From Governmentality to Accommodation: Qualitative Inquiry of India's Abysmally Forgotten Nomadic Communities

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Abstract

The diabolical policy approaches and apparatus constructed by colonial state and further reconstructed by post-colonial state under the tactical visions of governmentality and politics of accommodation jeopardised millions of Nomadic and De-notified Tribes NTDNTs. Thus, once located on mainstream of society the NTDNTs are pushed at the bottom of the lowest rungs of socio-economic and political hierarchy. Against this backdrop, the paper aims to examine the long-troubled trajectory of NTDNTs throwing light on continuities of governmentality and politics of accommodation grounded during colonial-post colonial states methodically captured through (19) select cases of policy approaches and apparatus, respectively. The paper uses life stories of NTDNTs and their envoys voices as prime qualitative method for analyses using hermeneutics tradition. The paper through conceptual lens of governmentality and politics of accommodation concludes that the immensity of NTDNTs subjugation and exclusion instituted by colonial-postcolonial state is the vexing case of world's most elongated hapless victims of 'governmentality and politics of accommodation' beyond the pale of social-accountability. *Finally,* the paper put-forth *unfeigned* future policy priorities (FPPs) coupled with integrated model of change actors upon whom the onus lies to ensure NTDNTs re-integration and legitimate possibility of developmental accommodation for a new democratic India.

Keywords: Governmentality, politics of accommodation, nomadic, de-notified tribes, India

Introduction

NTDNT's are an integral component of Indian society, culture and civilisation. However, they are abysmally forgotten and recognised as victims of insidious forms of discrimination. The historical dispossession pushed almost 1500 NTDNT groups who constitute about 150 million representing around 10 per cent of the India's billion plus populace at the periphery of development (NCDNST 2008). Until British raj, the vast majority of nomadic tribes were mainstreamers and meshed peacefully with Indian society as itinerant craftsmen, traders, transporters, foragers, artisans, fortune-tellers, entertainers, special military cadre of royal kings, animal handlers, even healers with knowledge of rare herbs and cures. If we unbolt history of India's nomadic communities whatever socio-economic and political freedom they have infatuated was decisively dislocated by the then

intruder rulers predominantly, British imperial agency. With the dawn of modern British state of governance new forms of code of conduct, surveillance and criminal jurisprudence were developed. The doctrine has further paved way in rising of a new kind of decisiveness of law where question of imposing law was not a question, but 'of disposing a law' becomes a new grammar of politics of governance of applying tactics rather than laws, and in fact of employing laws itself as tactics in order to coordinate events in such a manner that specific aims may be accomplished (Chatterjee 1997; Kaviraj 1992). It was expected by the citizens of the new state to obey established governance order and law, however, those groups and communities who considered as a threat for the formation of new modern governance of colonial raj were deemed as targets of the 'governing policy apparatus' of the state. Within this scaffold the hegemonic apparatus of British state considered customarily wandering nomadic communities' different, unregulated and uncivilised targets. Thus, the psyche of making India as modern civilised state the rulers made a historical gaffe to declare a huge chunk of guiltless nomads as hereditary criminals under Criminal Tribes Act (CTA) in 1871. Although they were later denotified during independent India in 1952 but they are still under the colonial social stigma that adversely resulted in the erosion of their fundamental spheres of human development and the most imperative democratic citizenship. In the same way, the remanning nomadic groups who left from the orbit of CTA were also became the victims of the emergence of modern state establishments including judiciary, bureaucracy and police. By declaring CTA through the mechanisms of modern governance colonial rulers reconstituted the meaning of community identity in Indian social system. As examined by (Guha 2003:45) 'the colonial intrusion resolutely transformed native notions and fetched nomadic communities in tune with the needs of modern governing law discourse'. The kind of approaches and apparatus employed to govern the governance of modern state is broadly centred on two fundamental conceptual propositions termed as 'governmentality' and 'politics of accommodation' which calls for greater analysis. As NTDNT's have become the targets of governmentality and politics of accommodation by colonial-state and the post-colonial state also failed to decolonise this false construction, tactically. Such a legacy had devastating corollaries on subaltern groups like NTDNT's. Sardonically, they have been neglected at both state and societal spheres at large and remained as marginalised among the marginalised. With regard to academic sphere, except few classical studies on some of the (NTDNT) sub-groups, they are mostly ignored in scientific discourses as compared to *Dalits*, so far (Anthropological Survey of India 2018; Agarwal 2018; Kapadia 1952; Korra 2017; Radhakrishnan 2001). Large part of writings on NTDNT's focuses on contemporary concerns of human rights violation which is indeed a matter of great concern. Nevertheless, considering their deeply rooted subjugation grounded in the past it is imperative to analyse and explore the comprehensive milieu and forward-backward linkages in which injustices of NTDNT's are fused. Such a diversity of context is not sufficiently addressed, hitherto. With this broad context, present paper tries to examine intricate subtle linkages tracing its roots from colonial to post-colonial continuities of subjugation through the conceptual lens of governmentality and politics of accommodation. Thus, it is in this framework the focal problem under investigation articulated and guided by the following research questions:

i) What are the specific approaches and apparatus that kept alive the governmentality and politics of accommodation functional to target NTDNT's instituted by the colonial sate and reticently continued by post-colonial state?

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ii)   What are the tangible future policy priorities (FPPs) that need to be formulated to obliterate the subjugation and exclusions of NTDNT's for their possibility of legitimate accommodation and re-integration with larger society?

The remainder of the paper is structured into four parts. After a detailed contextualisation in the first part, the second part locates prime methods espoused and lays out a conceptual framework within which the analysis could be grounded. Part three offers a core body of paper which offer outline for analysis grounded in conceptual framework focusing in particular on specific policy approaches and apparatus. Part four deals with intersections of (FPP's) and its integrated operational model of change actors. The final part of the paper throw light on some deliberations and insinuation on how institutions can be made accountable towards legitimate possibility of accommodation of NTDNTs in the democratic sphere.

A note on methodological framework

Researching on historically disadvantaged communities like NTDNTs is not simply a head count, it needs to explore micro realities, therefore tend to employ qualitative methods (Kidd 1999; Patil 2014). The present paper relies on two focal qualitative methods i) Document analysis of four select autobiographies of NTDNT community members and ii) key informant interviews(KIIs). The data was drawn primarily from Maharashtra state in general and Solapur district in particular for following reasons i) Maharashtra constitutes a vast number of NTDNTs and geographically an ideal meeting point of north and south India ii) had a legacy of NTDNTs vibrant social movements iii) a different proportions of all NTDNTs found in Solapur district where the biggest settlement was established by British government under CTA 1871 thus, considered as national capital of NTDNTs (Boikl 2002; Dandekar 2009). Therefore, the inheritance of Solapur and Maharashtra state is justifiable. Thus, it offers an ideal setting upon which a comprehensive analysis might be developed that can be applicable to pan-Indian context.

