

Living Under Dual Burden as Lower Self and Migrant: A Case Study of Lamanis in Goa

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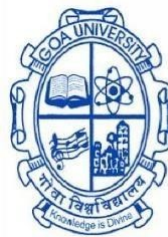
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DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, “Living Under Dual Burden as Lower Self and Migrant: A Case Study of Lamanis in Goa” is based on the results of investigations carried out by me in the Political Science discipline at D.D. Kosambi School of Social Science and Behavioural Studies, Goa University under the Supervision of Ms. Prachi Naik and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of a degree or diploma by me. Further, I understand that Goa University or its authorities / College will not be responsible for the correctness of observations / experimental or other findings given the dissertation.

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COMPLETION CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the Field work/visit report “Living Under Dual Burden as Lower Self and Migrant: A Case Study of Lamanis in Goa” is a bonafide work carried out by **Ms. Saloni Subray Banaulikar** under my supervision in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **Master’s in Arts** in the discipline of Political Science at D.D Kosambi School of Social Science and Behavioural Studies, Goa University.



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CONTENT

Declaration.....	I
Completion certificate.....	II
Acknowledgement.....	III
Content.....	IV
List of illustration and Figures.....	V

Sr. No.	TITLE	Page No.
1.	Chapter I: Introduction	1-25
2.	Chapter II: Historical background of Lamani community	26-36
3.	Chapter III: Lamanis and their migration to Goa	37-52
4.	Chapter IV: Being a Lamani in Goa	53- 74
5.	Chapter V: Conclusion	75-79
	Bibliography	80-82
	Appendix	83-96

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND FIGURES

Figure No.	Description	Page No.
Figure 3.1	Goan respondents' opinion about Lamani migration to Goa	44
Figure 3.2	Goan respondents' views about image of Goa due to presence of Lamani community	45
Figure 3.3	Goan respondents' views about danger on local business due to presence of Lamani community	46
Figure3.4	Goan respondents' views on need of Lamani population for providing Labour services in Goa	49
Figure 3.5	Goan respondents' views on Lamanis boost Goan economy through their business activities	50
Figure 4.1	Place of birth of Lamani population in Goa	53
Figure 4.2	Educational status of Lamani population in Goa	54
Figure 4.3	Level of education of Lamani population in Goa	55
Figure 4.4	Employment status of Lamani population in Goa	55
Figure 4.5	Stay period of Lamani people in Goa	56
Figure 4.6	Nature of migration of Lamani population in Goa	57
Figure 4.7	Nature of housing of Lamani people in Goa	57
Figure 4.8	Lamani people and discrimination in Goa	58
Figure 4.9	Goan respondents' views on discrimination faced by Lamanis in Goa	59
Figure 4.10	Goan respondents' views on reasons for discrimination faced by Lamanis in Goa	60
Figure 4.11	Goan respondents' views on ownership of business by the Lamanis in Goa	60
Figure 4.12	Lamani respondents' views on ownership of business in Goa	61
Figure 4.13	Lamani respondents' views on freedom to raise their issues in Goa	62
Figure 4.14	Lamani respondents' views on community's traditional cultural values	63
Figure 4.15	Lamani women's views on wearing of traditional outfit	64
Figure 4.16	Lamanis views on enjoyment of freedom in public and private sphere	65
Figure 4.17	Lamani population in Goa's voting right	68
Figure 4.18	States where Lamanis in Goa cast their vote	69
Figure 4.19	Political awareness within the Lamani community	70
Figure 4.20	Political leadership within Lamani community	71
Figure 4.21	Goan respondents' opinion about having political leader from Lamani community in Goa	72

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

The title of this study suggests the existence of contested identities with respect to Lamanis in Goa. This contested identity has resulted into the dual burden of being a lower self and a migrant. This study has discussed the dual burden through the theoretical framework of intersectionality. Intersectionality, in social theory, refers to the interplay and cumulative impact of various forms of discrimination on individuals' daily lives, particularly women of colour. The term also refers to a broader philosophical framework for understanding how different components of individual identity, such as race, gender, socioeconomic class, and sexuality, interact to create distinct experiences of privilege or oppression. Kimberlé Crenshaw, a well-known American civil rights activist and critical race theory scholar, coined the term "intersectionality" in her 1989 article "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics." Crenshaw developed the notion to address oppressive situations that could not be effectively understood as the product of common patterns of discrimination. In her 1991 article "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Colour," she emphasized the importance of the term.

Intersectionality is defined as the interaction of social identification structures such as race, class, and gender in developing life experiences, particularly the experience of privilege and oppression (Gopaldas 2013). In other words, intersectionality refers to the idea that individuals have numerous social identities such as race, gender, class, and sexuality that intersect and interact with one another, affecting their experiences and opportunities and potentially leading

to feelings of privilege or oppressed. It is about the interconnection of many types of discrimination.

This research study focuses on socio economic and political life of Lamani community present in Goa and living under dual burden of being a lower self and a migrant. The identities, lower self and migrant, when intersected, causes discrimination and classifies an individual as an exclusion from the mainstream society. The lower self-identity is used as an umbrella term to refer to the contested identities attached to the Lamani community. The community is associated as nomadic, tribal, peasantry and at the same time also belonging to scheduled caste status. These lower self-identities are further attached to the migrant identity especially dealing with Lamani community in Goa.

Nomadism is a mode of life in which people do not reside in the same place all the time, but rather travel cyclically or periodically. It differs from migration, which is noncyclic and requires a complete shift of habitat. Nomadism does not imply unlimited and undirected travelling; rather, it is built on transient settlements whose permanence is determined by the availability of food and the technology to exploit it. The term nomad refers to three types: nomadic hunters and gatherers, pastoral nomads, and tinker or trader nomads. Pastoral nomads, who rely on domesticated cattle, migrate to established territories to find pasture for their animals. Most groups have sites which they occupy for significant amounts of time each year. Pastoralists may rely only on their herds, or they may hunt or gather, practise agriculture, or trade with agricultural peoples for grain and other things. (Britannica). According to Britannica definition, *‘Tribe, in anthropology, a notional form of human social organization based on a set of smaller groups (known as bands), having temporary or permanent political integration, and defined by traditions of common descent, language, culture, and ideology’*.

According to Cambridge dictionary, a peasant is 'a person who owns or rents a small piece of land and grows crops, keeps animals, etc. on it, especially one who has a low income, very little education, and a low social position.' Peasants typically refer to rural agricultural workers or farmers who cultivate land either for subsistence or to produce crops for sale. Historically, peasants have often comprised the majority of the population in agrarian societies. Peasants usually engage in manual labour, using traditional farming methods and tools. Their socio- economic status can vary greatly depending on factors such as land ownership, access to resources.

According to Charles Horton Cooley, caste is "when a class is somewhat strictly hereditary, we may call it a caste." A.W. Green states that "caste is a system of stratification in which mobility up and down the status ladder, at least ideally, may not occur." According to Dharendra Nath Majumdar and Triloki Nath Madan, caste is a 'closed group.' In India's social stratification system, caste is a social class. The stratification was first based on an occupational category and four traditional groupings organised in a hierarchy. Caste is now determined at birth based on parents' participation in the system, and it cannot be changed during a person's life. The four fundamental castes are divided into thousands of "jati," or subcastes, making the system complex. From top to bottom, the four main categories are: Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Shudras. Dalits are literally "out-castes" and face substantial discrimination and prejudice as a result of their socioeconomic status. Dalits are classified as lower castes. Individual social mobility is forbidden by caste, which is determined by inheritance. The Brahmins are at the top of the hierarchy, while the Dalits are at the bottom. Higher - lower caste inferiority and superiority complexes exist in Indian society, and as a result, persons from lower strata face discrimination in numerous spheres of life.

Most of the time the caste and tribe identities are categorised as belonging to lower strata of the society, therefore it is crucial to draw the distinction between the same. The tribal identity

at the same time is subjected to transformation within a society. Virginius Xaxa, (1999) in his work, *Transformation of Tribes in India: Terms of Discourse*, states that over 400 Indian tribes are formally recognised as scheduled. These groupings have all undergone changes. However, their consequences and meanings have been severely misinterpreted. Anthropologists believe that as a tribe loses isolation and integrates with wider society, they eventually develop into a caste. But this notion is no longer valid as tribes continue to undergo changes but they don't transform into caste. New castes are no longer being established, either through tribal transition or other causes. Although tribes have become peasants and socially separated groups, they have maintained their distinct identities, contrary to popular belief.

The categories within Indian societies like Religion, language, location, and caste are deeply ingrained in society and psyche. These categories have history but this is not the case with tribes as tribal category is seen as a colonial construction in 19th century (Beteille 1995: Singh 1993). When the British wrote about Indian civilization, they used the term 'tribe' to refer to both a group of people who shared a common ancestry and a primitive or barbaric group. In 18th century publications on India, references to rajput, ahir, and jat 'tribes', as well as the interchangeable usage of 'tribe' and 'caste', indicate that British ethnographers employed the term 'tribe' in several contexts.

When the first all-India census was conducted in 1881, the term used was 'forest tribe' rather than 'tribe', and only as a sub-heading under the broader group of agricultural and pastoral castes. Risley and Gait, who were in charge of the 1901 and 1911 censuses, added 'so-called animists' to the caste and other tables. Marten followed the same method in the 1921 Census, but altered the heading from 'animism' to 'tribe religion'. Hutton continued to identify tribes from others based on religion, while tribes were distinguished from non-tribes based on caste or caste-like characteristics. For Hutton, the tribe-caste separation could only be preserved in this way. According to Ghurye [1963:205], the majority of scheduled tribes labelled as animists

in censuses are really considered 'backward Hindus', rather than aboriginals. (Virginus Xaxa, 1999).

The distinguishing characteristics of caste and tribe can be drawn. Castes are governed by the hereditary division of labour, hierarchy, the principle of purity and pollution, civic and religious disabilities, and so on, while tribes are distinguished by the absence of caste characteristics. Kinship relationships are considered to regulate tribal society. As a result, everyone is treated equally. The lineage and clan are traditionally the primary units of ownership, production, and consumption. Caste society, on the other hand, is defined by inequality, dependence and subordination. Tribes are supposed to derive direct, unrestricted pleasure from sensual pleasures such as food, drink, sex, dancing, and music, whereas caste people are said to be ambivalent about such pleasures. Furthermore, under the 'jati' culture, the village is meant to be culturally diverse, with each jati adhering to an own set of traditional behaviours. Tribal members, on the other hand, demand their community to be homogeneous, or at least not heterogeneous (Mandelbaum 1970). Beteille describes the tribes as being outside of Hindu civilization, which is their only commonality. Tribe identification is sometimes influenced by political and administrative factors, leading to limited critical analysis and the criteria have been blindly accepted by social scientists.

Sinha [1958] views 'tribe' as a dimension of little tradition that cannot be adequately understood unless it is seen in relation to the great tradition. In contrast Beteille [1986:316] views it more in terms of distance from state and civilisation in contexts where tribe and civilisation coexist, as in India and the Islamic world. past. Kosambi (1975) has referred to tribal elements being fused into the general society. N K Bose (1941) makes a reference to tribes being absorbed into Hindu society. Roy-Burman [1972] classified tribes into (1) those incorporated in Hindu society, (2) those positively oriented to Hindu society, (3) those negatively oriented and (4) those indifferent to Hindu society. Vidyarthi [1977] talked of tribes as (1) living in forests, (2) living in rural areas, (3) semi-acculturated, (4) acculturated, or (5)

assimilated. Elwin [1944] envisaged four categories of tribes: (1) purest of pure tribal groups, (2) groups in contact with the plains but still retaining the tribal mode of living, (3) groups forming the lower rungs of Hindu society, and (4) groups fully adapted to the Hindu faith and living in modern style. (Virginius Xaxa, 1999, Transformation of Tribes in India: Terms of Discourse)

Together with tribe and caste identities, it is vital to study migrant identity. The geographical movement of individuals that involves a change in their current place of residence is referred to as migration. Migration is the movement of people from one location to another for a variety of causes. Migration can be motivated by economic opportunity, improved living conditions, education, or the desire to flee violence or oppression. Migration is a human response to environmental economic, social, and demographic pressures. Migration can take place both within and outside of a country. Rural to urban migration is frequent in India because migrants find greater opportunities in cities, and Indians also migrate worldwide. But the study focuses on the migration within India especially to Goa.

The above-mentioned identities like nomad, peasant, tribe, caste and migrant is attached to Lamani community for the purpose of the study as belonging to lower self. Lamani community, also known as Banjara, Lambada or Lambadi, Gormati, Sugali, Vanachara, and others. The identity of the Lamani community encompasses various aspects, including their historical nomadic lifestyle, tribal affiliation, engagement in agricultural activities, and their position within the caste system in India. Each of these dimensions contributes to the complexity of their identity and has been subject to contestation and debate. The community has traditionally been nomadic, moving from place to place with their herds of cattle and goods for trade. This nomadic lifestyle has shaped their identity and cultural practices. However, with modernization and government policies aimed at settling nomadic communities, there has been a gradual shift away from their traditional nomadic way of life. Historically, the community has been classified as a nomadic tribe. However, the classification and recognition of tribal communities in India

have been complex and subject to contestation. While traditionally, many Lamani individuals have also been involved in agricultural activities, including farming and labouring. This engagement in agriculture blurs the lines between their nomadic and settled identities and may lead to tensions with other agricultural communities over land rights and access to resources. The Lamani community identity is also assumed to be belonging to lower caste status as they work in lower profile jobs associated with Shudras and Atishudras.

Lamani community, an Indian nomadic or semi-nomadic people with a rich cultural background and are recognised for their bright dress, dance, and song. Historically, they originated in Rajasthan, an Indian state, but due to a variety of circumstances, they have spread throughout the country, particularly in states such as Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Goa, and others. Historically, they were salt traders who also sold food grains to monarchs such as the Mughals and Marathas. They had also served in the rulers' armies and were active in livestock husbandry. They speak a language from the Indo-Aryan language family called Gorboli or Lambadi, which widely spoken but doesn't have presence in written form. It is a mixture of various languages like Rajasthani, Marathi etc. They have their own religious beliefs, and they also worship Hindu Gods and Goddesses in modern times.

The Lamani community's traditional attire is vivid and attractive. A Lamani woman wears a Ghagra (length skirt) and a Choli (fitting blouse) with an embroidered, mirror work, and embellished veil. They wore such heavy clothing because they lived in the forest and required it to protect themselves from animal attacks. The tattoo on their body also represents a method of preventing off insects or diseases. Men typically dress in a dhoti, which is wrapped around the waist and worn with a shirt or Kurta. They reside in a community known as 'Taanda,' which is managed by a headman titled as 'Naik,' who is assisted by a 'Kharbari.' Taanda is also a social and cultural hub, where it not only serves as a dwelling place but also helps to preserve culture by stimulating social connection and interaction, economic activity, and mutual assistance. It

also plays an important part in Taanda conflict settlement. Lamanis' way of existence was challenged when they stood up to British colonial power in India. The British placed them under the Criminal Tribes Act in 1871. As a result, they are classified as denotified tribes in independent India. Living with a dual burden represents how being a Lamani in Goa entails facing the burden of intersectionality as a migrant with a lower self-status and being a migrant in Goa, contributing to the community's marginalisation.

The burden stems from identity crisis, whether the Lamani community is nomads, tribe, peasant or a caste is not clearly defined. As a result, historically they have contested identity issues. They are termed as Scheduled Caste in some states of India, whereas other states in India has given them Scheduled Tribe status; not only this, a few states even consider them as belonging to Other Backward Class and at the same time, they have the status of denotified tribes. The Lamani community due to their contested identity cannot be fixed into both caste and tribe discourses. However, an attempt is always made to either fit into caste or tribe discourses; and therefore, the Lamani community cannot be clearly defined under the political reservation. At the same time, these two identities are further combined with migrant identity when the Lamani community migrates from their original place of residence to a new place. As a result, Lamanis are living under layers of burden which needs to be navigated. However, they are dealing with the identity crisis solemnly on the basis of their handwork and survival. This struggle has enabled them to learn multiples languages as they migrate and has seen changes in their traditional way of life. But their life is not easy.

Intersectionality of identities like lower self and migrant, is observed when a lower self-person migrates to escape the existing problems in his or her primary geographical location or for the purpose of survival. However, a migrant may find it even more problematic in his/her secondary location. The junction of identities of lower self and migration poses a risk of discrimination on the part of the migrant. Lower self-identity influences both the decision to

migrate and the benefits that might be gained from that mobility. Along with them, there is the issue of hate politics. Locals frequently pass judgement on migrants, particularly impoverished, disadvantaged, informal sector, semi-skilled migrants. They are undoubtedly regarded as inferior to the indigenous people. As a result, individuals are subjected to a violation of a basic right enshrined in the Indian constitution, Article 19, which deals with freedom of movement. Often, the regulations enacted by the government are discriminatory in character, when it comes to migrants in particular state.

