachers for face-to-face contact. Radio instruction provided learning opportunities, framed within an income generation motivation geared to the new market economy. Key areas for content included livestock rearing techniques; family care, income generation, with literacy cross cutting these themes. Provision mixed ‘mainstream’ and local inputs in both materials and broadcasts; local stations offered local content and topicality; and women kept a learning journal. Visiting teachers supported the learning process in a ratio of 1:15 learners, meeting up to twice a month and providing feedback to and from coordinating committees. Small information centres also set up as meeting points; materials and technical support were available – for meetings, demonstration sessions and individual study. Consultative committees at national, provincial and local levels were set up. Collaborative arrangements were established with the state owned Mongol Radio in Ulaanbaatar, and three local radio stations were upgraded to meet the project needs.

This project gained the interest of other learners within the family, thus effectively moving towards being a family literacy project although initially conceived quite differently: ‘Radio has had the ability to bring various forces into play, the most important of which is the interaction of people and flows of information. This interaction lies at the heart of the project’s success. Thanks to the women, whole families ended up benefiting from the project. It is the women who passed on their knowledge to their children, who informed their husbands of their new capabilities and saw the enormous potential that could be drawn from using local capacity' (Krätli and Dyer, 2009)

The above project is especially relevant to nomadic groups such as the Bakkarwals who carry radios during their migration to listen to music and news. This technology can be further tapped for educational provisions.

Furthermore, such experiments express a continuing need to keep returning to the multi-faceted, context driven demand, rather than simply the logistics of supply — and how educational provision can best understand and respond to it (Krätli and Dyer, 2009).

5. Conclusions

Nomads constitute a significant population in South Asia, exhibiting little sign of disappearing. While mainstream ideology and modern legislators advocate sedentary patterns of living as ‘civilised’, at least for semi-arid regions pastoralism remains an efficient subsistence-base and constant mobility as a “best defense” strategy for many peripatetics. Nomadism continues to be a valid choice for many, and transhumance is growing in some areas like Rajasthan. The problem of educating nomads remains a challenge for South Asian states and developers, as for much of the world.

Educationally, pastoralists seem to be a paradox. While many of them may be poor they are highly skilled, confident and articulate and harbour rich knowledge traditions. According to Krätli (2001:67) pastoralists who do become unskilled under-class are more likely to belong to the section that *received some years of formal education*, and were gradually alienated from their traditional livelihood, finding themselves at the bottom of mainstream society. A review of literature thus suggests that a consideration of this paradox should be at the core of every programme evaluation and analysis of the continuous failure, with regard to nomads, and the universal project of education. The strategy of nomads, to educate one or two members of their household when possible, seems to establish an indirect link with education and productivity by means of increasing economic diversification rather than any direct outcome (Ibid). Claims about the beneficial effects of education on nomadic productivity cannot be corroborated through existing literature.

What does come out rather clearly in the literature reviewed is the change in self-perception of nomads because of the lack of formal schooling, reverberating from the attitude of the formally schooled towards nomads, linked to the power relations inherent in the social capital accrued through education. As Salzman (2004) notes:

> The “modern” culture of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries has valued urban rather than rural life, education rather than experience, refinement rather than natural qualities, consumption rather than production, national rather than local identity, and leisure rather than labour. In the modernist vision, *spread effectively and widely through schools and the mass media*, rural producers, such as pastoralists out on the range with their animals, are deemed marginal and backward. With the cultural value of pastoralism so denigrated, young people are discouraged from taking it up, and without recruitment, pastoralism dies (Ibid 2004:15–16).

The above change in self-perception in addition to the marginalisation of nomads in the contemporary world, copiously reiterated in the literature reviewed, have led nomads to seek ways and means that might allow them to educate their children. Some among them have been led to seek an alternative out of pastoralism itself, and several nomadic groups have settled down near towns and villages with provisions in health and education. This points to *grave inadequacies related to supply-side issues* that have for long been *couched under the framework of the ‘natural’ marginalisation and backwardness of some peoples*, like nomads.

The campaign by civil society and the academy to highlight the plight of nomads has yielded results both in policy and practice. Nomads — for long invisible to states and development agencies — have resurfaced, and are gradually being acknowledged and included as citizens, though in South Asia this process is slow. Policy recommendations in literature insist on linking support for education to support for nomadic livelihoods and economy. Indeed, their gradually increasing visibility in policy briefs and development frameworks is encouraging. In education policy, they are being targeted through SSA's "hard to reach" populations, and special provisions such as the above mentioned boat schools are being improvised to include them in the process of development. However, it is as yet too early to comment on the success of such programmes. Future research must evaluate the impact of such programmes on the targeted populations. Sensitive community-specific provisions geared at nomads are as yet extremely limited and rare, and much more work is needed from the supply-side dimension if these provisions have to go beyond mere exhibitionism and result in intended outcomes.

Issues of sustained marginalisation of nomads at the cost of agriculturists, infrastructure development, roads and transportation, reserve forests, among other factors, urgently need to be addressed in policy that must adjust to reverse the frameworks of historical injustice meted out to nomads and denotified peoples. The productivity and contribution of nomads to national economies must be acknowledged and evaluated, and their sustainable practices in otherwise ecologically fragile landscapes encouraged. In the present time, it is the reverse scenario that is in place. Underlining an urgent need to link sensitive education provisions in education to mobile livelihoods that would enable nomads to *increase* their options (and not force them to sedentarise) helping them to cope with *both* nomadic and sedentary livelihoods. Census officials must develop sensitive strategies to win the trust of nomads and account for the yet un-enumerated mobile populations of South Asia.

Research too must shift its gaze from the village, caste and tribe to also investigate hundreds of nomadic communities that remain undocumented in literature so far, emerging in lucid terminologies and conceptualisations specific to nomadism and the clearing away of innumerable myths associated with mobile peoples. Research should help refine our understanding about the distinct cultural traits, differences and commonalities among the various strands of nomads —pastoralists, peripatetics, hunter-gatherers, sea and river nomads. Educationists must endeavour to find out what these groups and communities think basic education is. What, according to them, is the role and contents of education; and, what (if any) are the transformative aspects of education for nomads. Such insights shall help provide a more nuanced understanding of individual voices and their communities, and generate a deeper understanding of what education means to nomads, and what it provides access to, and indeed how it may be ideally achievable (or not). Research should also be geared to investigate the longitudinal institutional impact of education on the student and the community. The significance of generating emic understandings from the point of view of nomads would help refine etic conceptions of education from the point of view of the periphery — or those sites of practice on which law and other state practices are "colonised by other forms of regulation that emanate from the pressing needs of populations to secure political and economic survival" (Das and Phoole, 2004; Tsing, 1993). For it is from these very margins of the state, from these nomadic borderlands or the "state of nature" if you like, that we see how the state is constantly reformulating its modes of order and lawmaking, which, in turn, shape found and govern the development paradigm. Factoring in that no one system or structure of a complex society can be changed without its impact on the others — their interface aiding or hindering change in varying degrees — the relationship of the education system to other structures of society must be contextualised, within specific contexts.

There is a larger frame of reference that needs to be addressed in the long term with reference to nomads, which implies the "re-education of the educated" (Krätli, 2001). There is need not only to bring nomads up to speed with the outside world, but as importantly to bridge the knowledge gap the ‘mainstream’ has about peripheral populations such as nomads. Implying that poverty eradication among pastoral groups seems conditional upon a radical review of the way pastoralism and pastoralists are represented in *mainstream culture*.

The engagement of civil society with respect to nomadic education is noteworthy in the Asian context, contrasted with Africa where state governments and INGOs are the active agents of education delivery to nomads (Dyer and Krätli, 2009). However, as pointed above, education provisions to nomads remain rare and “institutionally isolated” and the sustainability of provisions remains a pressing issue in the region.