Document analysis of four select autobiographies

In Sociology of Literature, auto-biographies are self-written case-studies of the subjects themselves about their feelings and perceptions emanated from their social circumstances. These works speak about both the societies inside their social groups and the oppressive structures of the societies outside. Underlining this legacy, a sample of four auto-biographies which have widely acclaimed for their authenticity and rigor in sociological content has been selected for social analyses using hermeneutics tradition (**Table 1**)[2].

Table.1: Select auto-biographies by NTDNT community members

Sr.No	Author	Title in Marathi/English	Community	Year
01	Mane Laxman	Upara (the Outsider)	*Kaikadi*	1980

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[2] In absence of hard official data on NTDNTs, this would serve as alternative to study the problem under investigation.

02	Gaikwad Laxman	Uchalya (the Branded)	*Uchalya*	1998
03	Pawar Santosh	Chorta (Thief)	*Laman*	2004
04	Bhosale Dyaneswar	Chouda Mahine Tera Devas Ani...... (Fourteen Months Thirteen Days and...)	*Phase Paradhi*	2014

These auto-biographies have been brought out at different points of time and the chronology reflects the continuity of their socio-economic situation, barring a few exceptions.

Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

For a typical qualitative study of this kind the matter of 'whom to interview' becomes important to draw rich insights from specific participants who poses community characteristics and have first hand live knowledge about the phenomenon being studied. In this context total 11 in-depth KIIs were conducted purposively ranging from three categories i)social activists/community members of NTDNTs(5) ii)Researchers studying NTDNTs issues(3) and iii) bureaucrats/journalists/literary figures exclusively specialised in NTDNT matters (3). The data was collected during three time-sets (March-May-August, 2014-2017-2019) respectively[3].

Data validation, classification and categorisation

Data was collected encompassing all aspects of research questions by using (personal interviews, telephonic-email conversations, content-analysis, and field-diary notes). The collected data was validated based on specific secondary sources (Government policy reports and research papers) methodically. Afterwards, in order to fine the data it was specifically classified based on analytical composition and key-words that helped author i) to seek out specific approaches and apparatus in which governmentality and politics of accommodation endured during pre-post colonial spaces and ii)to explore determents accountable to foresee (FPPs) and change actors.

Conceptual framework

The protracted injustices faced by NTDNTs are extremely complex to be confined by monolithic conjectures. It would be therefore suitable to cautiously select appropriate guiding concepts which seem to analyse the discourse comprehensively. Building on this stance, the paper applies concepts of Michel Foucault's (1979; 1991) 'governmentality' and Lijphart's (1975) 'politics of accommodation' in an effort to capture varied intersections implicated in central research questions. Foucault sought to propose that governing (*gouverner*) is prominently more effective once it colonises its mode of thought (*mentalité*). It indicates towards the nexus of unified units which

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[3] The initial data was collected as a part of UNDP major project on 'Solapur District Human Development Report' by the author during the first round 1-27, March, 2014. Later on, independent investigation was carried out by the author during May-August 2017-2019, respectively.

govern the crucial affairs of contemporary humanity. However, this paper also intends to examine historical mechanisms and approaches adopted by colonial-state to manage and administer targeted groups and consequently exemplified by the post-colonial state to valorise specific communities. For instance: British state strategically introduced CTA and later on reformatory settlements as neo-form of governing the targeted subjects. In order to embodying the colonial art of governance the 'despotic' post-colonial state further introduced Habitual Offenders Act to control and shape NTDNT's conduct(Dean 2017; kalpagam 2014). Likewise, politics of accommodation as conceptualised by Lijphart (1975) denotes a common thread that broadly resides within the ideologies of control of conduct through strategic tools, mechanisations, and complex power apparatus for contextual tactical accommodation of targeted populations. Sociologist defined the process as adjustment of hostile individuals or groups (Ogburn and Nimkoff 1958). Politics of accommodation is both a condition and process. With regard to condition, it refers to recognise and accept a set of defined status in new order and policy. As a process, accommodation refers to adjustment with new situations and conditions imposed by state and its actors on targeted individual-community to develop new working arrangements and try to build their relations more tolerable with external state of affairs. Ultimately, such tactical accommodation might results in the form of conflicts of accommodation. Thus, the conceptual overview offers a comprehensive framework for analysis grounded in governmentality and politics of accommodation, with prime focus on; approaches and apparatus employed to govern NTDNTs and their accommodation politics, specifically.

Analysing governmentality and politics of accommodation: policy approaches and apparatus

For methodological contemplation the discourse based on arguments in this section deals separately to investigate the states approach of governmentality and politics of accommodation deeply affected the life world of (NTDNTs) during pre-post colonial spaces by exploring specific cases of policy approaches and apparatus. At first, the section attempts to identify seven core policy approaches and apparatus tactically applied by colonial rulers.

Case – I

Nomad's freedom loyalty versus Britisher's governmentality

Although, contemporary history locates the beginning of colonial governmentality and politics of accommodation through the well-structured attempt by colonial raj by enacting CTA in 1871, however its roots are much deeper. The genealogy can be traced since early 18th century with an active participation of nomadic leaders in the India's freedom movement. Colonial rulers were quite aware abut nomadic communities extraordinary knowledge and skills such as i) nomads were well-versed about the topography, secrete ruts and natural habitats that helped the rebel who were fighting against British ii) being nomadic transporters they used to pass confidential messages to freedom fighters iii) apart from that some of the nomadic leaders took dynamic fight against British raj such as Umaji Naik.

According to Pawar (2004:27) 'Umaji Naik was a revolutionary nomadic leader, in-fact the first freedom fighter who declared revolt against British in 1816. Umaji was later martyred on 3 rd

February, 1832 as hanged by British in Pune District Maharashtra. The nomadic communities have many such unnoticed legacy and loyalty towards freedom of their own land'.

The context has created necessary conditions when colonial rulers noticed nomadic community's astonishing role in freedom movement and such actions were considered as threat to expand their dream to rule on India and therefore to keep these communities under penal control they have classified nomads under CTA act.