The study's research concern is that Lamanis in Goa suffer dual identity challenges as lower self and migrants. It becomes tough to carry either of the identities because both of them impose a burden, but they must do so nevertheless. The Lamanis in Goa are experiencing an identity crisis; as migrants, they are often looked down upon. Their names or tags are given to them based on their traditional clothes (Phetiya Kanchali outfit) or their way of life. Even if they are well-off, they are nevertheless regarded as having a lower social position. The study will concentrate on poor Lamani migrants and their position in Goa, as well as how their lower self- identity impacts them.

The research questions include: How being lower self and as a migrant affect Lamanis in Goa? What are the reasons for Lamanis' migration to Goa? What are the socio-economic, political problems faced by Lamanis in Goa? Why Lamanis face inequality in Goa? What is the debate over acceptance and non-acceptance of Lamani in Goa? Does migration of Lamani spoil image of Goa? What kind of jobs they prefer in the present day? Why do they face discrimination and humiliation in Goa?

1.2 Literature Review

Anandita Pan (2021) in her work 'Mapping Dalit Feminism: towards an intersectional standpoint' mentions about the intersection of caste and gender and also highlights Dalit

women's experiences and contribution in their battle for equality and justice. The author emphasises on the marginalisation and prejudice that Dalit women experience, as well as the ways in which Dalit women actively challenge the oppressive system and advocate for social change. The work discusses, Dalit women's roles in moulding political discourse and pushing for their rights. Intersectionality is a theoretical paradigm that analyses how oppressive systems interact with one another. Intersectionality arose from the law academy in the late 1980s and early 1990s, notably with Kimberlé Crenshaw's seminal article "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Colour." Its fundamental goal has been to create a framework for power analysis that includes and connects gender, class, and race-based subordination. The concept of intersectionality originated as a result of feminists of colour theorising on the triply disadvantaged black women. Intersectionality calls into question the homogenization of categories such as "woman" and "black" by recognising the multiplicities and variances that exist within these two categories. Intersectionality presents a strategy that acknowledges numerous axes of oppression affecting black women and questions the homogeneity assumed by both feminist and anti-racist discourses thus far. McCall defines the inter-categorical approach as recognising "relations of inequality among social groups and changing configurations of inequality along multiple and conflicting dimensions," whereas the intra-categorical approach "interrogates the boundary-making and boundary- defining process itself," taking a critical stance towards categories that are predominantly seen through a single axis of identity. While Black Feminism recognises black women as being at the crossroads of race and gender, Dalit Feminism identifies Dalit women as being at the junction of caste and gender in developing and informing Dalit feminist politics.

In the article "The Concept of Tribe with Special Reference to India," André Beteille (1986) defines tribes using evolutionary and historical perspectives. The challenge in India was to identify tribes rather than define them, and scientific or theoretical considerations were never

allowed to take precedence over administrative or political ones. The list of Indian tribes was compiled with or without the assistance of precise and uniform definitions. Tribes in India have always been in transition, at least since recorded history began. If isolation, self-sufficiency, and autonomy are features of the tribal situation, there is no direct relationship between them with technological level.

Since time immemorial, tribes in India have lived in the shadow of a civilization that has been stringent about upholding caste divisions. Fried also questions the test of language, which holds that each tribe has its own distinct language that establishes its boundaries. Some tribes, including a few very big ones, do not have their own language and instead use the language spoken in the region where they live. Both historians and anthropologists have noticed that in traditional India, tribes were not only identified, but also given a specific designation: jana as opposed to jati. (*Niharranjan Ray, Nationalism in India.1973*). The once considered as hunting and gathering tribes, now have been reduced in many cases over the last century or so to an economic situation in which people must exist through scavenging, begging, thievery, and other such activities. (Roy Burman). when close comparisons are made, one can find paradox. When tribal civilization is compared to Hindu society as a whole, with its intricate caste system, the sharpest contrast can be seen. Tribal society is uniform, undifferentiated, and unstratified, but Hindu civilization is diverse, varied, and stratified. The duality of equality and hierarchy is more clearly demonstrated here than in any other comparable example.

Virginius Xaxa, (1999) *Transformation of Tribes in India: Terms of Discourse*, challenges the concept that tribes have lost their tribal identity by studying tribes not as groups in their own right, but in terms of affinity or non-affinity to mainstream cultures. Tribes continue to change in a variety of ways, but they are no longer transformed as caste. The most essential implication is that new castes are no longer being produced, whether by converting tribes into castes or through other means. Contrary to popular belief, tribes have evolved into peasants

and socially differentiated entities while maintaining their distinct identity. The category of Tribe is a colonial construction as it was added by the British in 19th century. When the British wrote about Indian society, they used the term 'tribe' to refer to both a group of people who shared a common ancestor and a group living in primitive or barbaric conditions. Early British literature on India did not consider caste or tribe while studying communities. The groups were examined in their capacity as human groups or communities. The use of caste/tribe terminology was introduced later. It is unclear how British ethnographers utilised the term 'tribe' in India, particularly in the early stages. The article mentions about the caste and tribe distinctions and also how Sanskritisation and Hinduisation affected the tribes in India. Tribes are not socially, culturally, or ritually dependent on caste society, even after adopting Hindu beliefs and practices. Hinduization is not enough to fully assimilate tribes into caste system. To assimilate into caste society, tribes must join the caste's social structure. In most cases, this is not empirical. Tribes differ from both castes and the main community in the region. The dominating community is always a linguistic community. Language represents not just a language but also norms, social organisation, and lifestyle. Colonial ethnographers distinguished tribes from non-tribes based only on religion. However, anthropologists have classified tribes from one another based on a number of factors, the most prominent of which are language and caste social organisation. Tribes have been treated as such precisely because they are outside the main regional group and thus outside the complex civilization. In this article, Tribes are differentiated with peasants. Tribes are neither caste or peasant, but rather communities or societies that have both. These are not complete societies, but rather parts of larger groups. Tribes are distinct societies with own languages, territories, cultures, and customs. In contrast to sociological and anthropological studies, they should be compared to other societies rather than castes.

Mukul Kumar (2004), 'Relationship of Caste and Crime in Colonial India: A Discourse Analysis' mentions about the relationship between crime and caste. The study is focused on the

colonial rule in India and how the Britishers turned the aboriginals as criminals in their own land. The core argument is that the criminality attached to caste and tribes is mainly derived from the social structure of Indian society. The vary nature of Indian society is stratified based on caste practices and inheritance. As a result, the criminality was traced and based on the residence, profession or occupation and also blood relation of a certain group of people. It is also accorded that the group criminality was more seen in India during colonial rule. Itinerant and wandering peoples were classified as criminal tribes (CTS) as they did not have fixed place of residence. Those groups who didn't have any single profession as the means of livelihood were also endowed with criminality. The two categories of residence and profession could also be intertwined with criterion of blood relationship between a particular group and those already notified. According to the author, the colonial administrators related caste and crime. The lower caste in the hierarchy were mostly seen as criminals and the higher castes were given the task to identify and notify the criminals. Another argument is that the crime is a socially constructed idea, wherein the definition of crime represents the interest and values of the ruler in the particular period. The Victorian notion of criminality and criminal classes found a suitable refuge in the caste group thereby endowing it with criminality as caste was considered a concrete measurable traits like endogamy, fixed occupation etc. sometimes tribes and caste was used interchangeably. "It was only two years after the Habitual Criminal Act was passed in 1869 in Britain, that the Criminal Tribes Act (CTA), 1871 (Act No xxvii of 1871) was promulgated to provide for the registration, surveillance and control of certain criminal tribes and eunuchs in India." Banjaras were also notified as criminals without understanding their past. Most of the Banjaras were not involved in criminal activities, and those individuals who engaged in crime did so owing to certain developments which had made their traditional source of livelihood redundant. troops. The spread of civilisation and improvement in communications

had deprived them of their hereditary practices. As a result, many innocent people of India became criminals in the eyes of the colonial rulers.

Meena Radhakrishna (2007), 'Urban Denotified Tribes: Competing Identities, Contested Citizenship' talks about the survival and identity of two communities viz Sikhligar Sikhs and Labana Sikhs, which are assumed to be the offshoots of the nomadic Banjara community. The Banjara community is a nomadic community but some populations have taken sedentary existence of several reasons. The Banjara community, in 1871 was brought under the criminal tribe's act by the Britishers in India and the same act was repealed by then Prime Minister of Jawaharlal Nehru, in 1952 which made declared Banjaras as Denotified tribes. At the same time the independent India recognised Banjara community as sufficiently backward. However, but the list of Scheduled caste and scheduled tribes were already out at the time of denotification of the Banjara, they were added to the list gradually and as a result they were referred to as SCs in some places, STs in some and backward class in other areas. But in the case of Delhi, they were considered scheduled caste as it is believed that there cannot exist tribes in the Urban area. Due to modernisation and also to escape from the tagline as 'criminal tribes' and as 'denotified tribes' they began adopting to the mainstream religions like Hinduism, Sikhism, Islam, Christianity. Siklingar and Labanas converted to Sikhism way before they migrated from either Punjab or Rajasthan to Delhi. They belonged to urban poor stratum and settled in the Urban clusters of Delhi till 1970s. Since the banjara had become owners of very valuable land in these colonies, they became targets for violence, so as to precipitate mass exodus from these colonies. The "anti-Sikh" violence that visited the Labanas and Sikligars in resettlement colonies in Delhi in 1984 had some other dimensions to it.

If there is one overarching reason for the large-scale violence in these colonies in 1984, it is not anti-Sikh sentiment at the time: the main reason for the violence is that land prices in resettlement colonies had skyrocketed by the 1980s, and vulnerable sections occupying

valuable land had to be pushed out. Land speculators, original landowners, police, and Congress officials - all predominantly from the jat and gujjar castes - joined with angry SC sections to eliminate the banjara Sikhs in 1984. Today, urban denotified tribes like the Banjara Sikhs are at the bottom of all social, political, and religious hierarchies. They are defenceless against the state machinery's labels, which have acted as negative identities at various historical points in time, because they are culturally and socially uprooted people. They have attempted to be Sikhs (as well as Muslims and Christians in other places). All of these options for a self and a collective have failed them, and strangely, when the "identities" were granted by the state, they were met with great violence.

Bhangya Bhukya (2008), in the work 'The Mapping of the Adivasi Social: Colonial Anthropology and Adivasis' accords how British colonial authorities mapped down the early tribes and indigenous people of India. By encroaching on the territory and way of life of the Adivasis, who lived in inaccessible hills and on forest tracks and relied on hunting and gathering methods, the colonial rulers used Adivasi knowledge to increase their authority and put emphasis on transforming knowledge into power. Therefore, colonizers started claiming supremacy and dominion over them through knowledge. When Adivasis saw the expansion of colonies into their forest area in 1778, they violently resisted the colonisers, which marked the beginning of the construction of knowledge. Darwinian anthropology, missionary anthropology, romantic anthropology, and Hindu Nationalist anthropology are the four subcategories of colonial anthropology that are associated to the mapping of the Adivasis. While neglecting the historical constructed disparities, colonial anthropology tried to totalize and homogenise Indian Adivasi communities.

B. Sarveswara Naik (1983), 'Status and Role of Women in the Changing Banjara (Lambadi) Community of Andhra Pradesh' discusses the Banjara or Lambadi community. Banjaras are also known by other names, including Lambadi or Lambada and Sugali, who speak Gor boli.

They have a distinct culture. Women in the banjara community, in particular, wear distinctive and elegant clothing and accessories. The article covered the Banjara community's stance in general, as well as the status and function of women in that society. Their strict dedication to maintaining their traditional cultural identity qualities, as well as their adaptation in the face of some repercussions from changing situations, are also underlined. The article also emphasises that there is little seriousness when it comes to educational level. The banjaras have a political structure called Gor panchayat, in which the community's males participate in resolving issues. Women of the Banjara community play an important role in the family and the community, despite being subordinate to their males. Her contribution to family income is significant, yet she bears an equal, if not greater, amount of the burden. Although the Banjaras are traditional and maintain their cultural identity, they cannot remain isolated. They are adopting or adjusting to numerous shift situations.

According to B. Shyamala Devi Rattord (1984), 'Class and Caste Differences among the Lambadas in Andhra Pradesh' the lambada community originated in northwestern India, where they earned their living mostly through the transportation of bullocks. Certain evidence suggests that they provided food grains to the Moghuls during their invasion of Deccan. The Lambadas own property, but the majority of it is marginal, unproductive, and infertile. Some work as agricultural labourers, while others work as construction workers, hunters, fisherman, and traders, among other things. The author contends that the arrangement of land ownership has anything to do with class differences among the Lambadas. Those who own land are a small fraction of rich peasants, a somewhat bigger proportion of middling peasants, while the vast majority of land-owning Lambadas fall under the category of poor peasants. Class differences that existed prior to migration were highlighted by awarding the land to the Naiks and Kharbaris. It was understood that the land was to be used for the Lambada tribes as a whole, but the land was frequently entered in the Pahani in the name of the Naik (chief of Tanda)

and/or Kharbari (deputy to Naik), thereby legitimizing private property. With migration came land, and with land came dominance over the common Lambada, which was maintained through various tactics. The Naik and the Kharbari have the ability to control affairs by increasing manufacturing expenses and therefore grabbing a larger part of output for their families. The pattern of land ownership should be analysed to indicate the class differences. Land and livestock are always owned by the Naiks and Kharbaris. However, regardless of belongings like as livestock and property, low castes cannot become Naiks for the sole reason that they belong to a low caste or are outcastes. Within the group, there are caste and subcaste variations. Lambadas are classified into jatis and Gotras. The Rattords have seven sub-gotras, the Pawars have twelve, the Chauhans have six, and the Vadyas have twenty-seven gotras, thirteen of which are Badavath gotras. The low and outcastes are the Dhadiya (harijans), Dhadi, Bhat, and Zangad. Lambadas also adopt non lambadas (Zangad) and hold a ceremony known as zangad Dawat, which is attended by Naiks and Kharbaris and includes the purifying of the non lambadas. Each Lambada thanda has a panchayat composed of the Naik, Kharbari, a messenger (from the Dhadi or Bhat caste), and two others who settle land, marriage, and divorce problems, among other things. At the Panchayat, each family must be represented. Discussions take place, and all points of view are considered. The Naiks and Kharbaris make the final decisions. It is also stated that the lambada community is adaptable, as evidenced by the acceptance of Zangad as Lambada.

The authors, Soumya Ganapati Naik, Dr. Laveena DMello, Gururaj G. Gouda (2018), 'A Study on Socio-Economic Situations of Banjara Tribes in Uttarakannada District' writes that 'Socio- economic profile is a crucial indicator to characterise an individual's social life and behaviours. As a result, the study focuses on evaluating the socioeconomic situation of the Banjara tribes and highlighting the variables responsible for changes in the Lambadi Community. The essay

also focuses on the country's cultural and educational conditions. According to them, Banjaras (also known as Gor, Lambadi, and Gormati) are a nomadic people from the northwestern belt of the Indian subcontinent who hailed from the northwestern belt of India, particularly Rajasthan and Afghanistan, and who traditionally supplied bullock and were salt merchants. When the Lambani tribe lived in the forests of southern India, they were also known as the bee-keeping caste. The Banjaras transported items such as salt, cereals, firewood, and animals. During the nineteenth century, British colonial authorities brought the community under the jurisdiction of the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871, so restricting their movement. The shame linked to this lasted until 1952, when the newly independent India repealed the Act. They speak Gor boli or Banjari, which is thought to have originated in Rajasthan and belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of languages. Despite being a living language, it is not available in written form. The Lambani society has nuclear families in which the head of the family is usually the decision maker and women have little say, but when it comes to making a living, the husband and wife are equal. Monogamy is practised, but polygamy is also present; widow remarriage is uncommon, and child marriage is not practised in the society. The communal dwellings where Lambanis live are referred to as 'ZUPDA' in their language. And those who have the ability to create middle-class houses build better buildings, which are known as Male houses. ZUPDA has an oblong shape, whereas males are typically square. They are growing economically prosperous by engaging in various jobs, and as a result, they are constructing modern-style mansions. The issues they face nowadays are that kids live secluded lifestyles in which little emphasis is placed on their development and well-being. Even their traditional art is dwindling due to a lack of opportunity and identity. They are also influenced by current media and technological advancements. They lack educational possibilities since they are migrants. Exploitation, brutality, and cultural marginalisation continue because there is no adequate organisation among them.