Ultimately, as mentioned in the introductory notes in the review, owing to various reasons, research on nomads in gravely lacking in concepts and I propose to view the sustained marginalisation of nomads as a “state of exception” (Agamben, 2005). According to Agamben, the presence of spaces of exception devoid of law, that I argue nomads find themselves in, are fundamental to the legal order, so much so that the ‘legal order’ tries to establish a relation to law, as if the law in order to remain functional must have the precondition of this relation to anomy. Extending the Schmitt-Benjamin debates where Schmitt and Benjamin argued on the state of emergency (1928 to 1940), Agamben explains how through the mechanism of the exception, totalitarianism can in fact be defined as the restoration of law, by means of the state of exception, as a legal civil war which allows for the elimination not only of political enemies but of *civil citizens* which for several reasons cannot be integrated (such as nomads) into the political system. Agamben notes that the creation of a permanent state of exception, seldom officially declared, has, in fact, become one of the *essential tasks of the modern state*.

Since Agamben, various other social scientists have explored the idea of the exception in contemporary states (Jaganathan, Mariane C. Ferme, Lawrence Cohen, Talal Asad among others in Das and Poole, 2004). Asad (2004:287) makes the important observation that while in liberal democracies the theory is that the citizens make the law their own by collectively willing it; “*authority* comes *prior* to acts of submission, whether they are coerced or consented to. The *force* of the law therefore derives from beyond the general will of citizens”. Commenting on the arbitrariness of the law, Ferme (2004:87) makes another significant point that critics of the liberal-democratic models of the political, such as Schmitt (1922) fail to recognise that ultimately *sovereignty is about the power to suspend the (ordinary) rule of law* (Ferme, 2006:87)[29].

Going into a detailed discussion on the state of exception is beyond the scope of this review; however, it is a key conceptual tool in my research on the nomadic pastoral Bakkarwals of Jammu and Kashmir. The government of India has recently made education a fundamental right for every Indian child. On 1st April 2010, through the implementation of The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education (RTE) Act 2009[30], an “entitlement” for every child between the age group of 6-14 (in DL—(N)04/0007/2003—09). The act extends to the whole of India, but small print in the draft of the Act reads “*except the State of Jammu and Kashmir*” perhaps owing to the special status of Kashmir in the Indian constitution. Kashmir can also be viewed as a zone of exception in India, which I hope to examine through a case study on state provisions in mobile education for Bakkarwal children.

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[29] Schmitt {1922} (1985:5-13) redefined state sovereignty as being “not about the monopoly to coerce or to rule, but as the monopoly to decide” (Schmitt in Ferme 2004:87)

[30] The full text of the ACT can be viewed at
http://www.indg.gov.in/primaryeducation/policiesandschemes/free%20and%20compulsory.pdf

The concept of exception is universally applicable with which to comprehend the situation of nomads. As I conclude this review, Roma people are making news on a daily basis in Europe. The European Union is entangled in a war of words with Sarkozy who continues to expel the Roma from France amid accusations that France is *breaking EU law*. Berlusconi has described France's expulsions as “perfectly legal” (Guardian 2010). Activists report that governments across Europe, not just France, have adopted anti-Roma policies. France is not alone in expelling Roma people, as the same has been done by other EU nations such as Denmark and Sweden, while Germany has paid Roma to return to Romania. Finland has threatened expulsions as well (Guardian. 2010).[31] As Ferme (2004:83) notes, laws and workings of the (supra) state can be termed as arbitrary because they are, firstly, experienced as such by the people who are constantly disadvantaged by them, additionally, among other factors, the state can arbitrate, decide or create situations in which competing interpretations of the common good blur the threshold between legality and illegality.

As the title of this review symbolises, much of the research and development work on nomadism is symptomatic of a central paradox with relation to nomads — that research and development paradigms that examine nomads, as those of nation states, are ill-suited to evaluate nomadism as they are derived from a sedentary standpoint and are therefore ill-equipped to examine nomadism from a neutral point of view. The process of theory building must also enable novel paradigms with which to study nomadism.

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[31] guardian.co.uk, Friday 17 September 2010 19.04 BST

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Appendix 1: Database of Nomads in India

Sl No	Name of the Community	STATE	Status in Government Notification	Category (NT/DNT/SNT)
1	Nayaks (Naiks!)	Andhra Pradesh	ST list Sl.No. 23	DNT
2	Sungalis, Lambadis, Banjara	Andhra Pradesh	ST list Sl.No. 29	DNT
3	Yenadis, Chella Yenadi, Kappala Yenadi, Manchi Yenadi, Reddi Yenadi	Andhra Pradesh	ST list Sl.No. 32	DNT
4	Yerukulas, Koracha, Dabba Yerukula, kanchapuri Yerukula, Uppu Yerukula	Andhra Pradesh	ST list Sl.No. 33	DNT
5	Nakkala Kurvikaran	Andhra Pradesh	ST list Sl.No. 34	DNT
6	Adi Dravida	Andhra Pradesh	SC list Sl.No. 2	DNT
7	Chamar, Mochi, Muchi, Chamar Ravidas, Chamar Rohidas	Andhra Pradesh	SC list Sl.No. 14	DNT
8	Dandasi	Andhra Pradesh	SC list Sl.No 18	DNT
9	Dom, Dombara, Paidi, Pano	Andhra Pradesh	SC list Sl.No. 20	DNT
10	Ghasi, Haddi, Relli Chachandi	Andhra Pradesh	SC list Sl.No. 22	DNT
11	Madiga	Andhra Pradesh	SC list Sl.No. 32	DNT
12	Madiga Dasu, Mashteen (!)	Andhra Pradesh	SC list Sl.No. 33	DNT
13	Mala Ayawaru	Andhra Pradesh	SC list Sl.No. 35	DNT
14	Mang Garodi	Andhra Pradesh	SC list Sl.No. 44	DNT
15	Budabukkala	Andhra Pradesh	OBC list Gr.A, Sl.No. 4	DNT
16	Dasari	Andhra Pradesh	OBC list Gr.A, Sl.No. 6	DNT
17	Dommara	Andhra Pradesh	OBC List Gr.A, Sl.No.7	DNT
18	Jogi	Andhra Pradesh	OBC List Gr.A., Sl. No.10	DNT
19	Nakkala	Andhra Pradesh	OBC List Gr.A. Sl.No.17	DNT
20	Pardhi	Andhra Pradesh	OBC List Gr.A, Sl.No.20	DNT
21	Kanjara - Bhatta	Andhra Pradesh	OBC List Gr.A,Sl.No.27	DNT
22	Kinthala Kalinga, Buragana Kalinga, Pandiri Kalinga, Buragam Kalinga.	Andhra Pradesh	OBC List Gr.A,Sl.No. 28.	DNT
23	Reddika Or Kepmare	Andhra Pradesh	OBC List Gr.A, Sl No.29	DNT
24	Mondepatta Or Mondipatta	Andhra Pradesh	OBC List Gr.A, Sl.No.30	DNT

25	Yata	Andhra Pradesh	OBC List Gr.A.Sl.No.33	DNT
26	Kaikadi	Andhra Pradesh	OBC List Gr.A, Sl.No.35	DNT
27	Passi	Andhra Pradesh	OBC List Gr.D,Sl.No.25	DNT
28	Vanjara	Andhra Pradesh	OBC List Gr.D, Sl.No.32	DNT
29	Lodha	Andhra Pradesh	OBC List Gr.A,Sl.No.95	NT
30	Balasanthu, Bahurupi	Andhra Pradesh	OBC List Gr.A,Sl.No.25	NT
31	Medari Or Mahendra	Andhra Pradesh	OBC List Gr.A, Sl.No.13	NT
1	Pangchenpa	Arunachal Pradesh		NT
2	Thingbupa	Arunachal Pradesh		NT
3	Magopa	Arunachal Pradesh		NT
4	Luguthangpa	Arunachal Pradesh		NT
1	Ahir Goala	Assam	OBC List,Sl.No.24(1)	NT
2	Beldar	Assam	OBC List,Sl.No.24(12)	NT
3	Madari	Assam	OBC List, Sl. No. 24 (65)	NT
4	Nath	Assam	OBC List Sl. No.24(78)	NT
5	Pasi	Assam	OBC List, Sl. No.24 (80)	NT
6	Yogi, Jogi, Jogi Nath	Assam	OBC List, Sl.No.26	NT
7	Bauri	Assam	OBC List Sl.No.24(7)	DNT
8	Bedia	Assam	OBC List, Sl.No.24(11)	DNT
9	Chamar	Assam	OBC List Sl. No. 24(24)	DNT
10	Dandasi	Assam	OBC List Sl.No.24(29)	DNT
11	Dhanwar	Assam	OBC List Sl.No.24(31)	DNT
12	Ghansi	Assam	OBC List Sl.No.24(35)	DNT
13	Kawar	Assam	OBC List Sl.No.24(45)	DNT
14	Lodha	Assam	OBC List Sl.No.24(63)	DNT
15	Jogi	Assam	OBC List Sl.No.26	DNT
1	Dom, Dhangao, Bansphor,Dharikar Dharkar,Domra	Bihar	SC List, Sl.No.10	DNT