Case – II

Territorial and Trade hegemony

Nomadic communities were traditionally traders and transporters with widespread communication and transport networks with pan-India coverage even in the coasts and   far-flung forest areas. Britishers too relied earlier on these nomadic communities to establish their initial trade linkages in India. However, with a tactical foresighted vision to capture entire Indian market the colonial ruler planned to set-up their territorial trade market through introducing telegraph and railway network in 1850s. As the KIIs elaborated the fact that:

'The traditional nomadic traders and transporters created an immense suspension to materialise Britisher's ambition to set-up new trade-order. British state wanted to engrave the historical chain of trade, communication and transport sustained by nomadic communities but, was not able to control these communities directly. As a result, the governmentality of territorial and trade hegemony worked against nomadic communities to declare them as hereditary criminals like *Banjara/Laman* and similar transporters communities who had such a pervasive track-record since pre-industrial period in India's trade and transport business'.

As Habib (2006:40-41) also points out:

> 'As per the estimates the *Banjara/Laman*(Nomadic transporters), travelled around 1,320 million ton-kilometres of merchandise yearly in the 17th century. The railway had in fact long passed the same number by 1889 and by 1914, was moving almost nineteen times what *Lamans* used to travel 250 years prior and certainly did so exceptionally quicker and much inexpensively. If the *Lamanis* figured 400,000 in the 17th century, they possibly figured half a million in 1850. Dispensing with these, the railways recruited few 273,000 employees in 1895(with dependents, consists a populace of around a million)'.

Thus, the hegemonic vision to institute modern industrial and market relations ruthlessly hampered the age-old autonomous occupations of nomadic transporters. The colonial governmentality perturbed the very livelihood-system of millions of nomads without any alternative provisions pushed towards the way to unalleviated darkness.

Case- III

Diabolic forest policies and deprivation of life-survival system

The new economic policies designed by colonial rulers emanated as a typical case of governmentality which forced planners towards unexploited natural forest resources. A large

number of nomads considered as forest dependent communities since ancient times for their primary existence. To control on forest resources and to tactically remove the native nomads from forest-land colonial state enacted Indian Forest Act in 1865. The diabolic forest act jeopardised a huge number of nomadic forest dwellers from their natural rights of pasturing, hunting-gathering and shifting cultivation under false narrative as forest resources are public property and to be protected in the perspective of national interests. The upshot of such governmentality unexpectedly deprived nomad's life-survival system. The findings of autobiographies and KIIs proffer the fact that:

> 'Such a drastic exclusion had created a state of conundrum, our community members had only two options i) to fetch empty stomach they had no alternative to unfortunately involved in petty-crimes and ii) to resist hegemonic forest policies. Ultimately, such behaviours pressed nomads in the category of immoral citizens of new laws and trapped under CTA'.

The process of politics of accommodation deprived nomads from their natural space of accommodation had created lot of challenges to make adjustments to cope-up with new socio-economic conditions.

Case- IV

Protective accommodation and coalition politics

Since politics of accommodation is both a process and condition the colonial rulers judged certain communities merely based on suspicious, anecdotal and calculated conditions. There were two conditions under which colonial rulers notified many nomadic communities in the realm of CTA. They are i) in order to retain colonial governance in active manner they accepted protective accommodation politics by accepting set hierarchal provisions of Indian social system and considered the egalitarian practices of nomadic tribes(practice of remarriages of widow, freedom of choice in mate selection, community governing council and few more) which were divergent to the *Brhaminical* value systems measured as morally wrong and hence, treated as criminal ii) the coalition politics with village elites also paved way to declare innocent nomads as criminal disposition, under this process certain privileges had been offered to land-lords and working elites to certify good-character, those nomadic groups who resisted their oppressive structures could easily be treated as criminal tribe(Mayall 1988; Radhakrishna 2009).

Case-V

Colonial modernisation

The experts during KIIs pointed out one of the similar cavernous motives that show colonial rulers foresighted vision to titivate and modernise the traditional Indian society and its communities in lines of modern Europe. To operationalise their modernisation vision tactically they have first constructed nomads under CTA, 1871. Later on, to elongate the legacy of colonial modernisation in 1908, the first Criminal Tribes Settlement Act was passed whereby tribes suspected of living by crime could be registered and supervised by police, and those members of criminal tribes which had been convicted, could be placed in settlements with family members, children's and even elders with strict surveillance. The narrative is aptly recorded in Gaikwad's (1998: 3-63) autobiography as:

'my brother and cattle both are equal, it is so since simply as 'permits' are required for cattle to be moved from one place to another place, the *Uchalyas*(Branded Criminal tribes) also need to carry 'passes' while they go from one place to another with strict surveillance and torture'.

It is clear that, the taxonomy of governing the controlled subjects was against humanity. The deep-rooted policy approach was to rule and govern nearly three million innocent nomads who were strategically controlled, shoddily monitored under the host of reformatory and administrative rules and punishments, confiscated in human settlements with relatively mere access to legal-rights. These settlements later on became new sites for exploitation, harassments, atrocities, cruel punishments and surveillance. The process curtailed their traditional art, culture and natural freedom to make them new slaves under the name of modernisation.

Case-VI

Unethical labour

While analysing the pre-independence narrative the experts while KIIs have elaborated few intricate policy approaches adopted by colonial rulers.

'Britisher's had a planned vision towards a modern India and therefore strategically used their penal powers to produce expected human resource as in case of nomadic-tribes due to forest act they lost their forest based traditional livelihoods. As a result, they remained as productively defunct class from colonial rulers approach hence, to control their movements they were included in the list of CTA and in order to transform them into a productive force they were sent to reformatory settlements'.

Scholars like (Gould and Lunt 2020; Hereda 2007) also observes that one of the objectives for creation of reformatory settlements were to create a free and flexible labour class to be served as agricultural labourers and suitably after necessary training at these settlements forwarded to textile mills and the new establishments opened after industrial-revolution in the various parts of India. There was a hidden engagement with the elite-landlords and industrial bourgeoisie who were inclined to exploit there labour for free and private gain. Such intentions depict one of the organised menacing applications of British policies that forced 'unethical labour' and remembered as 'fabricated cites for human cruelty'.

Case- VII

The Colonial Rulers Biopolitics of "Tribe Vs Caste"

Bio-politics is a sub-set of governmentality conceptualised by Foucault (1979; 1991). It is a broad terrain of politics entailing administration of the processes of life of inhabitants. At the outset, the notions expressed in the autobiographies and expressions submitted by the key informants offer the following discourse on how colonial rulers constructed symbolic racist imaginary and power-geometry that costs a colossal cultural loss of these tribes for generations. Under policy apparatus of bio-politics the colonial rulers conceptualised that 'caste' is a powerful tool that governs the very Indian social-structure and since caste-system is laid down on the principle of occupation community bond to keep their occupations for the future generations. To substantiate this false argument they

further believed that these nomadic tribes are similar castes in traditional Hindu social order and therefore criminal tendency come together by birth and hereditary. This kind of policy-politics went ahead to make some reformatory welfare schemes for these criminal tribes and even for their children's during pre-independence era. The delinquent policy approach adopted by colonials towards these nomads created destructive mental consequences among the group of tribes.