Dr. G. S Sakreeya Naik (2018), 'Lambanis and Cultural Dilemma' is an attempt to evaluate the tribe's issue and its age-old culture. New generations are abandoning cultural, social, and traditional customs. Whereas older generations have clung to traditional traditions and practises, and the majority of them are often less educated. The study proposes a new mental restructuring of the people in order to preserve their distinct identity as the Lambani tribe, an intrinsic element of Indian culture. Vanajara, Lamani, Lambani, and Sugali are some of the names given to Banjaras. 'Banjara' is derived from the Sanskrit term 'Vanajari,' which means 'trade;' Lambani is derived from the Sanskrit word "Lavana," which means "salt." This group was exchanging salt for "pack bullock." As a result, this name may have originated. Lambanis are treated as a tribal community; they belong to the schedule caste, but in terms of culture, they look like a tribal community, with different names, rituals, customs, cuisine, living style, birth, marriage, and death rituals that differ from other communities in society, but Lambanis have more in common with tribes. Tribal peoples have adapted to the shifting process of Sanskritization, Westernisation, and Modernization; as a result, Lambani people are losing their age-old values, traditions, and practises. On the other hand, there has been a protracted effort to preserve their ancient culture and customs. Previously, Banjara's attire and accessories were rather distinctive. However, ladies today are less interested in their traditional attire; it is becoming a thing of the past. The younger generation has abandoned traditional clothing entirely. Among the reasons for not wearing traditional attire are: it fosters an inferiority feeling in them; it arouses needless curiosity; and so on. Preparation is really expensive. Preparation takes a long time; Working at an office, industry, or elsewhere is not comfortable. Dislike from neighbours; a scarcity of raw ingredients to prepare; a decrease in the number of persons who admire traditional clothing; and the influence of contemporary schooling, urbanisation, and mass media. The traditional Banjara marriage ritual used to be a long and tiresome process lasting a week or more, but it has now been reduced to a day or maximum of two days. Banjaras

adhere to the customs and traditions of other castes. The Banjaras had the institution of Tribal Panchayat, which meant "Tribal council." However, the institution of Ghor phachayat is losing prominence as inefficiency and corruption have seeped in. People do not follow its decision. Instead, they approach governmental institutions such as police and courts. Traditional leaders' roles have been restricted to religious and ritualistic matters. Banjaras used to worship solely Seva Bhaya, Mitu Boukya, Mariyamma Mathral, Vagjoi, Bheamisati, Kankali, Dasaravo, Seethla, and Saathibhavani. They now worship Hindu Gods and Goddesses in addition to their traditional Gods and Goddesses. Previously, they celebrated Dewali and Holi (Teej), Seethla, Horbeed, and Chadpooja, but today they commemorate all Hindu holidays. Many Banjaras have accepted christianity. They want to keep their tradition because by performing this ceremony, they can restore unity; rituals are not just for offering Pooja to gods and goddesses; they believe rituals are a way of life and culture; they are afraid of the Gods and the ancestors; and if they do not follow the rituals, God may force some adverse things on them and punish them. As a result, this type of anxiousness is present in illiterate class. The cited reasons for departing from tradition are the effect of education, urbanisation, modernisation as a result of improved transportation and media, and opposition to modern upper caste cultures. It is a "costly affair" due to the influence of media and transportation neighbours and humiliation by other community. As a result, the scenario is hazy and ambiguous. They are torn between a hangover from the past and a curiosity with the products of current culture.

Venkatesh Vaditya (2018), 'Changes and Marginalisation of Lambada Community in Telangana India' says that the Lambadas are known by at least four different names in the states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Sugali, for example, is considered to be a distortion of the word supari (betel nut), because they used to trade heavily in this commodity. The term Banjara is most likely derived from the Sanskrit word Vanijyakarakas, which means "merchant," or

from the Prakrit word Vanijjaarao, which means "trader." The origin of Labhani, Labani, and other names is unknown. According to Siraj-Ul-Hassan, the word Banjara is derived from the Persian Berinj Arind, which means "dealer in rice." Some say it comes from the Sanskrit word banij, which means "merchant." Other names for the Banjara include Lamani, which comes from the Sanskrit Lavana-salt, Wanjari, which comes from Vana-a forest, and Lambadi, which possibly alludes to the long line or landscape in which their bullocks roam. Their tribe's name is Gohar, which means "man."

The Lambadas or Sugalis, commonly known as Banjaras, are a Scheduled Tribe community found in the Indian states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. According to historical accounts, they were not South Indian autochthons, but rather North Indian unsettled nomads. They are thought to have originated in Rajasthan's Marwar area. In the absence of a mechanised transportation system in the past, Lambadas' transportation skills were highly valued. With the arrival of British control, the Lambadas were forced to abandon their customary vocation of transporting products due to the colonial State's installation of mechanised transportation systems, establishing roads and rail lines. As a result, they lost their sources of income and were forced to engage in such activities, which the colonial administration regarded as criminal profession. They were de-notified in post-independence India, along with other communities, and their occupational structure has changed dramatically since then. Lambadas are a different ethnic community, and their women are recognised for wearing colourful embroidered clothes. Dowry customs are conspicuously absent in traditional Lambada marriages. With the recent material developments, they are emerging from their Adivasi (primitive) worldview, which had inbuilt egalitarian beliefs and practises, and this has had a negative impact on the community. The nomadic Lambadas' lives have been conditioned and limited by a variety of variables, including physical environment, technology, economy, their own violent past, and colonial power. The modern Lambada community appears to be in a serious cultural crisis as a result of

abandoning their traditional egalitarian practises and adopting the inegalitarian Hindu culture. In some ways, it is transforming gender relations and making them more patriarchal. It is accompanied by poverty, which has a negative impact on gender relations in the community. The community appears to be the victim of a double tragedy.

They were stigmatised with the label of notified tribe during colonial times, and the tragedy in the post-colonial state stems from their inability to connect with the in-egalitarian caste/class stratified mainstream society. There is a need for reform among the educated, particularly among the educated members of the community, who are readymade victims of acculturation and Hinduisation, because the poor illiterate Lambadas are simply mimicking the Hindu practises that they have acquired. It is true that there is a need to protect the community from the onslaught of Hinduisation. This group requires urgent non-Hindu modernization. It may keep some egalitarian traditional cultural practises with regard to non-Hindu cultural practises. Furthermore, the community need significant internal transformation. They could also align with bigger egalitarian civilizations such as Buddhism. Scholars have considerable opportunity to undertake significant research on this under-researched group. The Sanskritization process has facilitated social development in India, particularly among the Lambadas. It is diametrically opposed to Western modernity, which has eschewed bigger communal identities in favour of a society built on individualism. In India, marginalised tribes are unable to maintain some of their age-old egalitarian practises, such as 'bride price,' nor are they able to fully embrace western modernity. These marginalised communities are caught between Hindu traditional practises and are unable to go forward. Liberation from such backward religious practises would imply that the group is releasing itself from a socially marginalised status.

After reviewing the literature, the research gap identified is that the studies on Lamani community is more socio-economic in nature and the political aspects needs to be given attention as well. Another gap to be highlighted here is that most of the studies on Lamani

community are based on certain geographical locations such as Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Telangana, etc but there is no proper study being conducted taking into consideration the presence of Lamani population in Goa. The present study emphasis on the Lamani community in Goa especially their socio – economic and also political nature. The study will use intersectionality of lower self and Migrant identities in order to study discrimination and marginalisation faced by the Lamani community in Goa.

1.3 Aims and Objectives

- i. To discuss the origin and background of Lamani community.
- ii. To study the socio-economic, political status of Lamanis in Goa.
- iii. To explore the reasons/factors for migration of Lamanis to Goa
- iv. To analyse the problems faced by Lamanis as a result of dual identities.
- v. To examine the relationship between being a lower self and migrant with respect to Lamani

1.4 Hypothesis

- ❖ The marginalisation of Lamanis in Goa stems from the intersection of dual identities of being a lower self and a migrant.

1.5 Research Methodology

The methodology adopted for the study includes theoretical and empirical methodology. Theoretically, the conception of intersectionality is vital to study the relationship between caste and migration as attached to Lamani community in Goa. Empirically, the crux of the study is to see the changing nature of Lamani community in Goa and its adaptation to modernity over traditional concerns. The primary data collection is also done participant observation by employing ethnography method.

The study uses both primary and secondary sources of data collection. The primary sources are collected through surveys, questionnaire, interview methods to know the opinion of the people of Lamani community as well as people of Goa when it comes to dual identity issues as faced by the Lamani community and to know perception of Goans regarding existence of Lamani community in Goa respectively. Through focus group discussion, the study will help in understanding the problems associated with Lamani community in Goa. The secondary sources are collected through journal articles, books, YouTube videos, websites to explore the history and origin of the Lamani community through descriptive - historical method and also to know controversies surrounding Lamani community in Goa. The study also uses the political clientelism approach in order to understand whether the Lamani community in Goa receives any specific benefit from the people in power.

1.6 Scheme of Chapters

Chapter I- Introduction – This chapter explains about the concept of intersectionality, lower self and migrant identity along with its link to Lamani community in Goa. The chapter is a conceptual framework to the study. It gives overview about the Lamani community.

Chapter II – Historical background of Lamani community – This chapter cover the origin, evolution and history of the Lamani community in India and especially during the rule of Nizam of Hyderabad.

Chapter III – Lamanis and their migration to Goa – This chapter explain about the socio-economic and political problems faced by the Lamani community and the reasons for their migration in Goa through a case study.

Chapter IV – Being a Lamani in Goa – This Chapter will include theocratisation of how dual identity impacts them in Goa. The chapter will address the discrimination being faced on the basis of lower self and being a migrant community. The chapter through analysis compares and

contrasts the traditional and contemporary nature of Lamani community through case study of Goa.

Chapter V – Conclusion – This chapter includes the concluding remarks, findings and recommendations.

1.7 Scope And Significance of Research

It is vital to study the Lamani community's presence in Goa as it will help in exploring the nature of their livelihood in Goa. The present research becomes significant in adding to existing knowledge about the community by discussing about the socio-economic and political status. The study is also important to explore the intersection of identities like lower self and a migrant pertaining to the Lamani community and how it becomes the dual burden on the same.

1.8 Limitation Of Research

Even though the Lamani community is spread across India, the Indian state of Goa is taken as a geographical limitation to study Lamanis present in the state. The existing literature deals with the socio - economic and cultural studies related to Lamani community across India but the present study focuses not only the socio-economic and cultural aspects but also migratory and political aspects of the community with respect to Goa.

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF LAMANI COMMUNITY

2.1 Etymology of their names

The Lamani community (as recognised in Goa) is known by various names throughout India. They are also known as Banjara, Banjari, Brinjari, Vanjari, Gor, Gorya, Tanda, Laman, Lambada, Lambadi, Lambani, Sugali, Labhan, Labhana, Labhani, Labhany, Baladiya, Ladniya, Adavi, Banjari, Gipsy, Kora, Gormati, Vanjari, and others. They are also known as gipsies, which meaning wanderers. Banjara is derived from the Sanskrit word 'Vanachara', which meaning 'forest dwellers' or 'wanderers.' The community's name derives from the term Bajjika, which means trade or business. According to one interpretation, the name comes from the Sanskrit words Vanijya or Banijyakara, which imply trader or merchant. Others believe that the word banjara is derived from the word Banji, which means a peddler's pack.

In his research essay 'A historical study of origin and migration of banjara tribe in Telangana state,' B. Suresh Lal goes into the etymology of the various names related with the Lamani group. The term Baladiya derives from the Hindi or Banjara language word 'balad', which signifies bull. Most Banjaras rely heavily on bulls for commerce, and cattle breeding is their primary source of income. The terms Vanchara, Vanajara, may have evolved into words such as Banjara, Banjari, and Brijavasi. According to Thruston (1975), the phrases Brinjari, Banjari, and Vanjari were formed by absorption of the Sanskrit sound 'Vanijyakara' into Prakrit, which eventually led to the commercial sounds 'a, ra, o.' Vanachara is a Sanskrit word that refers to those who roam through forests. As a result, it could have become Vanjara or Banjara. However, the majority of social scientists believe that the word banjara is derived from the Sanskrit word 'Vanijya', which means trade.

The words Labhari, Labani, Laman, Lambda, and so on are derived from a single Sanskrit word, Lavanam, which means salt, as Banjaras used to export salt to various regions. According to Syed Siraj-ul-Hassan, Britishers referred to the Banjaras as "long body people" because they had lengthy bodies. The word 'long body' may have evolved into 'Lambadi.'

The Lamanis are also known as Sugali. The term Sugali is derived from supari (Betel Nut), since they believed their forefathers traded supari. Another story states that the word Sugali is derived from the Hindi word Sugaay, which means cow rearing and raising.

2.2 Mythological origin of clans within Lamani community

In his book *Subjugated Nomads: The Lambadas under the Rule of the Nizams* (2020), Bhangya Bhukya describes five exogamous clans within the Lambada civilization, each with its own sub-group. The five clans are: Rathod, Powar/Pamar, Chowan, Vadiya, and Thamburi/Dhadi. Rathods have twenty-seven subgroups, Powar twelve, Chowan six, Vadiya thirteen, and Dhadi six.

Every clan has a romantic story about its beginnings. According to mythology, Lambadas descended from Mota and Mola, who were believed to be Lord Krishna's descendants. According to mythology, when Lord Krishna considers leaving this universe, he gathers his slaves in his chamber and notifies them that he has decided to depart and distributes his Gopikas (female followers) among them, leaving them in their care and allowing sexual relations with them.

A servant named Mola has been absent because he was assigned to work. When he returns, he finds that no Gopika has been reserved for him. As a result, Krishna informs him that he has reserved his most precious gopika, Radha, for him. However, Krishna advises Mola that he cannot have a sexual relationship with Radha since she is Lord Krishna's valuable and

cherished Gopika, and Mola must look after her. Mola accepts Radha's condition and begins living together despite their physical relationship.

However, the couple is quickly disillusioned by their lack of children. They perform acrobatics in front of Rathodgad's Raja (king), who is so delighted by their performance that he asks them to name whatever they want, and as a result, they ask for his son, forcing the monarch to give up on his son. The boy is named Rathod since he is from Rathodgad. Similarly, they perform in front of the rajas of Chowghad and Powarghad, adopting a son from each and giving the boys the names Chowhan and Powar/Pamar.

After some time, the couple pays a visit to the raja of Macharghad, whose kingdom is overrun with mosquitoes. As a result, no one comes to see their acrobatic performance. Bhavaiah, one of the adopted sons, locks the insects with mantras and pledges to return them once the show is over. However, the monarch wishes to permanently eliminate the insects, so he transports Bhavaiah inside the palace and poisons him with milk. Because Radha and Mola can't find their son after the performance, they suspect the king and beg him to bring him back, but the monarch admits that his men killed their son and offers his son in Bhavaiah's place. The adopted son is named Gavaiah and his clan grows as Dhadi clan.

The genesis of the Vadiya clan began when the Lambadas were afflicted by famine and borrowed money from Dhema Guru, a saint, to get by. They were unable to repay the loan, so the Guru dispatched a Brahman to collect the debt. The Brahman eventually conceives a Lambada girl. The Lambadas brought this situation to the Guru's attention and requested compensation; the Guru agreed to cancel all of their obligations. After a while, the girl gave birth to a boy. The four clans met and resolved to bury the boy. While digging his tomb, a swarm of ants emerges, forcing them to ponder the boy's fate. Assuming that the youngster's family will multiply like ants, the naiks reverse their previous decision and let the boy live. He

is named Vadiya because he was supposed to be buried beneath a vaderjad (banyan tree). Another gotra is added to the Vadiya clan when an elderly woman is on her way to meet a Guru and encounters a boy on the road. After being spotted in an ajmera vadi (cumin garden), the boy is given the name Ajmera and taken into their clan.

The sub groups within Chowan include: Mood, Subhavat, Kheloot, Khora, Platya, Lavadya. The Subgroups Within Powar Include: Jarpala, Islavat, Amgot, Indravat, Wankhodot, Lunsavat, Lokavath, Goramo, Aivat, Chalvat, Bani, Taranai. Vadiya Comprises of Badavat, Boda, Gugalot, Dharavat, Ajmera, Tezavat, Meravat, Malot, Lakavat, Lunnavat, Barmavat, Halavat, Kunsavat. The Dhadi clan includes the sub groups namely; Ratnavat, Bhat, Seravat, Bajujut, Dhavat, Rudhavat.