2	Dusadh, Dhari, Dharhi	Bihar	SC List Sl.No.11	DNT
3	Ghasi	Bihar	SC List Sl.No.12	DNT
4	Kanjar	Bihar	SC List Sl.No.15	DNT
5	Musahar	Bihar	SC List Sl.No.18	DNT
6	Nat	Bihar	SC List Sl.No.19	DNT
7	Pasi	Bihar	SC List Sl.No.21	DNT
8	Jogi (Jugi)	Bihar	OBC List Sl.No. I(46)	DNT
9	Dhekaru	Bihar	OBC List Sl.No. I(49) II(32)	DNT
10	Nat (Muslim)	Bihar	OBC List Sl.No.I(65)	
11	Dhanwar	Bihar	OBC List Sl.No. II(41)	DNT
12	Birhor	Bihar	ST List Sl.No.7	NT
13	Gaddi	Bihar	OBC List Sl.No.30	NT
1	Bhil, Bhilala,Barela,Pateui	Chhatishgarh	ST List Sl.No.7	DNT
2	Bhil, Mina	Chhatishgarh	ST List Sl.No.8	DNT
3	Dhanwar	Chhatishgarh	ST List Sl.No.14	DNT
4	Pardhi, Banelia, Banellia, Chita Pardhi, Langoti Pardhi, Ahans Paradhi.	Chhatishgarh	ST List Sl.No. 36	DNT
5	Bedia	Chhatishgarh	SC List Sl.No.9	DNT
6	Beldar, Sunkar	Chhatishgarh	SC List Sl.No.10	DNT
7	Chamar	Chhatishgarh	SC List Sl.No.14	DNT
8	Dom, Dumar, Dome, Domar,Doris	Chhatishgarh	SC List Sl.No.23	DNT
9		Chhatishgarh		
10	Ghasi, Ghasia	Chhatishgarh	SC List Sl.No.25	DNT
11	Kanjar	Chhatishgarh	SC List Sl.No.27	DNT
12	Khatik	Chhatishgarh	SC List Sl.No. 29	DNT
13	Kuchhandhia	Chhatishgarh	SC List Sl.No.32	DNT
14	Mang Garudi, Madari,Garudi, Radhe Mang	Chhatishgarh	SC List Sl.N.34	DNT
15	Moghia	Chhatishgarh	SC List Sl.No.36	DNT
16	Nat, Kalbelia, Sapera, Navdigar, Kubutar	Chhatishgarh	SC List Sl. No.38	DNT
17	Navdigar,Kubutar	Chhatishgarh		
18	Pasi	Chhatishgarh	SC List Sl. No.39	DNT
19	Sansi, Sansia	Chhatishgarh	SC List Sl.No.41	DNT
20	Birhul, Birhor	Chhatishgarh	ST List Sl. No.12	NT
21	Bhanumati	Chhatishgarh	SC List Sl.No.12	NT
1	Dhangar	Goa	OBC List Sl.No.3	NT
2	Nathjogi	Goa	OBC List	NT
3	Gosavi	Goa	OBC List	NT
1	Bhil	Gujarat	ST List Sl. No.4	DNT
2	Pardhi Advichincher, Phase Pardhi	Gujarat	ST List Sl. No.21	DNT
3	Vaghri	Gujarat	ST List Sl.No.27	DNT
4	Ahir	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.2	DNT
5	Bavri Baori	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.5	DNT
6	Chhara, Adodia Sansi	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.14	DNT
7	Kaikadi	Gujarat	OBC List	DNT

			Sl.No.31	
8	Labana	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.40	DNNT
9	Lodha	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.41	DNT
10	Miyana, Miana(Muslim)	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.51	DNT
11	Nat, Nat Bajania, Bajigar,Natada	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.53	DNT
12	OD	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.52	DNT
13	Rabari, Sorathia Rabari	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.55	DNT
14	Mang Garubi	Gujarat	SC List Sl.No.20	DNT
15	Pasi	Gujarat	SC List Sl.No.24	DNT
16	Chamar	Gujarat	SC List Sl.Nio.33	DNT
17	Bhamta	Gujarat	SC List Sl.No.8	DNT
18	Bharwad	Gujarat	ST List Sl.No.8	NT
19	Charan	Gujarat	ST List Sl.No.5	NT
20	Rabari, Sorathia Rabari	Gujarat	ST List Sl.No.24	NT
21	Bara-Dedh,Dedh-Sadhu	Gujarat	SC List Sl.No.3	NT
22	Turi Barot, Dhed Barot,	Gujarat	SC List Sl.No.30	NT
23	Bawa	Gujarat	SC List Sl.No.7	NT
24	Fakir Or Faquir (Muslim)	Gujarat	SC List Sl.No.19	NT
25	Bapan (Muslim)	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.31	NT
26	Barot	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.4	NT
27	Bharwad	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.10	NT
28	Bhoi	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.12	NT
29	Charan (Gadavi)	Gujarat	OBC List Sl. No.13	NT
30	Madari	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.44	NT
31	Nath	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.41	NT
32	Sarania	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.63	NT
33	Shikligar	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.66	NT
34	Salat (ex Sompura Salat)	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.58	NT
35	Vadi	Gujarat	OBC List Sl. No. 71	NT
36	Bansfoda	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.78	NT
37	Vanzara and Kangsi	Gujarat	OBC List Sl. No.79	NT
38	Waghari	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No. 80	NT
39	Wagher	Gujarat	OBC List Sl.No.81	NT
1	Bangau	Haryana	SC List Sl.No.3	DNT
2	Barar,Burar,Berar	Haryana	SC List Sl.No.4	DNT
3	Baria,Bawaria	Haryana	SC List Sl.No.6	DNT
4	Chamar	Haryana	SC List Sl.No.9	DNT

5	Gandhila, Gandil Gondola	Haryana	SC List Sl.No.18	DNT
6	Khatik	Haryana	SC List Sl.No.20	DNT
7	Nat, Badi	Haryana	SC List Sl.No.25	DNT
8	OD	Haryana	SC List Sl.No.26	DNT
9	Oasi	Haryana	SC List Sl.No.27	DNT
10	Perna	Haryana	SC List Sl. No. 28	DNT
11	Sansi, Bhedkut, Manesh	Haryana	SC List Sl. No.32	DNT
12	Aheria	Haryana	OBC List Sl. No.1	DNT
13	Barra	Haryana	OBC List Sl. No.2	DNT
14	Barwar	Haryana	OBC List Sl. No.5	DNT
15	Ghasi Or Ghosi	Haryana	OBC List Sl. No.24	DNT
16	Jogi, Nath, Jangam, Jogi	Haryana	OBC List Sl. No.31	DNT
17	Kanjar Or Kanchan	Haryana	OBC List Sl. No.32	DNT
18	Kuchband	Haryana	OBC List Sl.No.37	DNT
19	Labana Or Lobana	Haryana	OBC List Sl. No.38	DNT
20	Rechband	Haryana	OBC List Sl.No.51	DNT
21	Singhlikant, Singikant, Singiwala	Haryana	OBC List Sl.No.53	DNT
22	Meena, Mina	Haryana	OBC List Sl.No.62	DNT
23	Gujjar	Haryana	OBC List Sl.No.68	DNT
24	Bhar	Haryana	OBC List	DNT
25	Bazigar	Haryana	SC list Sl.No.7	NT
26	Sapela,Sapera	Haryana	SC List Sl. No.34	NT
27	Sikligar, Bariya	Haryana	SC List Sl.No.36	NT
28	Chirimar	Haryana	OBC List Sl.No.13	NT
29	Gadaria, Pal	Haryana	OBC List, Sl.No.27	NT
30	Garhi Lohar	Haryana	OBC List Sl.No.28	NT
31	Madari	Haryana	OBC List Sl.No.41	NT
32	Vanzara	Haryana	OBC List Sl.No.50	NT
33	Charan	Haryana	OBC List Sl.No.64	NT
34	Rahabari	Haryana	OBC List Sl.No.65	NT
35	Lodh, Lodha, Lodhi	Haryana	OBC List Sl.No.66	NT
1	Balmiki Bhngi, Chuhra, Chohre, Chura	Himachal Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.3	DNT
2	Bangali	Himachal Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.5	DNT
3	Banzara	Himachal Pradesh	SC List, Sl.No.6	DNT
4	Barar, Burar,Berar	Himachal Pradesh	SC List, Sl.No.9	DNT