> 'Still even after post-independence the tale of 'criminal tribes' kept meaning and deeply persisted among the common citizens since they have acknowledged the constructed label of hereditary born criminals which transcended even among the present generations and yet more perpetuated among the police and other government servants' (Bhosale 2014:56).

As a consequence, labelling with caste has become one of the most dangerous stigmas and symbolic metaphor, because other castes in Hindu social order feel proud to keep their caste label in social system however, it has shoddily affected to the guiltless tribes forever.

Thus, occupied with inherent false and tyrannical assumptions towards Indian society and marginal groups and in the way of modernising Indian society the British rulers made several sinister policies that disfranchised these communities mainly, nomadic tribes. The policy approaches adopted by rulers for these tribes now stand inhuman and disattributed. The voices embedded in the select autobiographies raise fundamental question relating to their lost social-recognition, livelihood and freedom which they had at some time peacefully associated with society at large which have now been denied to them due to the colonial governmentality and politics of accommodation which is very hard for them to assimilate.

Post-colonial policy approaches and apparatus

This sub-section explicitly tries to explore how the post-colonial state has amplified and further underpinned the organising codes of governmentatility and politics of accommodation by espousing new approaches and apparatus. The discourse on post-colonial policy approaches and apparatus are structured on twelve specific cases.

Case-I

Continuity of centralised taxonomy of policy governance

The KIIs reveals the fat that, the core approach for NTDNTs whispered under the same colonial modernity approach and the centralised apparatus were used tactically to create positive imaginary reformatory conciseness among these groups. The centralised taxonomy of policy governance process messed up to acquire distinctive value system and welfare epistemology of NTDNTs while executing welfare programs at grassroots level. Likewise, indianisation of policy implementation process was also missing. For instance, due to top-down centralised approach many NTDNTs are excluded from their legitimate right to citizen certificates.

> As Pawar (2004:56) observed that, 'many of our NTDNTs still retained their primitive traits they are non-resident citizens of village being nomadic, severely far from institutional delivery and lack of education in such a complex situation government asks to produce almost fifty-year old documentary evidence to obtain caste-certificate, which is essential for

our upward mobility. There should be change in the colonial bureaucratic authentication policies considering our traditional way of life'.

As per reports around 70 million NTDNTs who do not have any welfare-citizenship documents in India[4].

Similarly, the quandary of nomadism is very rightfully documented by Mane (1998: 29-67):

'When I asked my mother where we are going……she replied: we are unfortunate nomads…..we go wherever our eyes see….. and your father decides in search of livelihood and foodstuff…we remember our birth dates based on important incidents and seasons..my father remembered my date of birth because on the same day Mahatma Gandhi was killed..there are no records, documents except, the imposed criminal-tag'.

There is an urgent need to change the policy predicament which tactically relies on conservative colonial centralised top-down approach. It necessitates adopting integrative, participatory, target-oriented, need-based rather than centre-based top-down approach.

Case-II

The permanence of old colonial mentality

The KIIs and collective voices reflected in the autobiographies argue that, 'the permanence of old colonial mentality among the various state actors primarily accountable for the welfare of nomads produced continuity of prejudices in the governance system'.

For instance: the content analysis of Antrolikar Committee (1950) shows relative exclusion which lacks futuristic perspective while recommending only primary education as a priority and merely enlisting them as Backward Classes and not to be treated as distinctively subjugated groups. The Committee Specifically States that:

'Special elaborate suggestions about secondary and higher education have not been made as the question of the same will not arise for a number of years. For the time being we think facilities given to them as Backward Classes will be sufficient'. (Ibid: 7)

While in other case the state of Madhya Bharat informed the Criminal Tribes Enquiry Committee (CTEC) towards criminal tribes act that:

'[p]remature abolition of the old system of control may lead to results with which our weak administration may find it difficult to cope' (CTEC 1951: 87).

These are merely two representative cases that confirm to what extent the permanence of old colonial mentality deeply rooted in the psyche of governinmentality. The approach of commissions like Antrolikar and State governments provides us a kind of self executive trauma and the mentality of citing colonial governing and analysing mentality towards India's tribal subalternay. This has further perpetuated the culture of injustice and created hostile political environment for the NTDNTs.

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[4] Dhupkar A, 'Nomadic, semi-nomadic tribes say CAA is a threat', *Mumbai Mirror*, 23 December 2019.

Case-III

The doubtful scales of constitutional justice

The dawn of independence created hope of justice among these tribes however, the narratives offer doubts and quires. The new government did establish a significant right based welfare schemes and commissions through centralised apparatus for the disenfranchised groups. The Constitution of India offers special provisions for welfare and proposed two categories: Scheduled Tribes (ST) and Scheduled Castes (SC). The KIIs notes that:

> 'Paradoxically, NTDNT's as a constitutional category were not documented in the constitution of India. This was one of the utmost miseries in the Indian history of social justice and a serious case of human right violation by state while dishonouring the legacy and culture of their own people'.

This has amplified their exclusion from different state sponsored welfare schemes and constitutional rights of reservation. Further to that the bureaucratic disarray had created multiple spatial identities of these groups while enlisting them interchangeably as SC's-ST's. This has created anxieties and tensions within the group of NTDNTs and movements for demanding reservations spread all over India. NTDNTs are uniting for their constitutional developmental rights and are investing their energy and social capital in such goals which is perhaps extremely contested and politically poignant.

Case-IV

Institutional persecution towards libration and discrimination

The politics of governmentality and accommodation has multiple facets and corresponding collisions on NTDNTs. One such crucial example is denotifying criminal tribes after Independence. It has created deep impact on two fronts i) on recommendation of Kalelkar commission criminal tribes were denotified and reclassified as "*Vimukta Jatis*" and tactically tagged the word "*jatis*"(Caste) instead of "*Jamatis*"(Tribes) this has further paved way for institutionalised official and social discrimination ii) the era was conceived as a new, distinctive and liberal, in his historic Tryst with destiny speech on the eve of Independence Day on 15 August 1947 Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru(1947) said[5]:

> 'India will awake to life and freedom …. when an age ends… the past is over and it is the future that beckons to us now'.