2.3 Transition of the community

The Lamani community may be traced back to the 13th and 14th centuries during the reign of the Delhi Sultanate, the 14th and 15th centuries during the reign of the Mughals and Nizams, and the British in the 18th century. At this point, their historical transformation began.

The Lamani community is a traditionally nomadic group with a unique history. The Banjaras originated in Rajasthan, India, and are thought to have moved to other regions of the country over the centuries, today being found in Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, and Madhya Pradesh.

Originally, the Lamanis were the primary carriers of goods and services across the Indian subcontinent. They had been a major caravan trader and merchant since the 11th century. They maintained a well-developed caravan commerce network. The Imperial Army maintained and used a large number of nomadic groups as baggage carriers and grain transporters, particularly the Lamanis. During famines, the community used its caravan network to transport food grains from surplus to shortage areas. They acted as independent transporters for the Sultanate, the

Mughals, the French, the British, and the Nizam forces. They carried goods for other merchants and dealers, but they were also merchants in their own right. Some had accumulated wealth. British settlers used the caravan trade to establish themselves and extend their markets.

The Lamanis played an important role in supporting both the Mughals and British in India. They offered logistical support to the Mughal Empire by delivering goods and supplies. Similarly, during the British colonial period, the Banjaras maintained their caravan trading activity, assisting the British in the movement of commodities around the country. Their expertise in long-distance travel, along with their large network, made them essential friends to both empires. The Lamanis traded a vast range of commodities, including salt, grains, spices, textiles, precious metals, agricultural items, and livestock. They contributed to the development of commercial routes and had an important role in connecting various parts of the Indian subcontinent. The Lamanis travelled large distances with their bullock carts, transporting goods from place to place.

The Lamani community evolved from a self-satisfied and rich group of caravan traders to a criminal tribe. The creation of a regulated market and new economic connections by colonial rulers resulted in the marginalisation of caravan merchants. The advent of modern bureaucracy, modes of transportation, customs, market laws, taxing systems, science and technology, colonial medical, and cleanliness changed the state into a capitalistic society. This prompted Lamanis to abandon their traditional livelihoods as caravan traders and cattle raisers.

In this condition, the colonial authorities initially attempted to limit the Lamanis to agriculture. The Lamanis began to dwell in the wastelands and started rearing cattle as a new occupation. Colonial scientific breeding procedures and cattle policing regulations stigmatised and designated Lamanis cattle as nomadic and unsuitable for cultivation. Aside from that, the regulation of cattle markets, the concept of cattle trespass, and the enclosure of common pasture

and forest lands impeded the Lamanis' cattle raising practice, preventing them from earning a decent living from this alternative occupation. Thus, the state first forced mobile people to settle down, but eventually viewed the Lamanis' agricultural expansion as a danger to forest protection. As a result, they became the victim of harassment and eviction.

Furthermore, the rise of the zamindari system resulted in the formation of landed sections, which claimed rights to wastelands and took taxes from them. These practices exacerbated the Laminis' loss of land due to their dealings with usurious moneylenders, Mahajans, and Sahukars. Zamindars and jagirdars exploited the Banjaras through a variety of methods. One notable tactic was to impose high fees and levies on the Banjaras for utilising specified trade routes or residing in specific districts. These financial restrictions drastically reduced the Banjaras' income and economic well-being, leaving them vulnerable to exploitation. In some situations, landlords monopolised trade routes and demanded exclusive rights from the Banjaras, limiting their freedom of movement and choice. This not only limited the Banjaras' ability to trade freely, but also left them vulnerable to the whims of strong landlords. Furthermore, zamindars and jagirdars forced the Banjaras to offer transport services at unreasonably low or no cost. This coerced or grossly underpaid employment further marginalised the Banjaras while increasing the economic profits of the landlords. Overall, zamindars and jagirdars exploited the Banjaras through economic supremacy, compulsory taxation, and control over trade routes, resulting in a system that disproportionately benefited the powerful landowning class at the expense of the vulnerable nomadic people.

The colonial state's rationale, which sought to systematise, regulate, and regularise power relations, resulted in the loss of the Lamanis' cattle wealth and confinement to settled agriculture. As a result, Lamanis lost control of the caravan trade, cattle breeding and raising, and their claim to the lands where they were compelled to live by the British administration. As a result of the Lamanis' exposure to various sorts of exploitation, a few Lamanis became

involved in banditry, particularly during famines. However, the conduct of the Lamanis caused Britishers to label them as a criminal tribe. The label of criminal tribe was damaging to their social lives since it stopped them from gaining a legitimate living. The society became suspicious of Lamanis, and they were continually targeted by the law-and-order machinery, as well as the colonial state's agencies and authorities. State regulations, including the Criminals Tribe Act (CTA) of 1871, were designed to allow the state to distinguish between 'delinquent' and 'honest' subjects. Bhangya Bhukya's work 'Subjugated Nomads Under the Rule of the Nizam' criticises the authoritarian and exploitative CTA. If a group did not have a distinct occupation or location, they were classified as a criminal tribe or caste and were confined to a given hamlet. They were fined heavily, subjected to corporal punishment, and in some cases, they were sent to reformatories. Criminal communities were policed using the colonial state's legal, coercive, and reformatory tactics. Apart from police, the state attempted to control this population through village officials, dominating castes, and landlords.

The policy of policing the criminal community suggested that the Lamanis would be subjected to the most discriminating and inhumane treatment, including the use of anthropometry to identify criminal communities and gangs. The authorities imposed the criminal label on people they felt insecure about by physically measuring their bodies. This strategy also included an endeavour to manage their actions and criminality by implementing a reform programme that included criminal settlement through a variety of institutions, including educational, military, and penal. It was intended to produce disciplined and submissive individuals.

2.4 Criminalisation of the community

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a shift in the lives of the Lamani community. During this time, the colonial authorities declared the Lamanis to be vagabonds, classifying them as criminals, and began a systematic persecution of the entire community. Aside from the

Criminal Tribes Act of 1871, several more laws were enacted to imprison them in enclosed spaces where they could be monitored by the state.

The cattle trespass act of 1857 and the forest acts of the late 19th century declared grazing cattle and pasturelands as illegal. A custom duty of 5% was levied on the value of every cattle traded in the traditional fairs and bazaars. This basically divorced the link between agriculture and forestry. The remaining cattle were subject to the Bancharai aur permit pass system first on cattle keepers to restrict their mobility further. Under the guise of scientific forestry, the state took control of all forest and pasturelands. This action alienated the long-established customary rights of people over these natural resources. Grazing was declared a criminal offence. The Lamani community was forced to abandon lifestyle.

While rejecting people's customary rights, the state began large-scale commercial exploitation of forests for railways, coalmines, match factories, tea plantations, cotton gins and presses, and other purposes. Deprivation of fodder weakened them and impaired their physical health, making them susceptible to sickness.

The criminal stigma connected to the community immediately encouraged monitoring, arrest, and detention, regardless of who committed the offence. The European pseudo-science of race and criminality was used to portray groups of colonial people as inherently criminal. New methodologies were developed to produce a body of information demonstrating the physical and biological inferiority of non-white people, who were only suited to be controlled by the superior white race. The society was persecuted for cults of crime and dacoity.

When dacoities, grain robberies, and looting happened during famines, the lamani were the obvious culprits. Poor and innocent people were jailed and persecuted simply for belonging to the community. The British also used incentives and threats to get people in their own groups to assist round up other members by stoking animosity. Often, the incorrect people were

arrested and wrongfully accused. The Lamani community was also subjected to harsh sanctions, including arrest without a warrant and incarceration without access to legal counsel or family members. Village authorities were compensated for arrest, creating an incentive for erroneous arrest, and the convicted lamani were transferred for life to the Andaman Islands, where no one lived after the first year.

Christian missionaries enthusiastically backed the British colonial civilising mission endeavour. Lamani children were forcibly taken from their parents and reared in segregated colonial towns to rescue their souls and teach them a trade. This was part of the colonial criminal settlement scheme, which established separate communities for designated criminal caste and tribes to monitor and deter them from committing crimes. Not only were settlements and police monitoring implemented, but roll calls were also conducted every morning and evening, and a night curfew was imposed. As a result, despite the fact that the bulk of the Lamani had no criminal records, their overall mobility was limited.

The Lamani's encounter with colonisers, as well as their experience with colonialism, resulted in their exploitation, assertion of authority, and dominance over them. As a result, they ended themselves suffering the stigma of being criminals on their own land, which they had previously vandalised for a living.

2.5 Oppressive land relations

Lamani from the settlements were forced to work as indentured labourers on colonial road and railway construction projects, escorted by police. The coal mines also employed criminal labour. Many of the workmen died as a result of the terrible working conditions. Those lamani who took up agriculture lost all of their lands to feudal jagirdars, moneylenders (Komatis and Marwaris), Mahratta Deshmukhs, Deshpandyas, Brahmans, Kunbis, Kapus, Reddys, Velamas, and so on; they became tenants on the lands they had cleared themselves. The Kowaldari

system that existed in Telangana was the most onerous system of exploration in British India. Lamani peasants who took up kowls (leases) for agriculture found themselves in debt to the Sahukars, who deceived them by creating up fraudulent accounts, reducing them to the status of Bhagela or Jeethagadu (bonded labour). This bondage, known as Vetti Chakiri, extended to their women and children, who were required to offer free labour services to the Doras (landlord) household. It is hardly surprising that many Lamanis engaged in the Telangana fight (1946-1951), which campaigned against vietti and bhagela exploitation and distributed land to the landless.

2.6 Lamanis' resistance movement

The Lamanis utilised resistance strategies to prevent land transfer and exploitation. The Lamanis revolted against them. The insurgency that followed the collapse of Nizam's reign was converted and linked to the Telangana arm war led by the Communist Party of India. The lambada developed new forms of thinking and government on their own terms. They addressed the difficulties by going on a self-reform programme that encompassed two major cultural revolutions. This included a campaign led by the religious Saint Seva Bhaya to rearticulate Lamani history, spiritual beliefs, and culture, while the second reform was motivated by the concept of education. The Sanskritization effort, carried out through oral tradition, resulted in a new social and political consciousness among Lamanis. This resulted in the establishment and growth of a new consciousness and identity, allowing them to navigate the modern governmental machinery. They attempted to better their standing in the community, society, and in the eyes of the authorities. This presented them with a formidable way of asserting a new position and place in independent India's politics and society.

2.7 Post Independence transition

The Lamani people, along with numerous other communities, were branded as "criminal tribes" during British colonial control in India under the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871. This legislation was enacted based on assumptions and prejudices, falsely portraying some communities as innately criminal or predisposed to criminal behaviour. The Act authorised the surveillance, control, and even forcible settlement of these populations. The Banjaras' status as a "criminal tribe" had serious social and economic consequences. It led in marginalisation, restrictions on movement, and different sorts of discrimination. Following India's independence in 1947, efforts were undertaken to address these past injustices. The Criminal Tribes Act was later repealed, and numerous communities, including the Banjaras, were "denotified" to avoid the stigma associated with the criminal tribe title in 1952. Despite denotification, numerous obstacles remain for these communities, and continued efforts are being made to overcome socioeconomic gaps and promote their integration in mainstream society.

Today, the Lamani community has transitioned from nomadic to sedentary. They are absorbing modern ideals, traditions, and culture. As a result, they abandoned their ancient traditions and lifestyle, particularly their Taandas.

CHAPTER III

LAMANIS AND THEIR MIGRATION TO GOA

3.1 Internal migration of Lamanis to Goa

The state of Goa, located on India's western coast, has experienced major migration trends over time. Goa is one among the states with a diversified demographic. Goa has a diversified set of social and religious communities. Hindus, Christians, and Muslims make up the majority of the religious population. Along with religious stratification, Goa experiences an influx of migrants from various other Indian states. Not only that, but Goa attracts international travellers. Historically, migration to Goa has been driven by economic opportunities, with people arriving from all over India looking for work in fields including as tourism, construction, and agriculture. Additionally, there has been a significant migration of migrants from neighbouring states like as Karnataka and Maharashtra. These migrants frequently labour in the informal sector, which includes labour-intensive positions in industries like hospitality, retail, and domestic services.

Goa, India's smallest state, attracts many migrants from neighbouring Indian states. In reality, Goa has the largest proportion of migrants from other states to its overall population (18.5%). People from other states have been flocking to Goa for a variety of reasons since its liberation in 1961. Migration figures from the 2011 Census show that Goa has a considerable inflow of population from other states, with the majority coming from the surrounding states of Karnataka and Maharashtra. It has the highest proportion of migrants from other states as a percentage of the overall population. During the decade 2001–2011, the state's population density increased from 364 to 394. Given its small size, this has significant planning and policy consequences for the state.

The Lamani community, also known as Lambadi or Banjara, is a nomadic or semi-nomadic population that has traditionally engaged in trading, animal husbandry, and other activities. People from the Lamani community, particularly from Karnataka, live in the state of Goa as well. The Lamani people have migrated to Goa over the years, owing to a variety of circumstances including economic opportunity, trade networks, and cultural exchanges. The Lamani community in Goa has a long history of selling traditional handicrafts, textiles, and other commodities. They frequently establish temporary villages or markets throughout the state, which benefits the local economy and cultural diversity. The Lamani community's migration to Goa is part of the larger phenomena of internal migration reflecting the movement of people for livelihood opportunities.

3.2 Migration pattern of the Lamanis to Goa

The Lamani population in Goa follows a seasonal migration pattern with transient dwellings. The Lamani community in Goa frequently migrates to other regions of the state due to causes such as job availability, market demand for their items (such as handicrafts and textiles), and cultural events or festivals that allow them to demonstrate their traditions and talents. During busy tourist seasons, particularly in coastal areas like as North Goa, Lamani families may temporarily set up impromptu camps or roadside encampments to sell their handicrafts to both visitors and locals. These settlements are frequently informal and may lack basic utilities, posing obstacles for access to healthcare, sanitation, and education.

3.3 Goa as migratory Location for Lamani

Although Lamanis were once nomads and traders who traded items, their occupation has changed dramatically throughout time. They have moved from a nomadic to sedentary existence for a variety of causes. They spend the most of their time working in the informal

sector, while others are transitioning into the formal sector. Their children, too, want an education and aim to work in the official sector.

Most Lamani migrants to Goa come from Karnataka and Maharashtra. The majority of them are from the Gadak and Bijapur districts of Karnataka. Lamanis left Karnataka for Goa in quest of greener pastures and a more respectable existence. According to Namya Sharma's blog "Where Do the Lamani Belong? (2017)," Lamanis were forced to go to Goa in order to increase the vote bank. Gururaj Singh writes in the same site that the Lamanis still consider Rajasthan to be their native land, despite having relocated to various other states for survival. The Lamanis consider themselves to be akin to the Marwaris of Rajasthan, however the Marwaris remained in towns and conducted commerce, whilst the Lamanis went into the forest to deal with animal husbandry and agriculture, losing touch with their tribe over time.

Surveys were carried out to determine the social and economic profile of the Lamani community in Goa. According to the study findings, the majority of the Lamani population in Goa migrated for the economic opportunities that Goa provides. They have lived in Goa for the past 20–30 years. The most typical reason for their migration to Goa is to pursue better work possibilities. They have also chosen Goa as a migration destination because it is the closest area for the Lamanis of Karnataka. They relocated for improved living conditions, as Goa is an urban job hub. Some of them have also migrated because their native places lack excellent work possibilities, and because the majority of them are uneducated, they are unable to obtain formal sector jobs that are secure. They are most of the time illiterate since they prioritise earning over education and sometimes even lack knowledge of the necessity of education.

The most notable aspect of the Lamani community is that all women in the family have the right to work. Although they may not have other private and public space-related freedoms, for example, a Lamani woman is permitted to work but is barred from making significant family

decisions due to patriarchy. Essentially, the Lamani migration to Goa is influenced by both push and pull influences. According to the study results, the majority of the community's women work as house cleaners or maids, while the men work as labourers. Both can be found scavenging scraps and debris. A respondent sells fish door-to-door in the Mapusa neighbourhood.

The survey results also show that the majority of Lamani people reside in leased houses in Goa. Some people are unable to afford a large and well-furnished residence. A Lamani family in Mapusa lives in a single room where they cook, sleep, and use the washroom, which is located at the entryway. The toilet is outside the leased room. Some members of the community have access to basic services such as water and electricity, but the rooms are in poor shape, are small in size, and are unsuitable for families of four or six people.