5	Bauria, Bawaria	Himachal Pradesh	SC List S. No.11	DNT
6	Chamar	Himachal Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.14	DNT
7	Jogi	Himachal Pradesh	SC List Sl. No.30	DNT
8	Khatik	Himachal Pradesh	SC List Sl. No.34	DNT
9	NAT	Himachal Pradesh	SC List Sl. No.40	DNT
10	OD	Himachal Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.41	DNT
11	Pasi	Himachal Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.42	DNT
12	Perna	Himachal Pradesh	SC Liat Sl.No.43	DNT
13	Sansi, Bhedkut, Manesh	Himachal Pradesh	SC List Sl. No. 48	DNT
14	Gaddi	Himachal Pradesh	ST List Sl .No,2	NT
15	Gujjar	Himachal Pradesh	ST List, Sl. No.3	NT
16	Kanaura, Kinnara	Himachal Pradesh	ST List, Sl.No.5	NT
17	Bazigar	Himachal Pradesh	SC List, Sl.No.12.	NT
18	Sapela	Himachal Pradesh	SC List, Sl. No.50	NT
19	Sikligar	Himachal Pradesh	SC List Sl. No.52	NT
20	Chirimar	Himachal Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.14	NT
21	Faquir	Himachal Pradesh	OBC Sl. No.18	NT
22	Ghasi, Ghasiara Or Ghosia	Himachal Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.20	NT
23	Gowala, Gwala	Himachal Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No. 23	NT
24	Gadaria	Himachal Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No. 24,	NT
25	Madari	Himachal Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.36	NT
26	Nalband	Himachal Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.41	NT
27	Gaddi (In Merga) Area only	Himachal Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.47	NT
28	Gurjar	Himachal Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.48	NT
29	Aheri, Ahori Heri, Naik,Thori,Turi	Himachal Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No. 1	DNT
30	Baragi Or Bairagi	Himachal Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.8	DNT

31	Kanjar, Kanchan	Himachal Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No. 32	DNT
32	Labana	Himachal Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.34	DNT
33	Rechband	Himachal Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.44	DNT
1	Gujjar	Jammu & Kashmir	ST List Sl.No.9	DNT
2	Chamar	Jammu & Kashmir	SC List Sl. No.4	DNT
3	Chura, Bhangi, Mehtar	Jammu & Kashmir	SC List Sl. No.5	DNT
4	Sansi	Jammu & Kashmir	OBC List Sl. No.17	DNT
5	Brokpa, Drokpa	Jammu & Kashmir	ST List Sl.No.4	NT
6	Changpa	Jammu & Kashmir	ST List Sl.No.5	NT
7	Bakarwal	Jammu & Kashmir	ST List Sl.No.10	NT
8	Gaddi	Jammu & Kashmir	ST List Sl. No.11	NT
9	Bhand	Jammu & Kashmir	OBC List Sl. No.10	NT
10	Madari, Bazigar	Jammu & Kashmir	OBC List, Sl. No.12	NT
11	Sikligar	Jammu & Kashmir	OBC List Sl. No. 18	NT
1	Bhil	Karnataka	ST List Sl.No.4	DNT
2	Pardhi, Advichincher,Phnse Paradhi, Haranshikari	Karnataka	St List Sl. No.41	DNT
3	Adi Dravida	Karnataka	SC List Sl. No. 1	DNT
4	Banjara, Lambani,Lambada,LamaniSugali,Sukali	Karnataka	SC List Sl. No.17	DNT
5	Mala	Karnataka	SC List Sl.No.65	DNT
6	Mang Garudi	Karnataka	SC List Sl.No.73	DNT
7	Bairagi,Bavani	Karnataka	OBC List Sl. No.A-2	DNT
8	Bedaro	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-7	DNT
9	Beria	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-8	DNT
10	Bhamta	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-10	DNT
11	Chara, Char,Chhara	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No. A-13	DNT
12	Ghisadi	Karnataka	OBC List Sl. No. A-23	DNT
13	Jogi, Jogar, Sanjogi	Karnataka	OBC List S. No.A-31	DNT
14	Kanjirbhat	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-34	DNT
15	Kanjari, Kanjar	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-35	DNT

16	Masaniayogi	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-41	DNT
17	Nat	Karnataka	OBC List Sl. No.A-43	DNT
18	Gujar	Karnataka	OBC List Sl. No.B-38	DNT
19	Maravar	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.B-117	DNT
20	Nakkipikki	Karnataka	ST List Sl.No.11	NT
21	Meda, Madari, Goriga, Burud	Karnataka	ST List Sl.No.37	NT
22	Toda	Karnataka	ST List Sl.No.46	NT
23	Beda Jangam, Dudga Jangam Jangam	Karnataka	SC List Sl. No.19	NT
24	Bhovi, OD,Odde, Vaddar, Waddar, Voddar, Woddar	Karnataka	SC List Sl. No. 23	NT
25	Dom, Dombara, Paidi, Pano	Karnataka	SC List Sl.No.33	DNT
26	Ganti Chores	Karnataka	SC List Sl. No. 35	DNT
27	Handi Jogi	Karnataka	SC List Sl. No.41	DNT
28	Kepmaris	Karnataka	SC List Sl.No.50	DNT
29	Koracha, Korachar	Karnataka	SC List Sl. No.53	DNT
30	Korama, Korava, Koravar	Karnataka	SC List Sl. No.54	NT
31	Madari	Karnataka	SC List Sl. No.60	NT
32	Sillekyathas	Karnataka	SC List Sl.No.96	NT
33	Balasanthoshi	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-4	NT
34	Bazigar	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-6	NT
35	Beshtar	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-9	NT
36	Budbudki, Devari, Joshi	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-11	NT
37	Chapparbanda	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-14	NT
38	Chitrakanthi Joshi	Karnataka	OBC List Sl. No.A-15	NT
39	Darvesu	Karnataka	OBC List Sl. No. A-17	NT
40	Dombidasa	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-20	NT
41	Durga Morga	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-21	NT
42	Gondali	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-25	NT
43	Kashikapdi, Tirumali	Karnataka	OBC List Sl. No.A-36	NT
44	Helava	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-27	NT
45	Kolhati	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-39	NT
46	Korwar, Yerkala, Yerukala	Karnataka	OBC List Sl. No.A-40	NT
47	Nandiwala	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-42	NT
48	Nathpanthi, Daurigosavi	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-44	NT
49	Pichgutala	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-48	NT