However, somewhat freedom for innocent communities like (NTDNTs) was mingled as elusive and precarious in their own land, it has pertinently pointed by (Bhosale 2014:45):

> 'since India achieved Independence on 15 August, 1947, however our community got independence on 31 August, 1952 our libration was delayed precisely five years and 16

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[5] http://nehrumemorial.nic.in/en/galleries/audio Accessed on 18 January 2020.

days later when the rest of Indians all-ready got their freedom, we declared denotified and free after a long trauma'.

Likewise, following evidence also rightly shows the inner-voices of nomads who were alluring for their freedom in-front of CTA Enquiry Committee (CTEC) members, they reported as:

'Anywhere we visited, we heard one single cry from all the criminal tribes that whereas India obtained freedom, they continued to be in bondage and their demand for setting them free by repealing the Act was insistent' (CTEC 1951: 81).

Interactions during KIIs divulged that, the governmentality of dishonouring our own citizens created a profound chasm among DNT groups and will remain since time immortal. DNTs symbolising this day both as protest and celebration as their *Vimukti Diwas*(Libration Day) across India and gaining special attention mainly amongst the new generation to get their lost rights and identities.

Case-V

Habitual offenders act (HOA): new grammar of politics of accommodation

As this paper will further exemplify the typical case of foucaultian governmentality where the CTEC (1951) at first systematically deconstructed the colonial construction, later strategically reconstructed the new grammar of politics through imposing an illiberal image of punitive control by merely changing the nomenclature from CTA to HOA. In the global democracy, India is conceivably the only nation that still continues with colonial hegemonic tradition of labelling tribes as hereditary criminal. In fact, already National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) and United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (UN-CERD) in 2007 recommended India to repeal HOA, 1952. However, desolately there has been no action to abolish the ruthless act by government as well as political actors. The KIIs moreover points out that the tactical shift from CTA to HOA further perpetuated the old dishonour of criminality and even strengthened deep-seated public distrust and police-legal harassment. In this context, to express his agony (Gaikwad 1998:62) raises fundamental question on the very fabric of national veracity:

'When I used to open text-book for *Marathi*, on the first page, I used to see: 'India is my country…proud of its rich and varied heritage.' I used to wonder why if all this were true, we were beaten with false allegation of theft…I often wonder why if *Bharat* is our country, we are discriminated against, why our race is branded and treated as a thieves community'

These communities are still continued to be dishonoured under the HOA. With this new grammar of politics of accommodation under HOA in the absence of any time-bound rehabilitation program the newly emerged state and political actors signalled their artificial behaviour towards the voiceless communities.

Case-VI

Land Reforms: New means of post-colonial governmentality

Indian nomads particularly pastoral groups are solely depend upon common lands. Government plans have always created divesting impacts on their very existence. After independence

Government of India had initiated agrarian and land reforms in order to collect revenue and produce maximum food under which a vast portion of common land was allotted to land-less. However, such huge tracks of commons were grabbed by influential dominant agrarian-class and real beneficiaries were excluded it has created two major long-lasting impacts on poor pastoral-nomads. At first, the stable grazing lands were drastically reduced therefore nomads lost their natural right to livelihood and that further created socio-economic shocks resulted in mass-migration and acute-poverty ii) due to the changing commercial agrarian relations they even lost their traditional cordial relations with local peasants, today social tensions and even cases of mob-lynching are occurring with these pastoral nomads when they try to graze on commons and near agricultural lands (Brara 2006; Bhasin 2011). It is distressing to note that as per the Renke(2008) and Idate(2018) commission report 89 per cent of denotified and 98 per cent of nomadic tribes did not own any type of land holding[6]. The historical asset based exclusion coupled with the new economic and agrarian policies drastically affected nomadic group's natural rights to livelihood and hence they are demanding new agrarian and land reform policies based on equity and sustainability.

Case-VII

The ruthless laxity-approach of the developmental govenmentality

One of intense case of violation of core constitutional philosophy of equality and human right is still over 260 extremely marginalised nomadic groups have not been classified in any of the constitutionally accepted categories[7]. The very question raises here that if such a huge number of NTDNTs are excluded from their legitimate right for equal representation then who are responsible for their denial of constitutional rights and privileges that they lost and what about the developmental and welfare space and cost that they have paid? As compare to general population and even other reserved category they are intensely in-visible. Such a ruthless laxity-approach of governmentality and politics of accommodation during   post-colonial governance creates serious question about states accountability towards the in-visible citizens and demands an urgent policy intervention for positive discrimination.

Case-VIII

Selective developmental mobility (SDM)

If we trace the genealogy of different commissions-committees formed for the welfare of (NTDNTs) and their reflection in the development process seems that there is a process of (SDM) the mobility which acquires a certain proxy elements of the development wherein state tries to engage their beneficiaries at mass level. This kind of SDM often creates perplexity while measuring their progress and remains hegemonic in nature. For instance: providing selective political reservations only at

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[6] https://indiacsr.in/denotified-nomadic-semi-nomadic-tribes-left-out-in-union-budget/ Accessed on 9 March 2020.

[7] Nair S, 'Govt to identify denotified, nomadic tribes not classified as SC, ST or OBC,' *The Indian Express*, 1 February 2019.

local governance (Gram Panchyat in Maharashtra State) the state tries to make SDM under welfare responsibility approach. The case of Vasantrao Naik Vimukta Jati and Nomadic Tribes Development Corporation (VNVJNTDC), a Maharashtra state government company is an ideal case for elaboration. The findings from our KIIs and study conducted by (GIPE Study Report, 2012) corroborates that; i) compare to the population of NTDNTs in Maharashtra the fund allocated to VNVJNTDC is very low in terms of today's inflation ii) to become eligible to various schemes is in-fact a big hurdle because, it requires rigid types of documents such as caste-certificate and validation, ration card, voter-ID; *Aadhar*-card and so on and iii) whatever benefits acquired by NTDNTs are majority of few urban-based elites with established political networks. Therefore, the poor, resource constrained, nomadic groups cannot complete requirements designed under the psyche of governmentality to access the scheme of VNVJNTDC. Similarly, apparatus established under selective developmentality have obsessed with strong networks of political patronages and corruption. Such strategies produce surrogate attentiveness that democratic political structures in India is keen in producing a kind of affirmative environment at the cost of applying sheer tactics to govern, control and prosper such notified communities from a very long period.