Although the majority of respondents claimed that they do not have any challenges as migrants in Goa, they do have difficulty finding rental rooms. Some of them even claimed that they are being taunted as 'Ghatis' (non-Goans) because they are migrants in Goa. The indigenous population of Goa is envious of their migration to the state, and as a result, Goans started judging migrants, particularly Lamanis, based on surnames such as Lamani, Rathod, Pujar, and Angadi.

3.4 Sons of the Soil policy and Persons of Goan Origin Bill

The Son of the Soil theory is a notion that discusses local people's rights to their land, culture, and regional resources. It refers to the belief that people with strong roots in a place or community have a claim to the region's resources. In India, it has been utilised as a political tool to rally support for regional and cultural identities. The main difficulty with the Son of Soil concept is the demand that jobs, resources, and political power be reserved for locals.

The 'sons of the soil policy' is defined by characteristics such as identification, territoriality, history, emotion, and violence. The conflicts are usually identity-based conflicts as the sense of identity is closely tied to a region, community to which the individual belongs; also revolves around the demand for the recognition of the rights of the local people over their land, culture, and resources; have their roots in the past as they are deeply associated with the conditions prevailing in the region since historical times; When people have a strong emotional connect with their community and region, The local people always want to defend their identity and rights over resources, hence the son of the soil conflicts lead to violent confrontation.

Sons of the soil policy conflicts arise as a result of population change, economic disparity, political marginalisation, and cultural discrepancies. Migration, resettlement, and displacement alter a region's demographic mix, causing residents to feel insecure and commit acts of violence. Locals' perceptions of economic inequity, obstacles, and marginalisation can cause tension with outsiders, leading to conflict. Conditions of political marginalisation or exclusion from the political process can result in conflict. Cultural, linguistic, and religious differences between inhabitants and outsiders can cause conflict.

The Indian Constitution's Articles 14 and 15 ban discrimination based on place of birth, respectively. Furthermore, Article 19(1)(g) grants all citizens the right to practice any profession and to engage in any occupation, trade, or business. In light of this, the Supreme Court has issued multiple decisions condemning state governments' use of domicile-based reservation practices. In *Pradeep Jain vs. Union of India*, the court stated, "We allowed 'sons of the soil' demands to emerge, seeking preferential treatment based on residence in the relevant state, because recognising and accepting such requests had a populist appeal. As a result, 'sons of the soil' claims, while not entirely unlawful if kept within appropriate limitations, sever the nation's unity and integrity by encouraging and strengthening narrow parochial loyalties based on language and domicile inside a state. The Son of the Soil idea may defend the interests and

rights of local residents. However, it should not be used to discriminate against non-natives or to encourage regionalism.

Similarly, the Revolutionary Goans Party, led by RGP supremo Manoj Parab, hoped to bring the Persons of Goan Origin Bill to Goa in order to safeguard and uplift "Niz Goykars". "A person of Goan Origins" in the state of Goa is defined as a person who was born in Goa before December 20, 1961, or who had a permanent residence in Goa before December 20, 1961, and is also an Indian citizen. (All dissidents of a person (even a minor) of Goan origin must be persons of Goan ancestry if they are Indian citizens).

The bill was introduced to preserve the rights of people of Goan origin in the State of Goa in terms of jobs, benefits from various government initiatives, education, Comunidade and Government, semi-government plots/apartments/shops, promotions, and to make certain other laws related thereto. Where it is expedient to provide better protection to people of Goan origin in light of special Portuguese laws, provisions of the Code of Comunidade, the impact of Goa's late independence on educational opportunities for Goans, unique social and economic changes affecting Goans, and changing demography due to the state's small size and population.

The sons of the soil policy, or the POGO bill, discriminates against individuals based on their place of birth or heritage, which can result in unjust treatment and a breach of human rights norms. Sons of the soil policies frequently prevent migrants and minorities from obtaining specific opportunities, resources, or privileges, maintaining social and economic imbalances and encouraging discriminatory views. Implementing policies that prioritize native inhabitants' rights has the potential to intensify ethnic tensions and conflicts, particularly in locations with mixed populations. It can exacerbate anger and antagonism towards minority groups, resulting in societal upheaval and instability. Sons of the soil policies can stifle economic growth and development by limiting the migration of workers and talent. Such regulations may discourage

investment and innovation by imposing restrictions on outsiders, limiting prospects for economic progress. Sons of the soil policies are frequently related with nationalist and xenophobic beliefs that put the native population's interests ahead of others. This can breed division and intolerance for foreigners, eroding social cohesiveness and multiculturalism. Sons of the soil policies may violate the ideals of equality and non-discrimination contained in international human rights legislation and Indian constitutions.

The "sons of the soil" policy would potentially violate several fundamental rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. It violates *Right to Equality* (Article 14): Article 14 of the Indian Constitution guarantees equality before the law and prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. Any policy that favours individuals based solely on their place of birth or ancestry would likely be in violation of this right; *Right to Freedom of Movement* (Article 19(1)(d)): Article 19(1)(d) of the Constitution provides for the right to move freely throughout the territory of India. A "sons of the soil" policy that imposes restrictions on the movement or residence of individuals based on their place of origin could be seen as infringing upon this right; *Right to Freedom of Residence and Settlement* (Article 19(1)(e)): Article 19(1)(e) guarantees the right to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India. Any policy that discriminates against individuals in terms of residency or settlement based on their place of birth would likely contravene this right; *Right against Discrimination* (Article 15): Article 15 prohibits discrimination on various grounds, including religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. Discriminatory policies that favour certain individuals or groups based on their place of birth would violate this provision; *Right to Freedom of Occupation* (Article 19(1)(g)): Article 19(1)(g) guarantees the right to practice any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business. A "sons of the soil" policy that discriminates against individuals in terms of employment or economic opportunities based on their place of birth could infringe upon this right; *Right to Property* (Article 300A): Article 300A provides for the right to

property. Any policy that discriminates in land ownership or access to resources based on ancestry or place of birth may infringe upon this right.

3.5 Goans' Anti migrant attitude towards Lamani community

The locals of Goa are opposed not only to the migration of the Lamani group, but also to migrants from other Indian states. The reasons could include, first and foremost, the Lamani community's cultural differences, which may collide with Goan culture. Second, economic competitiveness, as some Goans may believe that Lamanis pose a danger to their jobs and businesses. Third, there may be concerns about land acquisition and housing supply, which could exacerbate tensions between Goa residents and the Lamani group. Fourth, it could be due to social integration issues such as language differences, social customs, and so on. Finally, Goans may consider Lamanis as engaging in crimes and thefts, contributing to a bad attitude towards Lamanis in Goa.

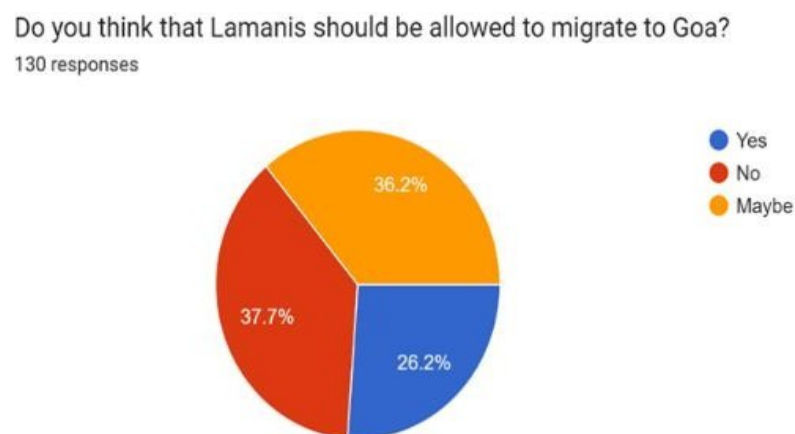


FIGURE 3.1

A survey was conducted to find the Goans' opinion about the Lamani community and their migration. The survey results show that most of the Goans are against Lamanis migration to

Goa that is 37.7% and others that is 26.2% feels Lamanis should be allowed to migrate to Goa and 36.2% are unsure of the same.

Do you feel Goa's image is being spoiled as Lamanis are present in Goa?
130 responses

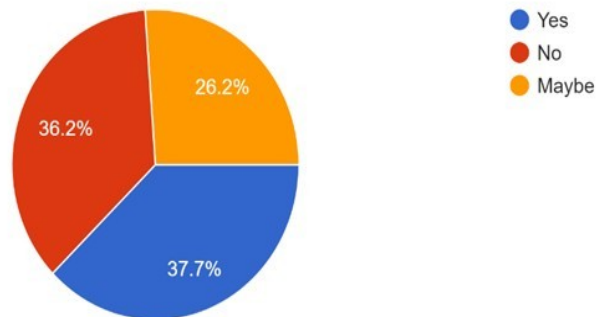


FIGURE 3.2

Most of the Goans that is 37.7% also think that the Lamanis presence in Goa spoils the image of Goa and 36.2% feels that Lamanis don't spoil Goa's image and others 26.2% are unsure of the same.

The reasons identified can be as followed: as Lamanis are non-Goans, as they put local peoples' business in danger, as they wear their traditional dress (Phetiya Kanchali) in Goa which is not welcomed by Goans and can be also due to their possible involvement in criminal activities like robbery.

Do you feel Lamanis' business activities in Goa puts local people's business in Danger?

130 responses

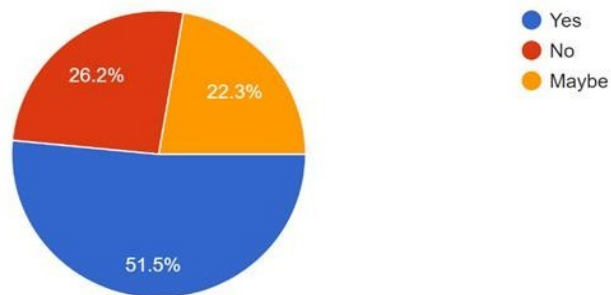


FIGURE 3.3

The most of the Goans see Lamanis business in Goa as a threat to local business of the Goans (51.5%). It can be the business of selling jewellery, running a garment shop or taxi business for that matter. The local people may feel insecure when it comes to job opportunities. 26.2% of the people don't see them as a threat and 22.3% that is a very few of them are unsure.

The Goans from Benaulim came together to close over 40 stores run by members of the 'Banjara Samaj', also known as 'lamanis' in Goa. Some of the Lamanis have been running the business for almost 20 years, and their families live in Benaulim. Their children have studied in Goa and graduated. By conducting business for so many years, they developed a close relationship with the owners of the land and gained their trust, but all that was shaken when the villagers asked the owners to tell their Lamani tenants to close down their business, and most of the traders had taken huge loans to purchase the material stocked in their shops, and they relied on the tourism season to sell their goods and recover their money. However, it was hindered by the locals.

3.6 The controversy over exclusion of Lamanis from Goa

The controversy began with the declaration of Goa's then-tourism minister, Manohar Ajgaonkar, who belonged to Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party (MGP) and sought to remove beggars and Lamanis (members of a nomadic tribe) off the state's beaches because he claimed they were destroying Goa's culture. He stated that Lamanis from Karnataka, as well as beggars, should be barred from entering the state because they do not fit into its culture and Goenkarponn (Goanness or identity).

According to the Indo-Asian News Service (IANS), "Outsiders who can uphold 'Goenkarponn' (Goanness) should be allowed to stay, while the rest should be chased away." Goa's culture and 'Goenkarponn' must be preserved. These Lamanis should be banned from coming to Goa. They send the incorrect message, and Goa's reputation suffers as a result. This must be done, Ajgaonkar stated, adding that his ministry will take action against Lamanis participating in unlawful operations. The then-tourism minister's statement disappointed Goa's Lamani people. Following Goa Tourism Minister Babu Azgaonkar's statement in the media regarding cleaning the Goan beaches of Lamanis, the Banjara Samaj (Lamanis) requested an apology from the minister and threatened protest.

The All-Goa Banjara Samaj demanded an apology from tourism minister Babu Azgaonkar for saying he would force Lamanis away from Goa. According to Ganesh Lamani, the general secretary, "the Banjara Samaj has condemned the statements made by the nomadic tribe which is listed in the scheduled cast in the federal list of the Union government of India and submitted a memorandum to the minister requesting him to take back his statement, which if not done in due time, the community has threatened to shut down their businesses for a day and hold a peaceful protest." The sources went on to say that, "The Lamani Samaj is very big in the state and also, they run various businesses which serve the tourists coming to Goa in case if they go

for one day strike as stated there will be a big impact on the overall business related to the tourism industry of Goa"

The Lamani samaj protested the minister's direct remarks against them in the media. According to General Secretary Mr. Lamani, they are not involved in unlawful operations in the state. "We don't have a problem with authorities taking action against beggars, hawkers, illegal vendors, and drug paddlers along the beach belt, but why is our community being singled out," Lamani added, adding that the 'unconstitutional' remark has shocked the entire community.

The community leader stated that their community is not new to Goa's tourism business. According to them, the Lamani people relocated to Goa from the nearby state of Karnataka, and they also contributed to the fundamental infrastructure development of the state's tourism sector when it was still in its early stages. The migrant community had also helped in the traditional fishing industry, and they now have a sizable presence among the lifeguards. According to the sources, they also have a significant stake in enterprises like as water sports, beach cleaning, and clothing stores along the beachfront. With such a large number of Lamanis in Goa, it may be difficult for tourist stakeholders in the state to conduct business in the absence of Lamani community.

It can be assumed that water disputes are not the only issue between Goa and Karnataka; it appears that the two states clash over the eviction of Lamanis (members of a nomadic tribe). Manohar Parrikar, then Chief Minister of Goa, promised to preserve the Lamani minority in Goa. His statement read: "Members of the Lamani community have been living in Goa with dignity and pride for many generations, which makes them Indians first and Goans next" As mentioned above, the Lamani community do help in the informal sector works.

The then deputy speaker, Micheal Lobo apologised on behalf of then tourism minister, Manohar Azgaonkar stating that Azgaonkar meant hawkers and not Lamanis to be evicted from

Goa. While addressing a press conference at BJP headquarters, Micheal Lobo, accorded that there's nothing such as Lamanis, they are the scheduled tribes, he said he respects the Lamani tribe living in Goa and if any tribe is hurt then he will ask for apology. Lamanis are involved in construction of Goan houses said Micheal Lobo.

From the above controversy, it can be clearly seen that the issue of Lamani community is being politicised. Their identity issue is the outcome of the political and administrative gain. Most of the people of India have ignored their history and their historical occupations and as a result the Lamani community still continues to face the repercussions which were first started by the British colonial rulers.

Do you consider Lamani community is necessary for providing labour services in Goa?
130 responses

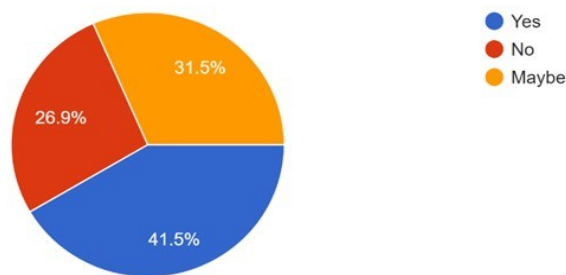


FIGURE 3.4

When Goans were asked whether they require Lamani community to do labour services, most of them 41.5% said Lamani community is necessary for providing Labour services in Goa. About 26.9% said they don't feel Lamani community is necessary for the same and the rest of respondents 31.5% were unsure regarding the same.

Do you think that Lamanis boost Goa's Economy through their business activities in Goa?
130 responses

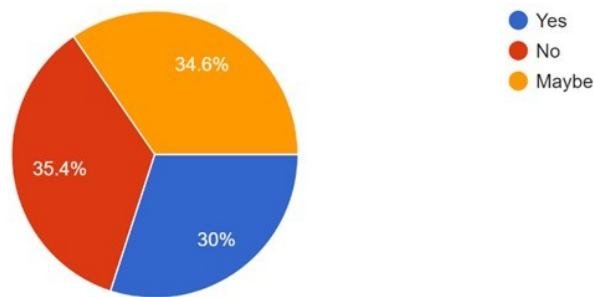


FIGURE 3.5

However, when Goans were asked whether Lamanis' business activities boost Goans economy, most of them were of the opinion that Lamani business doesn't boost Goan economy (35.4%) and others 30% said they do boost the economy and remaining 34.6% were unaware. The way in which respondents gave their opinion possibly due to their lack of awareness about the question asked.