50	Sarania	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-50	NT
51	Shikkaligar	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-52	NT
52	Vadi	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-54	NT
53	Vaidu	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-55	NT
54	Vasudev	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-56	NT
55	Medari	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.A-59	NT
56	Gosavi, Gosayi,ATIT	Karnataka	OBC List Sl.No.B-37	NT
1	Irular, Irulan	Kerala	ST List Sl.No.5	DNT
2	Adi Dravida	Kerala	SC List Sl.No.2	DNT
3	Chamar, Mochi	Kerala	SC List Sl.No.15	DNT
4	Jogi	Kerala	OBC List Sl.No.25	DNT
5	Thottian	Kerala	OBC List Sl. No.66	DNT
6	Veerasaiva	Kerala	OBC List Sl. No. 73	DNT
7	Kurumans Mullu, Kuruman, Mulla Kuruman Mala Kuruman	Kerala	ST List Sl.No.17	NT
8	KurumbasRurumbar	Kerala	ST List Sl.No.18	NT
9	Kadar, Wayanad Kadar	Kerala	ST List Sl.No.6	NT
10	Thachanadan	Kerala	ST List Sl.No.38	NT
11	Kavara	Kerala	SC List Sl. No.30	NT
1	Banjara	Jharkhand	ST List Sl.No.3	DNT
2	Bedia	Jharkhand	ST List Sl. No.5	DNT
3	Kawar	Jharkhand	ST List Sl.No.31	DNT
4	Bavrri	Jharkhand	SC List Sl.No.2	DNT
5	Chamar, Mochi	Jharkhand	SC List Sl. No.5	DNT
6	Dom, DHANGAD	Jharkhand	SC List Sl. No. 9	DNT
7	Dusadh, Dhari, Dharhi	Jharkhand	SC List Sl. No.10	DNT
8	Ghasi	Jharkhand	SC List Sl.No.11	DNT
9	Kanjar	Jharkhand	SC List Sl. No. 14	DNT
10	Musahar	Jharkhand	SC List Sl. No.17	DNT
11	Nat	Jharkhand	SC List Sl. No.18	DNT
12	Pasi	Jharkhand	SC List Sl. No.20	DNT
13	Birhor	Jharkhand	ST List	NT
1	Bhil	Madhya Pradesh	ST List Sl. No.7	DNT
2	Bhil Mina	Madhya Pradesh	ST List Sl. No.8	DNT
3	Dhanwar	Madhya Pradesh	ST List Sl. No.14	DNT
4	Mina	Madhya Pradesh	ST List Sl. No.32	DNT
5	Pardhi	Madhya Pradesh	ST List Sl. No. 39,40	DNT
6	Bedia	Madhya Pradesh	SC List Sl. No.9,	DNT

7	Beldar, Sunkar	Madhya Pradesh	SC List Sl No.10	DNT
8	Chamar	Madhya Pradesh	SC List Sl. No.14	DNT
9	Dom, Mumar, Domer	Madhya Pradesh	SC List, Sl. No.24	DNT
10	Ganda	Madhya Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.25	DNT
11	Ghasi	Madhya Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.26	DNT
12	Kanjar	Madhya Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.28	DNT
13	Khatik	Madhya Pradesh	SC List Sl. No.30	DNT
14	Kuchbandhia	Madhya Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.34	DNT
15	Mang, Mang Garudi	Madhya Pradesh	SC List Sl. No.37	DNT
16	Nat, Kalbelia,Sapera, Navligar Kubutar	Madhya Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.91	DNT
17	Paradhi	Madhya Pradesh	SC List Sl. No.42	DNT
18	Pasi	Madhya Pradesh	SC List Sl. No.43	DNT
19	Sansi, Sansia	Madhya Pradesh	SC List Sl. No.45	DNT
20	Bairagi	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.3	DNT
21	Banjara	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.4	DNT
22	Bhat	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.10	DNT
23	Garpagari,Joginath,Nathjogi	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No. 30	DNT
24	Khati	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.11	DNT
25	Khatiya	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.37	DNT
26	Lodha	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.49	DNT
27	Bhanumati	Madhya Pradesh	SC List Sl. No.1	NT
28	Vasudeva, Gondhli	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.8	NT
29	Gadariya,Dhangar	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.23	NT
30	Gusai, Gosai, Gosain	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.27	NT
31	Gurjar / Goojar	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.28	NT
32	Sikligar	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.50	NT

33	Waddar	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.11	NT
34	Islamic Groups	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.59	NT
35	Faquir, Fakir	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sll. No. 82(8)	NT
36	Tadavi	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No. 82(19)	NT
37	Banjara, Nalband, Nat, Gaddi	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.82 (20)	NT
38	Ghosi	Madhya Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.60	NT
1	Bhil	Maharashtra	ST List Sl.No.6	DNT
2	Tadvi,Dhanka,Valvi	Maharashtra	ST List Sl.No.13	DNT
3	Dhanwar	Maharashtra	ST List Sl. No.14	DNT
4	Pardhi	Maharashtra	ST List Sl. No.38	DNT
5	Thoti	Maharashtra	ST List Sl. No.40	DNT
6	Bedar	Maharashtra	SC List Sl. No.10	DNT
7	Chamar, Bhambi, Asodi	Maharashtra	SC List Sl. No.11	DNT
8	Dom, Dumar	Maharashtra	SC List Sl. No.19.	DNT
9	Ganda, Gandi	Maharashtra	SC List Sl. No.21	DNT
10	Ghasi, Ghasia	Maharashtra	SC List Sl. No.23	DNT
11	KaiKadi	Maharashtra	SC List Sl. No.28	DNT
12	Khatik	Maharashtra	SC List Sl. No.31	DNT
13	Mala	Maharashtra	SC List Sl.No.39	DNT
14	Mang, Matang, Minimadig, Dankhni,Mang, Madari, Garudi	Maharashtra	SC List Sl. No. 46	DNT
15	Mang Garodi	Maharashtra	SC List Sl. No.47	DNT
16	Pasi	Maharashtra	SC List Sl. No.54	DNT
17	Sansi	Maharashtra	SC List Sl.No.55	DNT
18	Jogi, Jogin	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No. 54-55	DNT
19	Kuchbandh	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No. 80	DNT
20	Mina	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No. 98	DNT
21	Rachbandhia	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.131	DNT
22	Yerkula	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.168	DNT
23	Beda, Jangam,Budga,Jongam	Maharashtra	SC List Sl. No.9	NT
24	10.B	Maharashtra	SC List Sl. No. 10. B	NT
25	Bajania,	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.5	NT
26	Bajigar	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.6	NT
27	Vasudeva	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.131	NT
28	Charan Or Gadhavi	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.19	NT
29	Dhangar	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.32	NT
30	Hatkar	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No. 48	NT
31	Sarania	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.124.	NT

32	Sarera, Nath	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.148	NT
33	Berad, Bedar	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.1	DNT (state list)
34	Bestar, Sanchaluwaddar	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.2	DNT (state list)
35	Bhamta, Bhamti,Takari,Uchale	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No. 3	DNT (state list)
36	Kaikadi	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No. 48	DNT (state list)
37	Chhara, Kanjarbhat, Nat	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.5	DNT (state list)
38	Katabu	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl No. 6	DNT (state list)
39	Banjara, Banjari…	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.7	DNT (state list)
40	Pal Pardhi	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.8	DNT (state list)
41	Raj Pardhi	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.9	DNT (state list)
42	Rajput Bhamta, Pardeshi	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl.No.10	DNT (state list)
43	Ramoshi	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl.No.11	DNT (state list)
44	Vaddar, Gadi Vadar	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.124.	DNT (state list)
45	Vaghar, Salat Vaghri	Maharashtra	OBC List, Sl. No.13	DNT (state list)
46	Chhaparband	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.148	DNT (state list)
47	Gosavi	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.1	NT (state list)
48	Beldar, OD	Maharashtra	OBC List, Sl. No.2	NT (state list)
49	Bharadi Balsantoshi, Davri Gosavi	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.32	NT (state list)
50	Bhute, Bhope	Maharashtra	OBC List, Sl. No.4	NT (state list)
51	Chitrakathi	Maharashtra	OBC List, Sl. No.6	NT (state list)
52	Garudi/Gavadi Ghishdi	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.7	NT (state list)
53	Ghisadi Lohar, Gadil Lohar	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.8	NT (state list)
54	Golla, Gollewar	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.9	NT (state list)
55	Gondhali	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.10	NT (state list)
56	Gopal, Khelkari	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No. 11	NT (state list)
57	Helave Kilav	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No. 12	NT (state list)