Case-IX

The Horizontal Exclusion and Vote Bank Politics

The struggle of (NTDNTs) for their legitimate right to be accepted as a sperate schedule has different premeditated narratives. For instance: During 1970's Mandal Commission had constituted to establish reservation for (OBC's) the commission situated several (NTDNTs) within the OBC category and the same is being followed by few states to be accommodated in states welfare activities. Conversely, KIIs found that: (NTDNTs) can not strive within the established dominant sections those already located and politically well inclined in the OBC category. Therefore, considering the multiplicity of social discrimination and age old stigma faced by NTDNTs one of member of Mandal Commission Mr. L.R Naik suggested to separate the list of OBCs in to two distinctive-groups i)Intermediate Backward Class(IBC) and ii) Depressed Backward Class(DBC).

The IBCs are 'those who have co-existed since time immemorial with upper-castes and had therefore, some scope to imbibe better association. The DBCs are those groups, whose intermingling with Indian society was either denied, prohibited or segregated on account of stigma of nomadism and criminality'(Panda 2008:12).

However, the discourse was rejected by commission. Likewise, ironically NTDNTs across India covered irrespectively in SC/ST/OBC/VJ/NT grids that also creates horizontal exclusion and can be a destructive decision for future progress and to deal with their constitutional rights. As far as popular vote bank politics is concerned the Indian political consciousness confirms that political establishments do not wish to perturb their existing vote-bank in return to either i) include all (NTDNTs) in SC/ST grids or ii)to make unique third-schedule under constitutional category. The centre has already rejected Renke Commission (2008) suggestion on third-schedule saying as 'impractical'[8]. Thus, the backcasting shows symptoms of 'business as usual model'. Even though,

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[8] Ghildiyal, S 'Quota for denotified tribes impractical', *The Times of India*, 23 September 2008.

few state governments like Maharashtra accommodated these tribes into separate categories like VJ/NT (A, B and C) with very mere share in state resources. Nevertheless, for centrally sponsored schemes or jobs the state grids for (NTDNT's) not remain valid as they consider under OBC category. Thus, the policy dilemma further creates multiple horizontal exclusions in the lives of millions of innocent tribe's located across Indian continent.

Case-X

Women folk: an in(visible) victims

One of the most in(visible) victims of governmentality and politics of accommodation techniques are the women of these communities. The KIIs centred on given crisis explored the following distinct findings:

> i) the women carry the identity as wives of thieves, whether their husbands steal or not ii) this identity accentuate their vulnerability in the larger society iii) generally men folk are either in police custody or out of home for longer period in search of livelihood iv) women becomes responsible to primarily look after the children and support family v) forced by circumstances, women are trained to steal along with children's from the childhood.

As narrated by Gaikwad(1998 :45):

> 'since my grandfather was arrested all responsibilities of my family were on my grandmother Naraiabai nobody would offer work to us as we were branded tribe of criminals; she used to visit crowded fairs and markets and remove gold ornaments from the neck of women cutting them with her teeth'.

When male thieves of the family captured women face extreme humiliation and torture by police and judiciary they complied to mobilise money to bribe police and pay fees to lawyer and struggle their own way to survive and help their family members released.

Some of the atrocious instances are:

> Laxman(Ibid:2-8) depicted that, 'during police search to torture, they squeesed grandmothers breasts, asking her to show stolen goods'.. Later on his grandmother told, 'they hang me upside down by the legs and lash the sole of my feet with a whip, thrust burning cigarette butts into my anus. If I don't confess to the theft, they bring shit near my mouth and force me to eat it and keep on beating me.'

Gaikwad(Ibid: 185-198) further append miseres as:

> *Ithi* a young women sold her one and a half year old daughter in Pune for Rs.200/ and kept her four year old son with her to run her distressed family. In another case of *Hirabai Kale,* a *Pardhi* woman, her husband was arrested on charge of theft. She underwent tubectomy for Rs.200/and bought half gunny bag of *jowar*(Sorghum) to run the household chore and feed herself since after giving birth to new baby she was nothing to eat expect water'.

Similarly, Bhosale (2014:45) also desolately noted that:

> 'When I was arrested under the false charge, due to inability to pay Lawyer fee my sister surrendered the condition and became prostitute (*Veshya*), the hostile conditions drive our women to take immoral decisions with respect to marital adjustments and face sexual harassment by both police and societal members'

Thus, the aforesaid realities confirm manifold vulnerabilities and exploitation. The fragility of governmentality further amplifies their lives to take ruthless decisions to admit multiple marriages. Due to forced circumstances all forms of marriages found in sociological lexicon are seen amongst the NTDNTs it becomes an exchange of commodities than sustainable living relationships. Thus, the politics of goevrnmentality appears at centre of their oppression their issues are predominantly critical however, barely received any attention from academia and popular discourse.

Case-XI

Political apathy

One of the fundamental reasons was historically these groups suffers from political apathy that depart them at the periphery of society. Interviews with KIIs explored that:

> 'Perhaps due to their inherent culture of mobility, language, occupations, lack of unitedness, lack of political party and relatively alienation from mainstream political system Indian political parties botched to consolidate them as a politically significant community depository'.

Toward political apathy Laxman(1980:26-31) critically remarks that:

> 'no party has any sympathy for the 'poor' and the political arena is only for persons adept in the art of making false promises'

Especially, the year 1991 is historical in the Indian society when the death of welfare society is declared and the dawn of globalisation announced. The Indian political system especially after globalisation and liberalisation of state politics the aforesaid value frameworks have become more active. The kind of accommodation politics governed with these tribes resulted in further political detachment in the Indian context. However, from futures perspective the process of conscious political apathy with these tribes is considered as greatest harm to the ideals of representative democracy.

Case-XII

Preferential treatment

The thesis is endorsed by (Pathy 1984: 163) 'India is one of the few countries in the world with elaborate systems of preferential treatment for 'ascriptively defined groups'. Furthermore, in the voyage of accommodation politics within the machinations of governmentality that informs the workings of democratic politics, which depend upon state apparatus through which subjects are rendered governable, thus state itself reflects class interest (Althusser 2006). It is, therefore, a matter of utmost anxiety to comprehend the interplay between the state and its governmentality. The

working relationship with state apparatus and politics of partnership has resulted in to the long length vacuum of developmental accommodation among these tribes and the mainstreamers, the preferential treatment for few caste and religious groups for democratic vote-bank dividend politics and the accommodation politics by state within the class of marginal groups adversely affected the chunk of (NTDNTs) hence, from futures perspective they have a long-way, to be assimilated primarily with their fellow-class associates and later on with the mainstreamers, unless strategic interventions.