In conclusion, the migration of Lamanis to Goa offers both opportunities and challenges. The migration of Lamanis to Goa creates a number of social, economic, and cultural issues. On the one hand, the migration of Lamanis to Goa creates an opportunity for cultural interchange and diversity. Goa, noted for its rich cultural past and openness to other people, can benefit from the Lamanis' distinct traditions and practices. Their presence could add to Goa's diverse cultural tapestry and promote mutual understanding among various tribes. However, it is critical to address any potential issues and concerns linked with this migration. Integration, resource access, and social cohesiveness are all critical issues that require careful consideration. The surge of migrants, particularly Lamanis, may put a strain on existing infrastructure and resources, causing conflicts within local communities. Furthermore, there may be cultural

incompatibilities or misconceptions that necessitate intentional actions to foster unity and mutual respect. Furthermore, governments must ensure that the Lamanis' rights and dignity are respected. Any discrimination or marginalisation based on their ethnicity or nomadic lifestyle should be strongly addressed. Efforts should be made to give them equitable access to education, work, and social involvement, while also respecting their cultural identity and customs.

CHAPTER IV

BEING A LAMANI IN GOA

4.1 Lifestyle of Lamani

Many Lamani communities historically led a nomadic or semi-nomadic lifestyle, traveling from place to place in search of trade or livelihood opportunities. This mobility often made them vulnerable to exploitation and discrimination. The Lamani community has faced historical marginalization, both as migrants and as members of lower strata within Indian society. They were often relegated to occupations considered lowly or menial by dominant caste groups. As migrants and members of lower castes, Lamani people have encountered challenges in securing stable livelihoods and accessing basic resources such as land, education, and healthcare. Discrimination and social stigma have sometimes limited their employment options and economic opportunities. Lamani communities have often been socially excluded and marginalized, facing discrimination in various spheres of life including education, housing, and healthcare. This exclusion perpetuated cycles of poverty and vulnerability. Despite the challenges they face, Lamani communities have retained a strong sense of cultural identity. They often preserve their traditional language, customs, music, and dance forms, which serve as a source of pride and resilience in the face of adversity. With urbanization, globalization, and social change, the experiences of Lamani people as migrants and lower-caste individuals are also evolving.

4.2 Status of Lamani community in Goa

Most of the Goan people attach negative identity to Lamani population present in Goa. Whenever the people of Lamani community are seen wearing their traditional outfit, 'Phetiya Kanchali' (dress worn by the women of the community), the Goans end up judging them based on their attire. They are given tags such as 'Ghati (Non - Goan), Lamani (based on their

surname), jhinga mami (based on the female attire) etc. The people of Lamani community are also attached with criminal identity even today. The nature of crime may involve theft and robbery etc. However, at the same time, people of Lamani community are seen working for the Goans. They are involved in construction site workers, doing the labour work, collecting garbage, working as maid, working at scrapyards, selling fish etc. and a very few Lamanis are involved in high profile jobs in Goa. Although, the Lamani community's marginalisation is not visible explicitly but they are marginalised in the Goan society.

4.3 Demographics of the community

A survey was conducted to study the socio- economic and political life of Lamani people in Goa. For the case study, respondents were chosen from certain geographical parts of Goa. The responses are gathered from youth, elderly and age-old people of the Lamani community present in Goa including males and females; however, majority of the respondents are female i.e. 56% and male comprises 44%. The geography, physical and social environment becomes important for the study as it defines the nature of lifestyle, opportunities and marginalisation of the Lamani community in Goa.

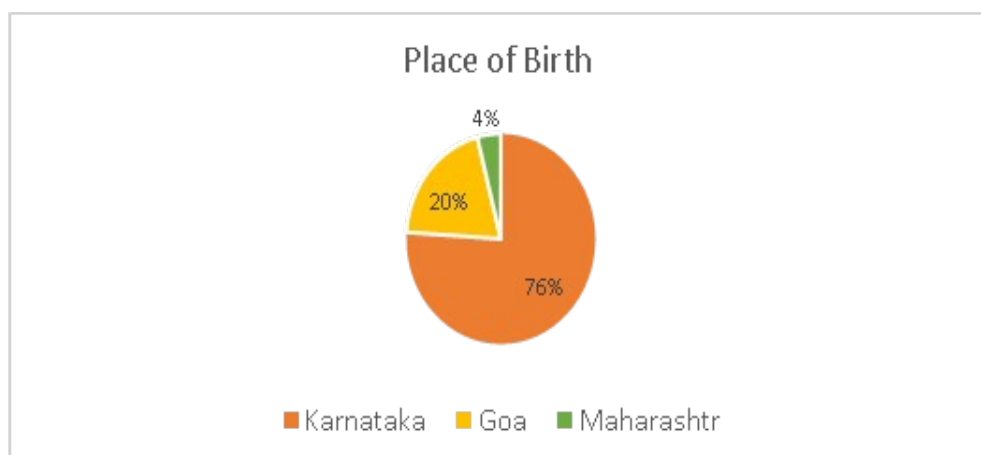


FIGURE 4.1

According to the survey findings, most of the respondents are born in Karnataka (76%), a few are born in Maharashtra (4%) and have migrated to Goa whereas some of them are born in Goa, especially the younger generation of the community (Fig. 4.1). The population of Lamani community based in Goa belong to sub categories within the community such as Bhukya, Banaut, Mood, Vadiya etc. Currently, they are spread across Goa. The responses are taken from certain localities from Bardez, Margao, Mormugao Talukas of Goa. The South Goan localities are more welcoming to migrant influx in comparison to North Goa.

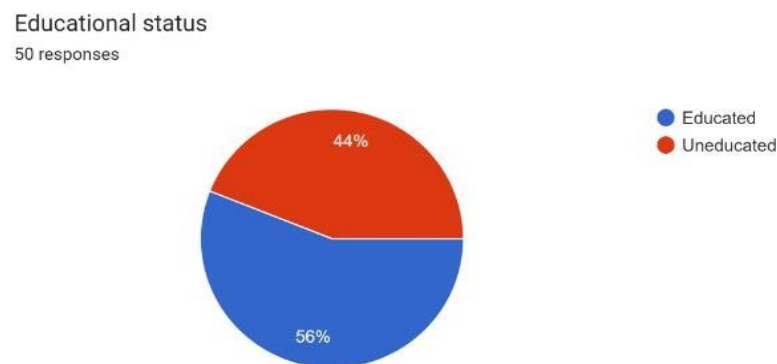


FIGURE 4.2

Most of the Lamani population in Goa are not highly educated. As can be seen from figures 4.2 and 4.3, more than half of the respondents are educated and less than a half are uneducated. This is the scenario as the people in the community prioritise work over education. They work to earn better livelihood opportunities. The lack of significance of education could be another reason for the same and poverty as well makes the situation of education within the community worse as they can't afford basic necessities of life.

Up to what level have you studied?
28 responses

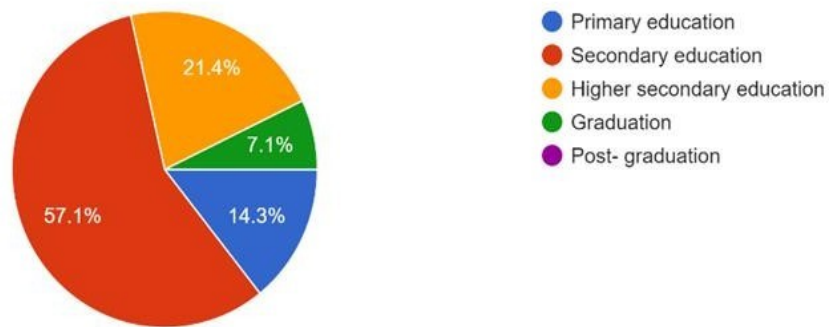


FIGURE 4.3

Therefore, out of 50 respondents of 28 are educated and majority of them have completed their secondary education (57.1%) and left their studies in between. Followed by higher secondary education (21.4%), then primary education (14.3%), and few of the respondents are pursuing their higher studies (7.1%).

Do you earn/work?
50 responses

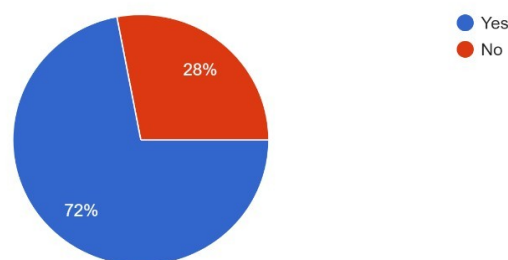


FIGURE 4.4

Majority of the people from Lamani community work in informal sector. About 72% of the respondents are working and rest 28 percent of the respondents do not work either they are pursuing their studies or have become old. Most of them work for about 7-8 hrs. Both men and women work as Labourers, mostly females work as maid, a respondent sells fish door to door,

few respondents work as labourer for Village Panchayat Calangute and they have been given houses to stay by the Panchayat itself. Some of them used to sell ornaments and jewellery at beachside, a respondent from Zuarinagar, South Goa, runs general store. Another respondent is also involved in collecting plastics and bottles for scrapyards.

4.4 Categories of Lamani migrants in Goa

The Lamanis in Goa have been staying for several years. The oldest migrant interviewed have been staying in Goa for about 52 years. Majority of the respondents have been staying in Goa for more than 20 years, some of them are staying in Goa for about 40 years and a few of them are staying in Goa for more than 40 years. The old migrants of the community are settled in South Goan localities in comparison to North Goa. In Zuarinagar, one can find people of Lamani community being born in Goa and also studying.

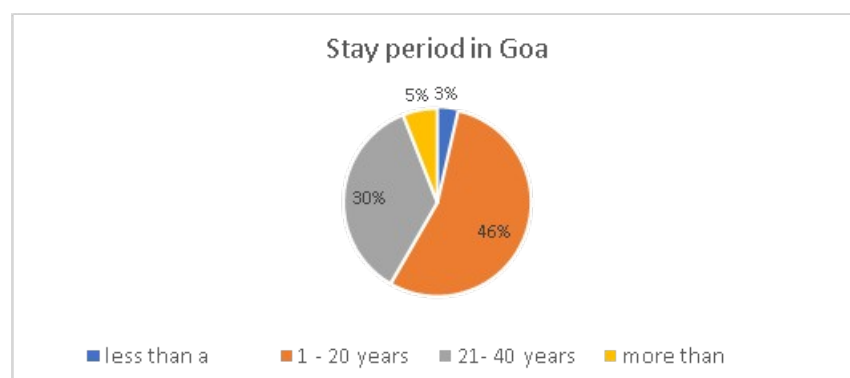


FIGURE 4.5

The migration of Lamani is influenced by both push and pull factors of migration. They have migrated to Goa, primarily in search of better job opportunities, better source of living, Goa being nearest to Karnataka and being an attractive source of economic opportunities as well as Goa is seen as urban area. Some of them even migrated to Goa as their family migrated to have financial stability and better living condition. A respondent from Candolim, (originally belongs

to Karnataka) stated that one of the reasons for his migration was the scarcity of water at his native place. Another respondent states that they had no other opportunity apart from agriculture as a result they migrated to Goa. one of the respondents even saw Goa as hope for improving the financial condition.

Is it a permanent migration or seasonal migration?
50 responses

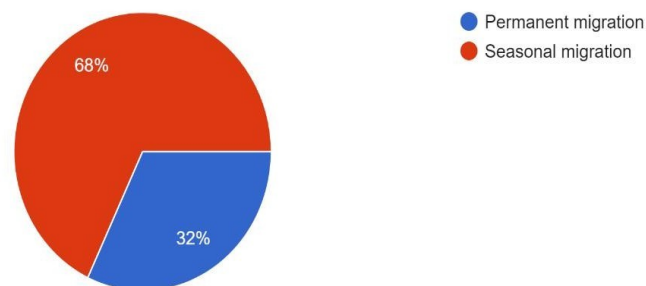


FIGURE 4.6

Majority of the respondents seasonally come to Goa, work and earn and they go back to their hometown. Hence, the Lamanis are involved in seasonal migration. Some of them have permanently settled in Goa especially people of Zuarinagar, Mormugao.

do you live in a rented house?
50 responses

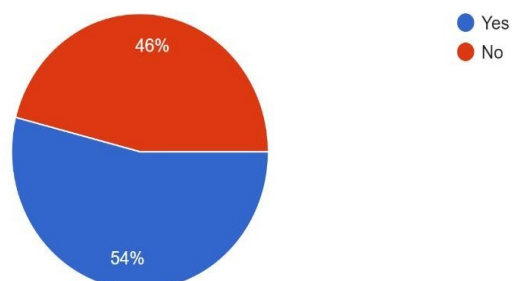


FIGURE 4.7

The Lamani population in Goa stay in a rented house (54%) as they can't afford financially. They don't have required domicile period to build their house in Goa and financially most of them can't afford. Few of the respondents who works for Calangute Panchayat as labourers doesn't have to pay the rent as the rooms are provided by the Panchayat. 46% of the respondents stay in a rented room. Most of them are fine with the condition of the house and they get the benefit of basic facilities like water, electricity etc. some of the respondents stated that the condition of the room is almost like a Zhupda (muddy house), the condition of the house is pathetic. A Lamani couple live in a single room, where they cook, sleep, do leisure activity. The room isn't spacious. They can't afford a better one as they are financially poor.

4.5 Diversity of opinion amongst Lamani and Goan communities

Although people of Lamani community claim that they don't face discrimination being migrant and a Lamani in Goa in modern time (72%) but they also acknowledge that they used to face discrimination earlier when they had come to Goa, especially the old migrants who have been staying in Goa for more than 40 years. Very few Lamani (28%) openly stated that they still face discrimination in Goa. (Fig 4.8)

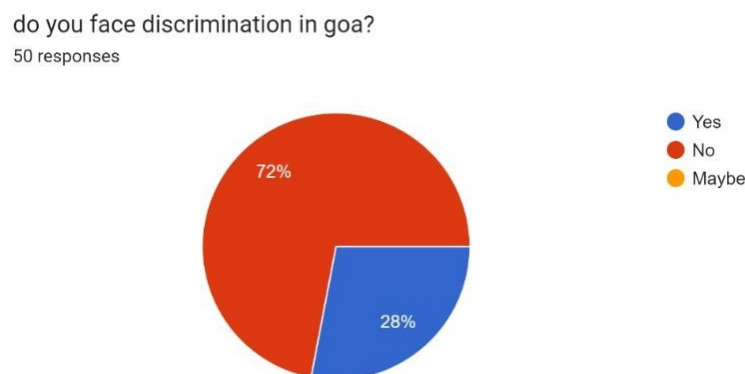


FIGURE 4.8

The discriminatory treatments include; teasing based on their looks and attire, considering as inferior than Goans, making them feel as alien community in Goa, sometimes even practice of inter – dinning is prohibited amongst Goans and Lamanis in Goa, a respondent accorded that, her business was put to fire by the locals claiming that she was treated as migrant in Goa. Other women from the community stated that she had to live her initial place of residence (Baina, Vasco), as she was mistreated when she was doing the work of gathering scrap. As a result, she moved from Baina to Calangute. She and her husband even had a garment shop but that had to be shut as they faced the financial problem.

Do you feel people of Lamani community face discrimination in Goa? (Discrimination based on caste, class, religion, gender etc)
130 responses

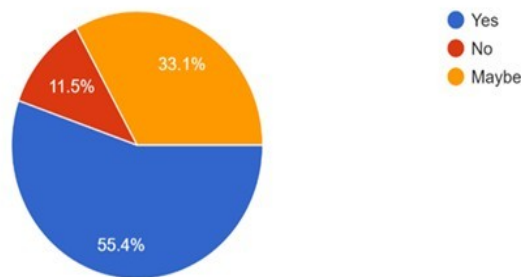


FIGURE 4.9

Figure 4.9 shows the perception of Goans on the discrimination faced by Lamani community in Goa. majority of the Goans (55.4%) stated that Lamanis do face discrimination in Goa whereas few of them (11.5%) feels that Lamani community doesn't face any discrimination in Goa and rest of the Goan respondents are unsure of the same.