58	Joshi, Budbudki	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl.No.13	NT (state list)
59	Kasikapdi	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.14	NT (state list)
60	Kolhati, Dombari	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.15	NT (state list)
61	Mairal, Vir, Dangat	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl.No.16	NT (state list)
62	Masanjogi	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No17	NT (state list)
63	Nandiwale, Tirmal	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No. 18	NT (state list)
64	Pangul	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl.No.19	NT (state list)
65	Raval, Raval Jogi	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.20	NT (state list)
66	Sikkalgar, Katari	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.21	NT (state list)
67	Thakkar (Ratnagiri only)	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.22	NT (state list)
68	Vaidu	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.23	NT (state list)
69	Vasudeo	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.24	NT (state list)
70	Bhoi/Boi	Maharashtra	OBC List, Sl. No.25	NT (state list)
71	Bahurupi	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.26	NT (state list)
72	Thelari	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No. 27	NT (state list)
73	Otari, Otankar	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.28	NT (state list)
74	Dhangar,Dhanwar,Rowap, Bhoyar,Powar, Khatik,Pahad, Kalar, Kalal,Dode,Dode Gujar	Maharashtra	OBC List Sl. No.29	NT (state list)
1	Banjara, Banjari	Orissa	ST List Sl. No.3	DNT
2	Gandia	Orissa	ST List Sl. No.20	DNT
3	Gond	Orissa	ST List Sl. No.22	DNT
4	Kawar, Kanwar	Orissa	ST List Sl. No.28	DNT
5	Lodha,Nodh,Nodha,Lodh	Orissa	ST List Sl. No.43	DNT
6	Bauri, Buna Bauri, Dasia Bauri	Orissa	SC List Sl. No.10	DNT
7	Bedia, Bejia	Orissa	SC List Sl. No.13	DNT
8	Beldar	Orissa	SC List Sl.No.14	DNT
9	Chamar, Mochi,Satnami	Orissa	SC List Sl. No.19	DNT
10	Dandasi	Orissa	SC List Sl. No.23	DNT
11	Dhanwar	Orissa	SC List Sl.No.25	DNT
12	Dom, Dombo,Duria Dom	Orissa	SC List Sl.No.27	DNT
13	Dosadha	Orissa	SC List Sl.No.28	DNT
14	Gandas	Orissa	SC List Sl. No.29,	DNT
15	Ghasi, Ghasia	Orissa	SC List Sl. No.31	DNT
16	Laban	Orissa	SC List Sl. No. 51	DNT
17	Mundapota	Orissa	SC List Sl.No.62	DNT
18	Musahar	Orissa	SC List Sl. No.63	DNT

19	Pasi	Orissa	SC List Sl. No.75	DNT
20	Bairagi	Orissa	OBC List Sl.No.8	DNT
21	Gosangi	Orissa	OBC List Sl.No.47	DNT
22	Jogi Or Yogi	Orissa	OBC List Sl. No.55	DNT
23	Kanjar	Orissa	OBC List Sl.No.62	DNT
24	Lambadi	Orissa	OBC List Sl.No.95	DNT
25	Nat	Orissa	OBC List Sl. No.122	DNT
26	Paraiyan	Orissa	OBC List Sl. No.145	DNT
27	Thoti	Orissa	OBC List Sl.No.172	DNT
28	Mankidi	Orissa	ST List Sl. No.46	NT
29	Mankirdia, Mankria	Orissa	ST List Sl. No. 47	NT
30	Sabar, Lodha	Orissa	ST List, Sl. No.60	NT
31	Bajikar	Orissa	SC List Sl.No.1	NT
32	Kela, Sapua Kela, Nalua Kela, Sabakhia Kela,Matia Kela	Orissa	SC List Sl. No.45	NT
33	Madari	Orissa	SC List Sl. No.53	NT
34	Mala, Jhala, Malo,Zala,Malha,Jhola	Orissa	SC List Sl. No. 56	NT
35	Irula	Orissa	SC List Sl. No.52	NT
36	Toda	Orissa	SC LIST Sl. No.175	NT
37	Yerukula	Orissa	SC List Sl. No.181	NT
1	Bangali	Punjab	SC List Sl.No.3	NT
2	Barar, Burar,Berar	Punjab	SC List Sl.No.4	NT
3	Bauria,Bawaria	Punjab	SC List Sl.No.6	NT
4	Gandhila, Gandil, Gondola	Punjab	SC List Sl.No.18	NT
5	Bazigar	Punjab	SC List Sl. No. 7	NT
6	Bhnjra	Punjab	SC List Sl.No.8	NT
7	Aheri, Aheria, Heri Naik, Thori Or Turi	Punjab	OBC List Sl.No.1	NT
8	Kanjar Or Kanchan	Punjab	OBC List Sl.No.8	NT
9	Madari	Punjab	OBC List Sl. No. 50	NT
10	Bhuhalia Lohar	Punjab	OBC List Sl.No.31	NT
11	Faqir	Punjab	OBC List Sl. No.36	NT
12	Gaddaria, Rahbari	Punjab	OBC List Sl. No.39	NT
13	Chirimar	Punjab	OBC List Sl.No.5	NT
14	Gawala, Gowala	Punjab	OBC List Sl.No.38	NT
15	Jogi Nath	Punjab	OBC List Sl.No.42	NT
1	Bhil	Rajasthan	ST List Sl. No.1	DNT
2	Bhil Mina	Rajasthan	ST List Sl. No.2	DNT
3	Dhanka, Tadvi,Tetapia Valvi	Rajasthan	ST List Sl. No.4	DNT
4	Mina	Rajasthan	ST List Sl. No.9	DNT
5	Naikda, Nayak…(Naik)	Rajasthan	ST List Sl. No.10	DNT
6	Aheri	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.1	DNT

7	Baori	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.9	DNT
8	Bargo, Vargi,Biragi	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.10	DNT
9	Bawaria	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.11	DNT
10	Bedia, Beria	Rajasthan	SC List Sl. No.12.	DNT
11	Chamar	Rajasthan	SC List Sl. No.17	DNT
12	Domme, Dom	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.24	DNT
13	Gandia	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.25	DNT
14	Kanjar, Kunjar	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.33	DNT
15	Kapadia, Sansi	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.34	DNT
16	Khatik	Rajasthan	SC List Sl. No.36	DNT
17	Kooch Band, Kuch Band	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.38	DNT
18	Mang Garodi, Mang Garudi	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.41	DNT
19	Nat	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.48	DNT
20	Pasi	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.49	DNT
21	Sansi	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.52	DNT
22	Banjara Laman	Rajasthan	OBC List Sl.No.5	DNT
23	Gujar, Gurjar	Rajasthan	OBC List Sl.No.20	DNT
24	Jogi, Nath	Rajasthan	OBC List, Sl.No.24	DNT
25	Lodha, Lodh, Lodhi	Rajasthan	OBC List Sl.No.33	DNT
26	Mogia (Mogya)	Rajasthan	OBC List Sl. No.39	DNT
27	Odd	Rajasthan	OBC List Sl.No.42	DNT
28	Badi	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.3	NT
29	Bagri, Bagdi	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.4	NT
30	Bajgar	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.6	NT
31	Kalbelia, Sapera	Rajasthan	SC List Sl.No.31	NT
32	Madari, Bazigar	Rajasthan	SC List Sl. No.40	NT
33	Ahir (Yadav)	Rajasthan	OBC List Sl. No.1	NT
34	Badwa, Bhat, Rao	Rajasthan	OBC List, Sl. No.2	NT
35	Dhivar, Kanar, Bhoi	Rajasthan	OBC List, Sl, No.14	NT
36	Gadaria (Gadri, Gaddi, Ghosi)	Rajasthan	OBC List Sl. No.15	NT
37	Gadia Lohar	Rajasthan	OBC List Sl. No.16	NT
38	Raika, Rebari	Rajasthan	OBC List Sl. No.44	NT
39	Sikligar	Rajasthan	OBC List Sl.No.48	NT
1	Jogi	Sikkim	OBC List Sl. No.10	DNT
2	Sanyasi	Sikkim	OBC List Sl. No.8	DNT
3	Bhutia (Including Chumbipa,Dopkitapa,Dukpa,Kagatey, Sherpa, Tibetan, Tromopa,Yolmo)	Sikkim	ST List Sl. No.1	NT
4	Lepeha	Sikkim	ST List Sl.No.2	NT
1	Irular	Tamilnadu	ST List Sl. No.4	DNT
2	Kurumbac	Tamilnadu	ST List Sl. No.17	DNT
3	Adi Dravida	Tamilnadu	SC List Sl.No.2	DNT
4	Chamar, Muchi	Tamilnadu	SC List Sl.No.14	DNT