Towards possibility of accommodation

The need for unfeigned and sustainable re-integration of NTDNTs with larger society has been felt stronger than ever. This section, based on the inner-assertions reflected in the autobiographies and KIIs, along with few inherent age-old policy demands put-forth Future Policy Priorities with new assertions felt by NTDNTs ensuring their demand at centre stage in the light of new policy-impetus (**Table 2**).

Table 2: Future Policy Priorities for NTDNTs in India

Sr.no	Future Policy Priorities	(FPEs)
1	To enact legitimate constitutional accommodation by enacting Third Schedule and conduct special census enumeration of NTDNTs	+ +
2	To pass provision for special electoral constituency for equal political representation and empowerment	+ +
3	To enact special provision for Central/State Financial Board; budget provision as per the population ratio and inflation on the lines of SC/ST sub plan and prepare short-long term Vision Plan on lines of Sustainable Development Goals.	+ +
4	To develop exclusively distinctive area of NTDNT literature/ research/academic discourse, state funding for 'NTDNT *Sahitya Sammelan*-Literary Conference/Nomad-Film Festivals' and workshops for emerging research scholars/ recognition as UGC special area studies/ chair	+ +
5	To constitute District level free legal-aid and counseling centers (DLCC)	+ +
6	To grant constitutional security under Prevention of Atrocity Act on lines of SC/ST	+ +
7	To Immediate repeal of HOA with adequate rehabilitation policies	+ +
8	Citizen identification facilitation cards (CIFC) for health/education/legal help on lines of Roma nomads in Europe.	+ +
9	To enact special ACT to Prevent NTDNTs from mob-lynching(PML-ACT)	+ +
10	Special free and quality educational services from KG to PG and reservation for employment and higher education as-per population ratio/boarding/cluster schools on the lines of *Navodaya Vidyalaya*/ fellowships/hostels facility at par with SC/ST.	+ +
11	To conserve/preserve dying culture ; precious dialects and oral literary traditions of NTDNTs	+

12	Special regiment in Indian Army like *Naga* tribe regiment for NTDNTS to reclaim their revolutionary and heroic heritage	+
13	To make policy to eliminate hegemonic/stigmatised label/nomenclature as 'De-notified/ Ex-criminal tribes' from the working language of government/judiciary to retain NTDNTs proud past and culture.	+ +
14	To constitute impartial grievance redressal mechanism (GRM) at district and state level to prevent illegal police action, custodial deaths and harassment.	+ +
15	To organise special talent search camps(STSC) to identify hidden talent amongst the NTDNTs in sports/ theater/ singing/etc	+
16	To constitute special national level study panel for the socio-economic empowerment of NTDNT women and their prevention from of sexual harassment/domestic violence at community and institutional levels.	+ +
17	To sensitise NTDNT political workers to constitute special wing of NTDNTs in all political parties from district to national level.	+
18	To revise the underlaying prejudices about NTDNTs structured in curricula at police training academy.	+
19	To enact new amendments under commons land and land distribution schemes to retain nomadic communities natural and equitable land rights for sustainable livelihood.	+ +
20	To form all inclusive NTDNT National Forum (NTDNT-NF) for constitutional accommodation and function as pressure group/ legitimate platform for their sustainable future development.	+ +

Source: Author's conceptualisation based on insights from autobiographies and KIIs

Note: Future Policy Effects (FPEs) [+ + Extremely positive; + Positive; = Neutral or Unknown, **- -** Extremely negative and **-** are Negative effects].

The first and foremost FPP is centred on the historical policy demand to be accommodated under third schedule and will create extremely positive policy effects shielding from multiple developmental exclusions. The history has undermined their democratic rights and their entitlement towards positive discrimination as endorsed to SCs and STs. Special Census inclusion through enumeration will also provide scientific data for affirmative action and design welfare policies accordingly, likewise, create a base-line to assert their equal political rights and representation through special electoral constituency. Moreover, some of the new policy assertions are indeed unlock new discourse such as: i) due to intrinsic history of social-political discrimination, criminalisation and nomadic cultural diversity it would be un-identical and contemptible to subsume the voices of NTDNTs under the shadow of *Dalit* literature hence need policy measures to accentuate distinctive identity in the popular and scientific academic discourses ii) in order to avoid structural deterrents like atrocities/mob lynching/ police harassment special policy measures(Sr no 5-6-7-9-14) will create change in social mindset iii) predominantly, NTDNTs have a assenting policy demand to eliminate hegemonic/stigmatised label/nomenclature which brand them as once (Criminal now De-notified/ Ex-criminal tribes) on the lines of affirmative labeling like as '*Divyang*' instead of persons with disability and 'Aspirational Districts' for erstwhile 'Backward Districts' to retain NTDNTs proud past and culture. Consequently, all the 20 FPPs explicitly provides tangible

progressive demands which will help to distinguish the plights of NTDNT's comprehensively and further be able to take appropriate measures at policy end for sustainable re-integration with larger society. In the same way, to re-integrate NTDNTs, in an introduction Gaikwad(1984:vi) eloquently put forward a fundamental question that:

> 'the colonial stigma and prejudice that we carry needs to be exposed and bring people around to view that people of these tribes are also human beings and are in need of a helping hand from all to bring them into the mainstream of social life'.

Against this background, the paper argues that, it is one of the anomalous contexts where the so-called delinquent subjects are in-fact the unfortunate victims of systematic-structural discriminations. Therefore, in equality based society re-integration of NTDNTs not merely an assertion of the victims rather it is a vow and accountability of the state and the larger society. Thus, in order to change the contemporary discourse and to effectively operationalise the FPPs the paper advocates an integrated model of organising the following five change actors (CAs). **Table 3** provides the specific operational roles (SORs) to be expected by the CAs.