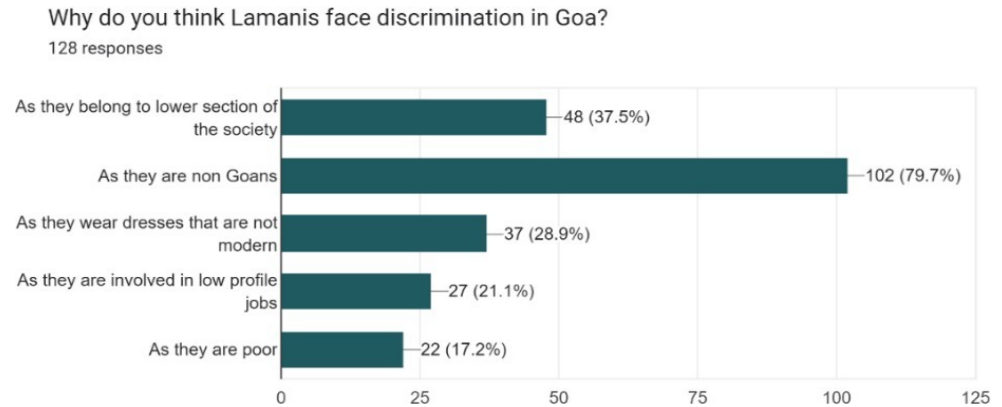


FIGURE 4.10

Goans perception about the reasons responsible for Lamani community's discrimination in Goa are as follows: a) about 79.7% of the Goans believed the discrimination faced by the Lamani community as they are non Goans, b) about 37.5% feels as Lamani community belong to lower section of the society, c) about 28.9% gave the reason as people of the community wear dresses that are not modern, d) about 21.1% stated the reason for their discrimination as Lamanis are involved in low profile jobs and finally, very few of the respondents (17.2%) stated that Lamanis being poor is one of the reason responsible for their discrimination.

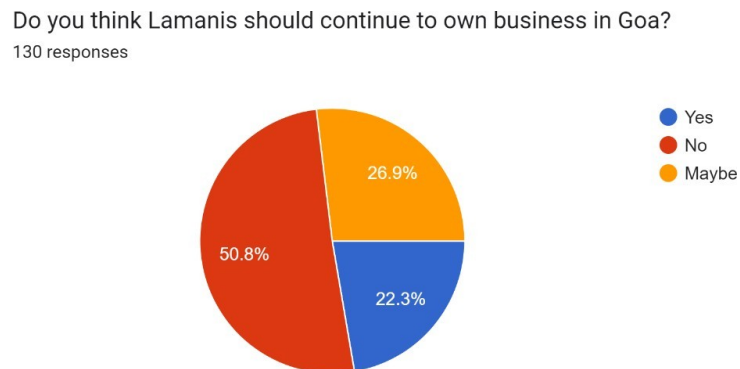


FIGURE 4.11

The above shown figure shows that the Goans don't agree on Lamanis owning business in Goa. About 50.8% of the Goan respondents asserted that Lamanis shouldn't continue to own business in Goa as it puts local peoples' business under danger. The insecure nature of Goans can be realised from the given figure. About 22.3% of the Goan respondents feels that Lamanis should continue to own business in Goa. the possible reasons could be that they provide Labour services to Goa and as well as aid in boosting Goa's tourism Industry thereby leading to growth in Goa's economy (Figure 3.3 and 3.5)

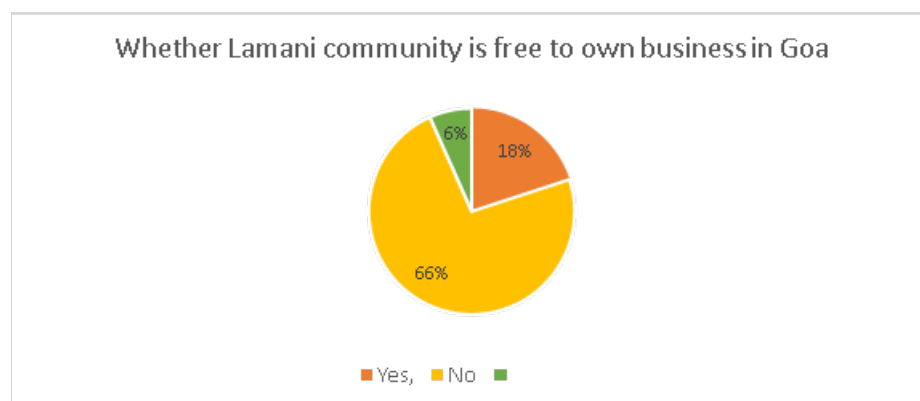


FIGURE 4.12

The above figure 4.12 shows that the people of Lamani community feels that they are not free to own business in Goa. About 66% of the Lamani respondents are of the opinion that they are not free to own business in Goa as they are treated as migrants, they need proper documents to put up a business, sometimes even after having their business they were told to shut down (for this the possible reason could be the business might be owned illegally or they were discriminated by the local Goan Population). The 18% of the respondents believes that they are free to own business in Goa and in fact some of them have the business of garment shop, fish

seller, owns a general store etc and a very few (6%) Lamani respondents are unaware about the same.

do you feel Lamani community is given the opportunity to raise their issues in Goa?
50 responses

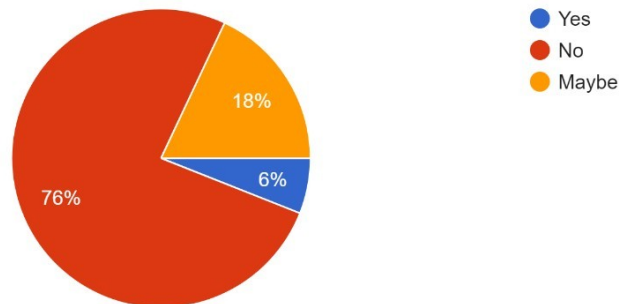


FIGURE 4.13

According to the survey results, the above figure 4.13 shows whether or not, the Lamani community is given the opportunity to address their issues in Goa. majority of the respondents (76%) feels that they are not given the opportunity to address their socio – economic related issues in Goa. Few of the Lamani respondents (6%) feels that they are given the opportunity to address their issues in Goa. About 18% are unaware about the same. Therefore, this figure depicts that most of the Lamani are voiceless being a migrant in Goa. This can be due to the discrimination that they face living in Goa.

4.6 Lamani community's conservativeness

Do you feel it's necessary to get rid of traditional cultural values of your community?
50 responses

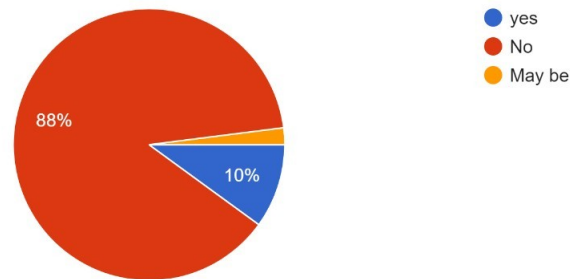


FIGURE 4.14

The people of Lamani community in Goa, believes in continuing with the traditional values of the community like wearing traditional attire, having Ghor Panchayat (communities' administrative mechanism). Although modernity, urbanisation, globalisation has majorly impacted several communities of India, majority Lamani population (88%) in Goa strives to continue with traditional values of the community.

The reasons stated were; they are proud of their Lamani status, they don't feel ashamed by the same, and they are proud in what they do and wear. They favour traditional attire as it is their identity and it is their age of old tradition. They favour Ghor Panchayat as it helps in supporting the community financially, helps in solving disputes. In the presence of Ghor panchayat, the people of the community no need to approach courts and police stations. Hence, the Ghor panchayat serves judicial functions as well. The few respondents (10%) want to get rid of the traditional values as wearing phetiya kanchali (traditional attire) puts them under shame, Ghor Panchayat doesn't give fair judgement.

4.7 Crisis of identity for Lamani women in Goa

Culturally, Sanskritisation, urbanisation and Globalisation has affected Lamani community. There have been instances where they have adopted practices, rituals, or norms associated with higher castes or dominant communities, thereby altered their cultural identity to some extent. Sanskritization has also led to changes in language use, lifestyle, and social behaviour of the community. They have adopted the language, dress, dietary habits, and customs of the dominant castes or communities, thereby undergoing a transformation in their way of life. Globalization have disrupted traditional social structures and relationships within the Banjara community, leading to social fragmentation and disintegration of community ties. Rapid urbanization, migration, and changing family dynamics have contributed to social problems such as alienation.

as a women, Do you prefer wearing the traditional outfit in current times?
27 responses

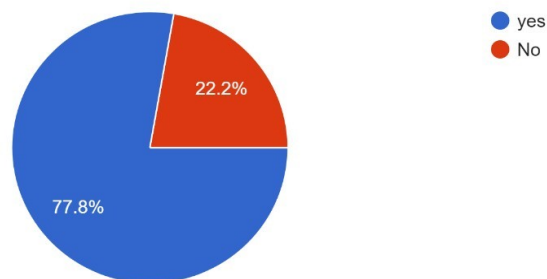


FIGURE 4.15

The women of Lamani community were asked whether they will continue to wear their traditional attire (Phetiya Kanchali) or not. Majority of the Lamani women respondents (77.8%) said that they will continue to wear traditional outfit however they choose to wear it occasionally during religious or social functions and not on daily basis. As the outfit is heavier

and it becomes difficult for the women to work while wearing it. Some of them don't choose to wear the outfit in Goa as they get teased and judged as belonging to Lamani community. A respondent stated that if she wears the outfit then, the Goans will not hire her for work. The few Lamani women (22.2%) are against wearing the traditional outfit as it gives them shame.

Naik, G. S. (2018), in his publication, 'Lambanis and Cultural Dilemma,' has mentioned that the traditional outfit fosters an inferiority feeling amongst the Lamani women; it arouses needless curiosity. The Preparation is really expensive; preparation takes a long time; Working at an office, industry, or elsewhere brings discomfort. Dislike from neighbours; a scarcity of raw ingredients to prepare; a decrease in the number of persons who admire traditional clothing; and the influence of contemporary schooling, urbanisation, and mass media. All these factors affect the Lamani women's identity not only in Goa but also other parts of India.

as a women, do you enjoy freedom in private and public life?
27 responses

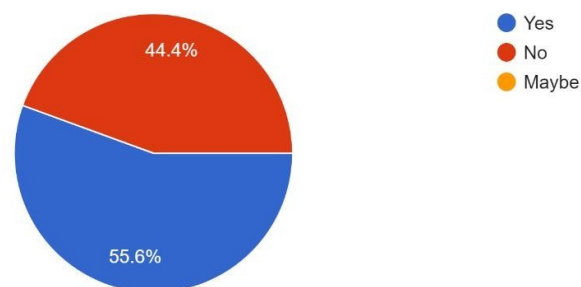


FIGURE 4.16

The figure 4.12 shows whether the Lamani women in Goa enjoys freedom in public and private life. Although the figure shows that majority of the women (55.6%) feel free in both private and public sphere but at the same time, they become the victim of domestic violence as their husbands are used to intake of alcohol. The women within the community have freedom to

work which is an empowering characteristic of the community but women are involved in employment opportunities so that they can look after their family along with their husbands. The rest of the women respondents (44.4%) don't enjoy freedom regarding the same.

4.8 All Goa Banjara Samaj and empowerment of Lamani community

All Goa Banjara Samaj was founded in 2006, with the aim to gather, unite and assist people of the Lamani community spread across the state of Goa. The association was also formed to address the grievances faced by not only Lamani community in Goa but as well other communities present in Goa. The President of All Goa Banjara Samaj, Mr. Anand Angadi and the General secretaries of Salcette Taluka, Ravi Naik and Girish Karbhari, stated that, the members of the samaj together share and contribute in aiding the people of the community thereby addressing the needs and concern of the community. The samaj promote welfare of the community by helping in business activities through financial support gathered from well off people and then distributing the wealth amongst the needy people, especially the poor Lamani people. They believe that helping is a give and take relationship. The samaj not only helps the Lamanis but also Goans.

The samaj has also worked for Political participation and decision making within the community. It was involved in nominating candidate in Panchayat election of 2022. For this, the ABS together with the community support could manage to gain victory of a candidate in Sancaole, Mormugao Panchayat. The members of the samaj could foster unity and representation by using social media platforms like Facebook, WhatsApp, X (then known as Twitter), YouTube etc.

The all-Goa Banjara Samaj (ABS) addresses discrimination or marginalisation faced Lamani community in various spheres. The leaders were of the opinion that, any Banjara is being teased or judged by the non-banjara, then the Lamani community people must learn to ignore and

avoid the same. They advised not to get bothered by the discrimination that the community have to face.

The marginalisation is addressed by empowering the youths, men as well as women in the community. The ABS leader asserted that the Lamani women should begin to follow modernity and imbibe the new values that are prevalent in the society by not ignoring what the community have since age old times. The leaders are in favour of women of the community wearing traditional attire occasionally. In summarisation, If the modernity demands change one must change without sacrificing the roots. The samaj also favour education of the girls and through this they empower women in the community. The ABS strives to empower youths by educating them. They are of the opinion that, the youths must make the community feel proud by involving in high profile jobs like UPSC services through better educating themselves. They also favour gender inclusivity and representation in politics and promotes active involvement of the community member in politics.

In a YouTube video recorded at Ramnagari, Margao, the then President of All Goa Banjara Samaj Mr. Ganesh Lamani is seen giving empowering speech to the Lamani community members during the occasion of Ganesh Chaturthi. He demanded excellence of the community in all the sections especially, in education and employment. He is in favour of promoting girls' education and girls no longer belong to private space. He accorded that 'It is necessary for the community to improve socially, economically and as well as politically. Through political empowerment, changes can be brought within the community of Goa. Even after facing discrimination if the ego hurts, keep the ego aside. He supports Banjara reservation, political strengthening of the community, and brotherhood. He believes that all are one and humanity must prevail. The empowering of the youth is fostered through Goa Banjara Youth association. By uplifting youth and women, whole community will be uplifted.'

4.9 Political consciousness and participation of the Lamani community

Efforts to enhance the political participation of Lamani community in Goa are currently undertaking. The adequate representation of the Lamani community in political institutions can empower them and increase their participation. This may involve measures such as reservation of seats or targeted outreach programs. The ABS has demanded SC status for the Lamani community in Goa.

The increasing awareness about political rights and processes among the Lamani community is encouraging greater participation. Education and capacity-building initiatives are taking place within the community members and are making them understand the importance of political engagement. By addressing underlying socio-economic disparities that affect the Lamani community is facilitating greater political participation. Measures to improve access to education, healthcare, and economic opportunities is empowering community members to engage more actively in politics. Supporting community-led initiatives and grassroots organizations are helping to mobilize the Lamani community politically. This phenomenon is majorly visible in the South Goan localities like Margao, Mormugao.

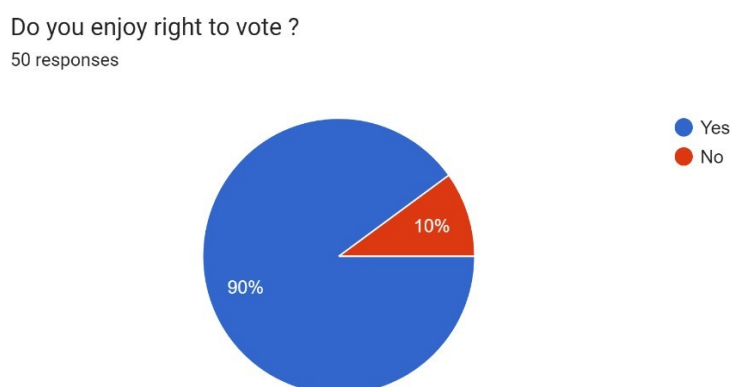


FIGURE 4.17

According to figure 4.17, more than majority of the Lamani population have voting right (90%) and a very of them (10%) do not have voting right.

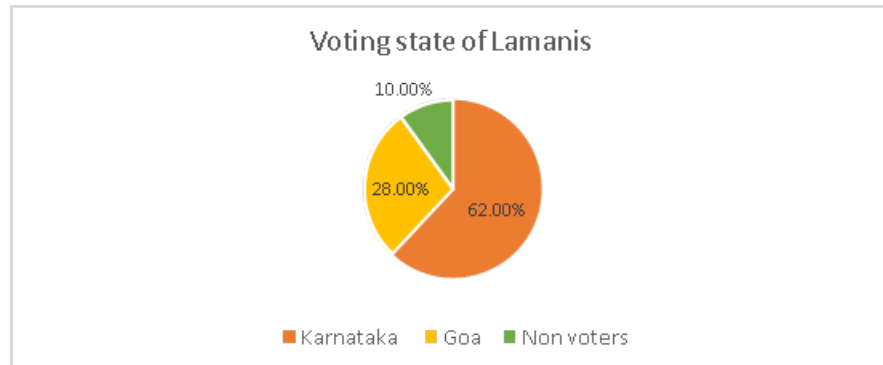


FIGURE 4.18

Most of the voters are from the neighbouring state of Goa (62%), that is Karnataka, 10% of them exercise voting right in Goa and remaining 10% are non-voters. The voters of Lamani population are rising in Goa as they have been staying in Goa for generations all together, especially in South Goa. The migrant Lamani population have settled in Goa. This can be due to Patron client relationship developed by the political partied or the party candidate to secure their vote banks. Political clientelism is a phenomenon often observed in political systems, as politicians exchange goods, services, or favours for political support from individuals or groups. It operates on the principle of patron-client relationships, where a powerful figure or political party acts as the patron, providing benefits such as jobs, resources, or protection to clients in exchange for their loyalty, votes, or other forms of support.