5	Dom, Dombara, Paidi, Pane	Tamilnadu	SC List Sl.No.18	DNT
6	Kaladi	Tamilnadu	SC List Sl.No.28	DNT
7	Mala	Tamilnadu	SC List Sl. No.40	DNT
8	Thoti	Tamilnadu	SC List Sl.No.67	DNT
9	Oddar (Including…)	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.16	DNT
10	Dommara (Domb. Dommar)	Tamilnadu	OBS List Sl.No.30	DNT
11	Jogi	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.56	DNT
12	Kaladi	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.58	DNT
13	Kalingi	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.62	DNT
14	Kallar	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.64	DNT
15	Koracha	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.86	DNT
16	Lambadi	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.99	DNT
17	Maravar	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.108	DNT
18	Nokkar	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.124	DNT
19	Odar	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.125	DNT
20	Odma	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.126	DNT
21	Thottiya Naicker	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.174	DNT
22	Urali Gounder	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.178	DNT
23	Valaiyar	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.181	DNT
24	Vettaikarar /Veduvar	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.189	DNT
25	Vettuva Gounder	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No. 195	DNT
26	Yerukula	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.200	DNT
27	Toda	Tamilnadu	ST List Sl.No.35	NT
28	Kavara	Tamilnadu	SC List Sl.No.31	NT
29	Kudumban	Tamilnadu	SC List Sl.No.35	NT
30	Madari	Tamilnadu	SC List Sl.No.37	NT
31	Andi Pandaram	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.5	NT
32	Dasari	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.25	NT
33	Yadava (Including ….)	Tamilnadu	OBC List Sl.No.198	NT
1	Bhil	Tripura	ST List Sl.No.1	DNT
2	Chamar, Muchi	Tripura	SC List Sl.No.4	DNT
3	Dandasi	Tripura	SC List Sl. No.5	DNT
4	Dhenuar	Tripura	SC List Sl. No.6	DNT
5	Ghasi	Tripura	SC List Sl.No.9	DNT
6	Musahar	Tripura	SC List Sl.No.29	DNT
7	Bauri	Tripura	OBC List Sl.No.5	DNT
8	Bhar	Tripura	OBC List Sl.No.6	DNT

9	Dosadh, Dosad	Tripura	OBC List Sl. No.11	DNT
10	Nat, Natta	Tripura	OBC List Sl.No.28	DNT
11	Pasi	Tripura	OBC List Sl.No.35	DNT
12	Yogo, Jogi, Nath	Tripura	OBC List Sl. No.42	DNT
13	Lepcha	Tripura	ST List Sl.No.10	NT
14	Kahar	Tripura	SC List Sl.No.13	NT
15	Keot	Tripura	SC List Sl.No.18	NT
16	Patni	Tripura	SC List Sl.No.31	NT
17	Natta, Nat	Tripura	SC List Sl.No.34	NT
18	Bind	Tripura	OBC List Sl.No.9	NT
19	Goala,Gope,Yadav,Aheer	Tripura	OBC List Sl.No.13	NT
20	Pangal	Tripura	OBC List	NT
1	Badhik	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.2	DNT
2	Baheliya	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.4	DNT
3	Bangali	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.12	DNT
4	Barwar	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.15	DNT
5	Bawariya	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.17	DNT
6	Beriya	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.19	DNT
7	Bhanto	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.20	DNT
8	Boriya	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.23	DNT
9	Chamar	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.24	DNT
10	Domar	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.32	DNT
11	Dusadh	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.33	DNT
12	Habura	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No,38	DNT
13	Kanjar	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.42	DNT
14	Karwal	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.44	DNT
15	Musahar	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.50	DNT
16	Nat	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.56	DNT
17	Pasi, Tirmali	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.59	DNT
18	Sansiya	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.63	DNT
19	Bhota	Uttaranchal	ST List Sl.No.1	NT
20	Badi	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.2	NT
21	Bajaniya	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.7	NT
22	Beldar	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.18	NT
23	Dhangar	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.27	NT
24	Kalabaz	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.41	NT
25	Shilpkar	Uttaranchal	SC List Sl.No.64	NT
1	Badhik	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.2	DNT
2	Baheliya	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.4	DNT
3	Bangali	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.12	DNT
4	Barwar	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.15	DNT
5	Bawariya	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.17	DNT
6	Beriya	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.19	DNT
7	Bhantu	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.20	DNT
8	Boriya	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.23	DNT
9	Chamar	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.24	DNT
10	Domar	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.32	DNT
11	Dusadh	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.33	DNT

12	Habura	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.38	DNT
13	Kanjar	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.42	DNT
14	Karwal	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.44	DNT
15	Musahar	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.55	DNT
16	Nat	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.56	DNT
17	Pasi, Tirmali	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.59	DNT
18	Sansiya	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.63	DNT
19	Khatik	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.47	DNT
20	Gujar	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.13	DNT
21	Gaddi, Ghosi	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.15	DNT
22	Jogi	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.20	DNT
23	Naqqal	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.27	DNT
24	Nut	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.28	DNT
25	Nayak	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.29	DNT
26	Banjara, Mekrani, Mukeri Rank	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.31	DNT
27	Bairagi	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.34	DNT
28	Bhar	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.37	DNT
29	Lodh, Lodha, Lodhi	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.49	DNT
30	Mewati, Meo	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No. 56	DNT
31	Nalband, Sais	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.63	DNT
32	Aheriya	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.68	DNT
33	Badi	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.2	NT
34	Bajaniya	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.7	NT
35	Beldar	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.18	NT
36	Dhangar	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.27	NT
37	Kalabaz	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl.No.41	NT
38	Shilpkar	Uttar Pradesh	SC List Sl. No.64	NT
39	Kahar Tanwar	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.4	NT
40	Kewat Or Mallah	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.5	NT
41	Gosain	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl. No.13	NT
42	Gaderia	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.15	NT
43	Paqir	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.30	NT
44	Dhivar	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.26	NT
45	Bind	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.35	NT
46	Madari	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.62	NT
47	Bhand	Uttar Pradesh	OBC List Sl.No.64	NT
1	Birjia	West Bengal	ST List Sl. No.7	DNT

2	Gond	West Bengal	ST List Sl. No 12	DNT
3	Lodha, Kheria, Kharia	West Bengal	ST List Sl. No.23	DNT
4	Bahelias	West Bengal	SC List Sl.No.2	DNT
5	Bauri	West Bengal	SC List Sl.No.5	DNT
6	Chamar, Charmakar, Mochi, Muchi, Rabidas, Ruidas, Rishi	West Bengal	SC List Sl. No.11	DNT
7	Dom, Dhangad,(Doma)	West Bengal	SC List Sl.No.17	DNT
8	Ghasi	West Bengal	SC List Sl.No.19	DNT
9	Kanjar	West Bengal	SC List Sl.No.28	DNT
10	Khatik (Khatis)	West Bengal	SC List Sl.No.34	DNT
11	Mallah	West Bengal	SC List Sl.No.44	DNT
12	Nat	West Bengal	SC List Sl.No.47	DNT
13	Pasi (Pasia)	West Bengal	SC List Sl.No.51	DNT
14	Beldar (Berad)	West Bengal	SC List Sl.No.6	DNT
15	Jogi	West Bengal	OBC List Sl.No.28	DNT
16	Suku (Sugali)	West Bengal	OBC List Sl.No.37	DNT
17	Bhar	West Bengal	OBC List Sl.No.42	DNT
18	Birhors	West Bengal	ST List Sl.No.6	NT
19	Bediya, Bedia (Beria)	West Bengal	ST List Sl.No.3	NT
20	Yogi Nath	West Bengal	OBC List Sl.No.14	NT
21	Fakir, Sain	West Bengal	OBC List Sl.No.27	NT
1	Aheria	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.3	DNT
2	Banjara	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.5	DNT
3	Bawaria	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.6	DNT
4	Bhil	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.9	DNT
5	Chamar, Chanwar Chamar, Jatava Or Jatava Chamar, Mochi, Ramdasia, Ravidasi, Raidasi, Rehgarh Or Raigar.	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.10	DNT
6	Chohra (Chuhra)	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.11	DNT
7	Dom	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.15	DNT
8	Kanjar Or Giarah	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.20	DNT
9	Khatik (Khatic)	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.21	DNT
10	Mallah	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.22	DNT
11	Nat (Rana) Badi	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.29	DNT
12	Pasi (Pasia)	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.30	DNT
13	Pernas	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.31	DNT
14	Sansi Or Bhedkut	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.32	DNT
15	Bairagi	Delhi	OBC List Sl.No. 7	DNT
16	Bauria	Delhi	OBC List Sl.No. 10	DNT
17	Bazigar Nat,Kalandar (Excluding those in SC)	Delhi	OBC List Sl.No.11	DNT
18	Bhat	Delhi	OBC List Sl.No.13	DNT
19	Gurjar, Gujar	Delhi	OBC List Sl.No.24	DNT
20	Jogi, Goswami	Delhi	OBC List Sl.No.25	DNT
21	Lodha	Delhi	OBC List Sl.No.35	DNT