Table 3: Re-integration of NTDNTs: expected roles by change actors

No	Change actors	Expected roles
1	State-government Actors(SGAs) (Judiciary/ Legislature/ Bureaucrats/ Policy makers)	**1.** SGAs should first needs to deconstruct their colonial mentality and act according to their constitutional obligation to enshrine the legislative liberty guaranteed to NTDNTs under Indian Constitution (Article-14-15-21-342-366) for their socio-economic development and political inclusion. **2.** Government schemes/plans must be designed considering NTDNTs customary socio-cultural perspective. **3.** Adopt community centric/participatory innovative-time bound target oriented strategies for priority areas of human development. **4.** Gender and children's issues of NTDNTs should be integral to all policy frameworks. **5.** Care should be taken to protect of human rights of NTDNTs and sensitisation workshops of police and civil servants to be conducted at training academies. **6.** SGAs should make distinction between 'law and justice' while framing major laws for NTDNTs that must not affect their very 'life-support system'. Hence, as focal mechanism of social welfare SGAs should adopt 'Law with Justice and Equality' approach judicially.
2	Community Based Organisations engaged with or within NTDNTs	**1.** The role of CBOs to be cantered on three core areas: i) community mobilisation, networking with local to international organisations like (NAG-DNT; *Lokdhara*; Action-aid; UN-CERD; DFID; UNICEF; NHRC; UN-HRC etc) ii) policy advocacy on contemporary and future issues iii) community development programs with innovative strategies like CSR funding for NTDNTS and fund mobilisation from national-international donor agencies for Health, Education and Livelihoods

		activities.
		2.Community sensitisation on special days like '*Vimukti Diwas*' for issues on constitutional rights, human development and women's/children's issues; free legal support to the victims.
		3. Organise special community camps in collaboration with government agencies to get access to basic documents like *Aadhar*; Ration Cards, Caste Certificates and Voter-IDs
		4. Initiate strategic dialog and movement pressuring state actors to realise their constitutional responsibilities to provide NTDNTs meaningful constitutional accommodation.
3	Civil Society Actors-CSAs (Activists/Literary figures/ academicians/ philanthropist etc)	**1.** CSAs should evolve new models of development accommodation such as 'politics of partnership/negotiations' that establishes functional bonding with the governance of state-politico-legal actors (SPLAs).
		2.It will also function as 'mediating lubricant' and 'bridging mechanisms' between SPLAs and NTDNTs in order to reduce and re-integrate the predisposed relationships and create conditions for willingness to provide possibility of legitimate accommodation to NTDNTs, thus a new model of 'governance for the disenfranchised' will emerge.
		3. The CSAs should develop alternative cadre of devoted leaders/mentors at state-national level within or outside the community for instance Mahashweta Devi who dedicated entire life to mobilise NTDNTs will provide a potent platform to voice their assertions in consequential way.
		4. CSAs should evolve 'common minimum program'/status-policy papers/ translation of NTDNT autobiographies in regional-international languages/ arrange 'NTDNT *Sahitya Sammelan*-Literary Conference/Nomad Film Festivals' demand-develop special courses and area studies/ chairs on NTDNTs to create scientific data/literature/theories/discourse for creating awareness about their life, culture, historical struggles/ subjugation, to break prejudices around them.
		5. CSAs being one of the enlightened actors seriously need to take care that, NTDNTs unified movements should not be turned as a new destructive or violent force. Thus, to make their justice movements successful and sustainable it should be based on the principles of non-violence and within the ambit of Indian constitution.
4	NTDNT community members (NTDNTCMs)	**1.** NTDNTCMs who become exemplary role models due to their intrinsic struggles have greater role and responsibility towards development of their community members, they have to i) form a consortium of community resource persons (CCRPs) ii) support NTDNT associations iii) prepare a road map for constructive action considering local-national problems iv) provide informal education platform through social media, counselling camps and internal conscientisation of

		community members on range of contemporary and future problems. **2.** As an active agents of change NTDNTCMs in collaboration with allied change actors mobilise community voices to hold (SPLAs) accountable to provide access to critical rights and freedoms for NTDNTs affirmative accommodation. **3.** NTDNTCMs should develop social marketing strategies to convey the injustices and stigma faced by the NTDNTs to the larger societal associations such as religious; voluntary; industrial associations and political parties will lead to social reform within and outside community and regenerate their social identity.
5	Political actors(PAs) (Party leaders/ workers etc)	**1.** PAs having accountability with NTDNTs should widen political mobilisation to hold state governing system and their actors accountable to ensure NTDNTs legitimate rights in the welfare accommodation. **2.** PAs have to perform a very constructively fundamental role to first politically organise all NTDNT groups and sub-groups disjointed by caste/tribe/language/region/profession who are largely uncared by India's major political parties, as compared to their counterparts. **3.**PAs have to attempt to transform the conventional climate of political negotiation through i) ensuring NTDNTs productive role in democratic vote-bank politics ii) developing NTDNTs consortium of political-non political actors iii) alliances with political groups on common minimum program and iv) sensitisation and pressure group politics to make distinction between 'ethics and politics'.

Source: Author's conceptualisation based on insights from autobiographies and KIIs

Conclusion

To conclude, the paper put forth predominant sentiments as embedded in the autobiographies thus reflect their injustice and bring a lining of questions about their forsakenness of depressedness of having been denied social justice: Why are they just dismissed by the larger-society? Why are they not acknowledged and accepted as legitimate citizens of democracy? Why are they made victims of governmentality and politics of accommodation? These questions confronts the very sprit of constitution of India which asserts equal opportunities to its all citizens, where no one should deprived or merely only some groups cannot hoard the rights over others. The developmental taxonomy of (NTDNTs) shows historical lag and politics of recognition. The paper through the conceptual lens of governamentality and politics of accommodation concludes that the immensity of NTDNTs subjugation and exclusion instituted by the colonial-postcolonial state is the case of one of the world's most elongated hapless victims of 'governmentality and politics of accommodation' beyond the pale of social-accountability.

Against this background the paper argues that, the future possibility of (NTDNTs) legitimate accommodation will crucially be centred on how state and the larger society build necessary and sufficient conditions for them. However, there are internal factors equally pertinent for their unsullied plights for instance: their instinct cultural fabrics, fragmented movements based on caste,

class and ethnicity, lack of alliance and exterior or coopted leadership, networks to establish political association someway found to be answerable which necessitates synchronised actions from change actors. The paper while concluding also cautions that, if the process of re-integration of NTDNTs not takes place in a true sprit and the continuities of governmentality and politics of accommodation keep perpetuating further there will be possibilities of critical cases where conflicts and tensions with state and governance systems could emerge for their legitimate constitutional developmental accommodation. There are forms of conflicts of accommodation although silently those are prominently seen among NTDNTs such as socio-political apathy, reticence, resist, counter movements and cynicism. However, who believes in democratic structures should continue with hope that can sustain alternative pathways for the possibility of enhanced and equitable accommodation for India's (NTDNTs). The paper finally concludes that, millions of our NTDNT brothers and sisters are hoping to convalesce their respectable proud past and to be re-integrated with fellow citizens, the onus is thus upon the state and larger society guided with a sustainable vision of non-violent integrated movement of change actors engaged with and within NTDNTs towards their legitimate possibility of developmental accommodation in the egalitarian structures for a new democratic India.

Acknowledgements

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