22	Mina/Meena	Delhi	OBC List Sl.No.40	DNT
23	Naqqal	Delhi	OBC List Sl.No.45	DNT
24	Ghosi	Delhi	OBC List Sl.No.23	DNT
25	Bazigar	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.7	NT
26	Madari	Delhi	SC List Sl. No.24	NT
27	Sapera	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.33	NT
28	Sikligar	Delhi	SC List Sl.No.34	NT
29	Gadaria, Gadheri Gaddi, Garri	Delhi	OBC List Sl.No.22	NT
1	Bangali	Chandigarh	SC List Sl.No.2	DNT
2	Barar, Burar OR Berar	Chandigarh	SC List Sl.No.3	DNT
3	Bauria OR Bawaria	Chandigarh	SC List Sl.No.5	DNT
4	Chamar	Chandigarh	SC List Sl.No.9	DNT
5	Gandhila OR Gandil Gondola	Chandigarh	SC List Sl. No.17	DNT
6	Khatik	Chandigarh	SC List Sl. No.19	DNT
7	Nat	Chandigarh	SC List Sl.No.24	DNT
8	OD	Chandigarh	SC List Sl.No.25	DNT
9	Pasi	Chandigarh	SC List Sl.No.26	DNT
10	Perna	Chandigarh	SC List Sl.No.27	DNT
11	Sansi, Bhedkut,Manesh	Chandigarh	SC List Sl.No.32	DNT
12	Aheria	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl.No.1	DNT
13	Bairagi/Baragi	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl. No.26	DNT
14	Barra	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl.No.2	DNT
15	Barwar	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl.No.23	DNT
16	Bhat, Bhatra,Darpi	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl.No.28	DNT
17	Ghasiara, Ghosi	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl. No.14	DNT
18	Jogi, Nath	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl.No.40	DNT
19	Kanjar, Kanchan	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl.No.8	DNT
20	Kuchband	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl.No.44	DNT
21	Labana	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl. No.17	DNT
22	Vanzara	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl. No.47	DNT
23	Rechband	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl.No.42	DNT
24	Bhar	Chandigarh	OBC List	DNT
25	Gujjar	Chandigarh	OBC List	DNT
26	Bazigar	Chandigarh	SC List Sl.No.6	NT
27	Sapela	Chandigarh	SC List Sl.No.33	NT
28	Sikligar	Chandigarh	SC List Sl.No.35	NT
29	Sirkiband	Chandigarh	SC List Sl.No.36	NT
30	Chirimar	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl.No.5	NT
31	Dhimar, Dhinwar,Kahar,Mallah	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl.No.13 & 33	NT
32	Faquir	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl.No.34	NT

33	Gadaria/Gaddaria	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl.No.37	NT
34	Gawala/Gwala	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl.No.36	NT
35	Madari	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl.No.48	NT
36	Nalband	Chandigarh	OBC List Sl.No.53	NT
1	Chamar	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	SC List Sl.No.2	DNT
2	None	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	OBC	DNT
3	None	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	ST	NT
4	None	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	SC	NT
5	Ahir, Bharvad,Yadav	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	OBC List Sl.No.2	NT
6	Kahar	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	OBC List Sl. No.5	NT
1	Chambhar, Mochi	Daman & Diu	SC List Sl.No.2	DNT
2	Banjara,Lambadi,Lamani,Sugali	Daman & Diu	OBC List Sl. No.14	DNT
3		Daman & Diu		
4	Nath, Jogi	Daman & Diu	OBC List Sl. No.15	DNT
5	Dhangar	Daman & Diu	OBC List Sl. No.4	NT
6	Gosavi	Daman & Diu	OBC List Sl.No.9	NT
7	Yadav, Gavli	Daman & Diu	OBC List Sl.No.18	NT
1	Adi Dravida	Pondichery	SC List Sl. No. 2	DNT
2	Mala, Mala Masti	Pondichery	SC List Sl.No.7	DNT
3	Thoti	Pondichery	SC List Sl.No.12	DNT
4	Dasari	Pondichery	OBC List Sl.No.39	DNT
5	Dommara	Pondichery	OBC List Sl.No.44	DNT
6	Irvlas	Pondichery	OBC List Sl.No.74	DNT
7	Jogi	Pondichery	OBC List Sl.No.83	DNT
8	Kallar	Pondichery	OBC List Sl. No.93	DNT
9	Khattis-Khati, Kammarao Lohara	Pondichery	OBC List Sl.No.102	DNT
10	Koracha	Pondichery	OBC List Sl.No.109	DNT
11	Lambadi	Pondichery	OBC List Sl.No.121	DNT
12	Maravar	Pondichery	OBC List Sl. No.130	DNT
13	Nakkala	Pondichery	OBC List Sl. No. 155	DNT

14	Odiya, Odans,Odde	Pondichery	OBC List Sl. No.163	DNT
15	Pichigunta	Pondichery	OBC List Sl.No.195	DNT
16	Sugalis	Pondichery	OBC List Sl. No.209	DNT
17	Thottia,Naieken	Pondichery	OBC List Sl.No.227	DNT
18	Urali Goundan	Pondichery	OBC List Sl.No.235	DNT
19	Yerukula	Pondichery	OBC List Sl.No.259	DNT
20	Kuruuan	Pondichery	SC List Sl.No.5	NT

Create
Consortium for Research on
Educational Access, Transitions & Equity
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Report summary:

This review of literature on South Asian nomads is part of a series of monographs on educational access published by the Consortium for Research on Educational Access Transitions and Equity (CREATE). In the context of India, most recent work has focused on access to the education system for the poor. CREATE research in India has focused on nutrition (Sood, 2010), governance (Govinda and Bandyopadhay, 2010; Little, 2010) and dropout (Anugula and Reddy, 2010) as well as seasonal distress migration (Smita, 2008). This monograph focusing on communities *who migrate voluntarily as part of their way of life*, proposes to further refine this initiative, offering insights into how educational access can best be widened in a culturally sensitive manner for South Asian nomads. Children of nomads largely fall into CREATE's zone of exclusion 1, as they are denied any access to education. The conceptual framework of CREATE acknowledges that expansion of formal schooling can enrol only a proportion of these children (Lewin, 2007); this monograph attempts to firstly understand nomadism, and then explores how their basic education needs can be addressed. This review attempts to map the scale and location of nomadic populations likely to be excluded from normal school provision. It identifies different approaches to the education of the children of nomads adopted by governments, NGOs and the communities themselves and comment on the assumptions and theoretical propositions that underpin the approaches. The review also attempts to encapsulate the findings of the most significant analytic studies that give insight into meeting the educational needs of nomads in the general context of EFA and the MDGs. It identifies some successful strategies for different groups and the conditions that surround these strategies. The review also points out the research gaps in existing literature, and proposes a refinement of research approaches through a greater understanding of nomadism.

Author notes:

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