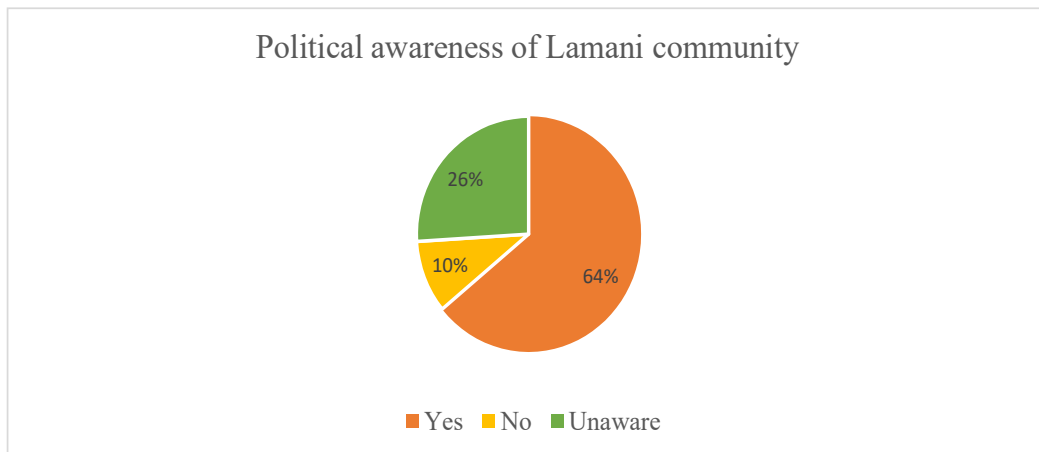


FIGURE 4.19

Majority of the Lamani respondents (64%) stated that there is political consciousness within the Lamani community, whereas few of them (10%) there is no political consciousness within the community and 26% of them are unaware about the same. The political awareness of the community is more visible in South Goa as the community people are actively involved in politics. This can be due to Zuarinagar and Ramnagari being the migrant prone area which welcomes migrants whereas in North Goa, Lamanis are not that much politically active. Although they are socially and culturally mobilised. A respondent even stated that the Lamanis in Goa might not get the full opportunity to contest elections as Goans portray Lamanis as migrants.

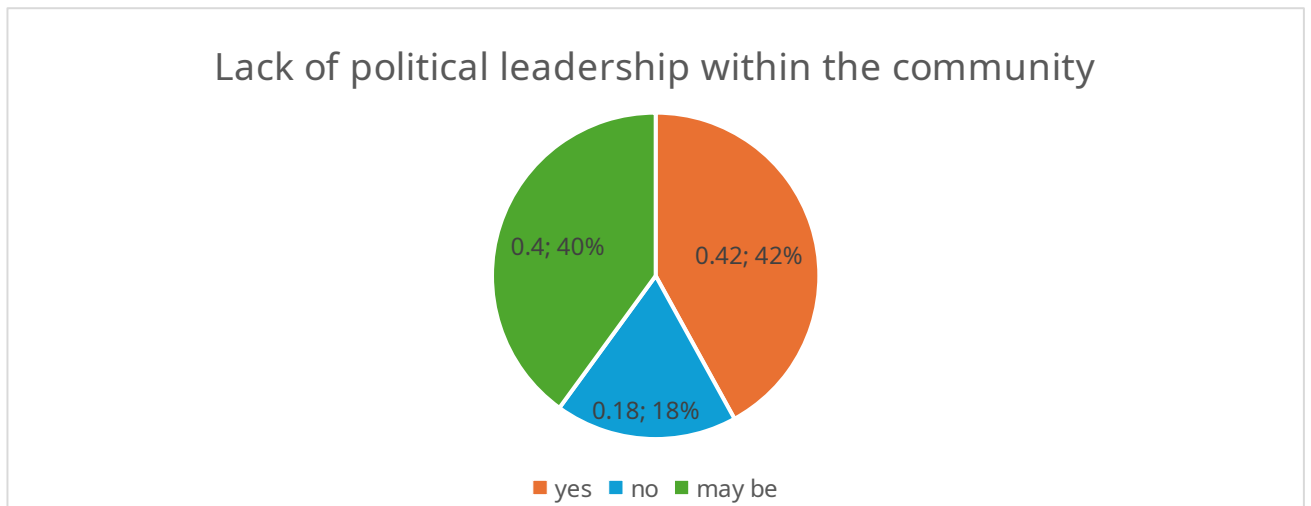


FIGURE 4.20

About 42% of the Lamani people feels that there is no lack of political leadership amongst the community as in Zuarinagar, A candidate from Lamani community contested and won the Sancoale village panchayat election. Several other people from Lamani community also contested for the same. About 40% of the respondents are unaware about their community members participation in the Goan politics and rest 18% feels that there is lack of leadership within the community.

One can see Lamani community politically participating in Panchayat election in Sancoale Panchayat. There are 11 wards in the Sancoale Panchayat, people from Lamani community have been contesting from the locality. Also, their participation can be observed from Chicalim Panchayat.

Do you agree on having a political leader from a lamani community in Goa?
130 responses

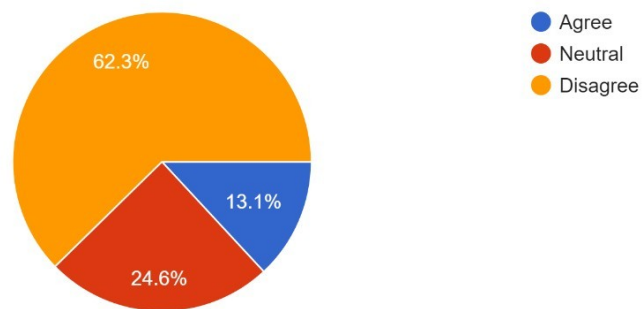


FIGURE 4.21

When Goans were asked whether they agree or disagree on having political leader from the Lamani community, majority of them (62.3%) are against from having a leader from the Lamani community. This opinion arises due to the misconception that having a politician from the Lamani community will not ensure justice for the Goan people, as it may concentrate power within that group. Goans may face unemployment, as we already see many jobs going to outsiders. Additionally, small businesses could be affected, impacting the financial conditions of Goans. Another reason can be a politician from the Lamani community might not be originally from Goa, might not have much knowledge about Goa, its culture and heritage. At the same time being a migrant he or she will not get support to win elections in Goa as people in Goa will only vote for Goans. A respondent also stated that the leader from Lamani community will bring more migrants to Goa and they will end up ruling Goa. There may be also increase in crimes; as most of crimes in Goa are committed by migrants. Goans believe that the power and authority should belong to the person who has his/her roots in Goa or whichever area concerned. Unless one knows the land and its people better, they shouldn't be given any authority over anything, may it be state or it's people.

About 13.1% Goans agreed on having a political leader from Lamani community on the grounds that may it be from a Lamani community or from any other community, as long as he/she works for the society and be a responsible leader he/she can be a political leader from any caste or religion. The person who's going to work for Goans matters, and as a political leader how he/she can contribute to the society that matters; may he/she be from any caste or a religion. As the population of a particular community increases, the demand for representation and leadership will also develop. As a democratic nation, every community and persons have a right to representation. Hence, any person regardless of their background cannot be stopped from claiming himself/herself to be a leader of a particular community. Being a citizen of India allows an individual the right to freedom of speech, as well as freedom of political representation. A respondent's agreement with the above view stems from the basic principle of equality. Any leader with right intentions of development can represent the community. Leader doesn't necessarily have to be from that community. Although it can be better if they have a leader from their own community to represent them on the political platform. When one discusses about political leaders, one look at it from an election point of view and for an individual to be elected they need to have mass support therefore if Lamani community can provide such mass support, then a political leader can be elected. About 24.6% of the Goan were neutral about the same.

Although the state of Goa is prone to migrant influx both local as well as international, the migration of Lamani also becomes significant. The Lamani migrants can be categorised into old migrants who have settled in Goa for very long time and have developed patron client relationship within the Goan localities. The second category includes new comer Lamani migrants who are more prone to seasonal migration. The Lamani community in Goa have been facing discrimination since several years but due to their adoption to modern values and

principles also urbanisation is making them less prone to discriminatory treatment. However, the Goans still consider them as non Goans and migrants, Goans feel insecure regarding the community as they might be threat to Goans. Being a Lamani in Goa, comes with migrant and lower status-based social discrimination that they have to face being in Goa.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Lamani community being a nomadic, migration has been an important characteristic since the early times. The historical evidences states that they have their origin in North-western belt of India specially in the State of Rajasthan. Several historical instances prove that due to their migratory and nomadic status, their citizenship over a land can be said to be contested. This contested identity makes their life difficult.

The Lamani community in Goa is marginalised on the basis of several factors. However, this research uses two identities lower self and migrant to analyse the marginalisation of the community in Goa. The Lower self and migrant identities together make the Lamani community vulnerable to discrimination. Although the discrimination is not felt much in modern times but it was rampant in Goa earlier. The anti-migrant attitude of the Goans is clearly visible and at the same time Goa being an urban space still imbibes the characteristics of caste- based discrimination. The political party leaders in Goa also wishes to drive Lamanis out of Goa and at the same time certain leaders have developed the patron client relationship and sees Lamanis as a vote bank for the candidate to win a particular election. This gives rise to vote bank politics. The study of vote bank politics and Lamanis being the clients opens up an area of research pertaining to the community.

The Old Lamanis in Goa are comparatively less educated than the new-ones and a very few Lamani migrants are optimistic about education as they prioritise working to earn their livelihood. Their migration to Goa is more as due to Lack of opportunities in their original State in case of the current study its Karnataka and Maharashtra. They have migrated to Goa as they see Goa as an attractive location for job opportunities, may it be formal or informal sector jobs. However, most of the Lamanis are involved in informal sector jobs. Hence, most of the new

Lamani migrants are involved in seasonal migration and the Lamanis who have migrated to Goa more than 40 years ago have emigrated to this territory.

The socio-economic status of most of the Lamanis in Goa is worst. The new migrant Lamanis live in rented houses and the old Lamanis settled in Zuarinagar are provided with illegal houses. The same category of the old Lamani migrants has voting rights in Goa and also are involved in local level governance (Sancoale Panchayat). The Lamanis in Goa are burdened by family responsibilities. They have to constantly think about their work, if the rent of the room is high then are also worried about finding a new one.

The Lamanis in Goa are not ashamed of their Lamani status, they feel proud about the same. But a few Lamani, especially the youths feel ashamed of their Lamani status. The people of the community with Lamani surname are more vulnerable to the discrimination and a few Lamanis are shameful of the same. The Lamanis people with surnames like Naik, Rathod, Chavan doesn't feel much discrimination as Goans assume that they have a Rajasthani origin. Goans also create controversy over the 'Naik' surname of the Lamani, assuming that the Lamani migrants have adopted Goan identity by using Naik as their surname but the reality is that, Naik is a title given to the heads of the Thanda (village settlement). They feel it's necessary to continue with the traditions that they have inherited from their ancestors. They live in Thandas (group of Lamani families live together in a same locality) not only in their native place but also in Goa (especially, Guirim, Zuarinagar, Ramnagari).

Goan community doesn't really welcome Lamanis in Goa. They feel that Lamanis spoil the image of Goa. They are threat to the local business of the Goans as Lamanis are not ashamed to work in any profile job. Therefore, Goans wants Lamani community to stop owning business in Goa. However, Goans also agree that, Lamani community is necessary for providing labour services in Goa. Goans feels that the Lamani community in Goa doesn't add to existing cultural

diversity and they want to retain the Goa for Goans identity. They welcome only those who have Goenkarponn in their attitude. According to few Goans, the Lamani identity is questioned as the stigma of criminality still continues to be attached to the community. Some Goans feel that the community is involved in criminal and illegal activities in Goa. Hence, Goans don't welcome Lamani community in Goa and they don't need a leader from the community. However, the Lamani community in Sancoale panchayat has already disproved the Goan assumption that Lamanis can't be involved in the politics of Goa. The Lamani community in Goa is politically conscious especially in the South Goa district.

The objectives of the study are achieved by exploring the community's origin and their migratory status. The socio-economic status of Lamanis in Goa is poor but at the same time the community is gradually working towards their upliftment and empowerment through education and addressing the issues of the community. At the same time their involvement in the politics will aid in upliftment of the community in Goa. The reasons and factors of their migration to Goa is more socio - economic in nature. As a result of these dual identities; the migrant and caste they have to face problems such as employment, education, having basic necessities etc. In terms of education, few of the Lamani students having Lamani as their surname face discrimination being a migrant as well as a Lamani in the classroom environment. Therefore, the twin identities make the Lamani community face the discriminatory treatment and are socially more vulnerable. Hence, Lamanis are strong in terms of community but individually they are weak in Goa.

Lower self and migrant identities together intersect and makes Lamani community face inequality, humiliation and injustice in Goa. The proposed research study reveals that, the old migrant's presence is more in South Goa and they have made permanent settlement in the Goan localities. Not only this but at the same time people of Lamani community is seen participating in Goan politics especially at the local governance level. The community leaders of the Lamani

community even wish the people of the community to participate in politics of Goa in large number in order to empower the community and also by doing so, the community will be uplifted from poverty which will result in addressing the problems of the community. The highlighting thing is that without having political reservation for the community in Goa, with the community support they managed to win the Panchayat election.

Therefore, the research Hypothesis, 'The marginalisation of Lamanis in Goa stems from the intersection of dual identities of being a lower self and a migrant' stands to be positively proven. Their historical migration has led to their classification as a migrant community in many regions. They have faced discrimination and marginalization based on their contested identity, which has limited their access to resources, opportunities, and social mobility. Migration and contested identities-based discrimination have contributed to the economic marginalization of the Lamani community. Many Lamanis have historically been landless labourers or marginal farmers, further exacerbating their socio-economic status. The intersection of lower self and migrant identities results in social exclusion for the Lamani community. This exclusion can manifest in various forms, including limited access to education, healthcare, and political representation. The migrant status of the Lamani community result in a lack of legal recognition and protection of their rights. They face challenges in accessing government welfare schemes, land rights, and other entitlements due to their nomadic lifestyle and historical migration patterns. Marginalization based on these identities can make the Lamani community vulnerable to exploitation and abuse, including labour exploitation, human trafficking, and other forms of violence. This opens up a new area of research pertaining to the Lamani community in Goa.

The burden originates from an identity dilemma; the Lamani community's status as nomads, tribes, peasants, or castes is unclear. As a result, they have historically faced identity conflicts. They are classified as Scheduled Castes in some parts of India, while Scheduled Tribes in others; in fact, a few states consider them to be members of the Other Backward Class while

also having the status as denotified tribes. The Lamani community, due to their contentious identity, cannot be placed in either caste or tribe discourse. However, an attempt is always made to fit into caste or tribe discourses, therefore the Lamani community cannot be firmly defined by political reservation. At the same time the issues surrounding Lamani community's presence in Goa is always tried to be politicised. When the Lamani community moves from their first place of residence to a new location, these two identities are blended with migrant identity. As a result, Lamanis have to cope with multiple layers of burden. However, they are dealing with the identity problem only on the basis of their hard work and survival. This struggle has allowed them to learn many languages as they migrate and has caused changes in their traditional way of life. However, their life is not easy.

In conclusion, the intersection of lower self and migrant identities reinforces the marginalization of the Banjara community, limiting their opportunities for socio-economic and political advancement and perpetuating cycles of poverty and discrimination. Addressing these intersecting forms of oppression requires comprehensive social, economic, and political interventions aimed at addressing discrimination, ensuring the rights of migrant communities, and promoting inclusive development policies.

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APPENDIX I

A) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE PEOPLE OF LAMANI COMMUNITY IN GOA

Name of the Topic: LIVING UNDER DUAL BURDEN AS LOWER SELF AND MIGRANT: A CASE STUDY OF LAMANIS IN GOA

Name of the Supervisor: Assistant Professor, Prachi Naik

Name of the Researcher: Saloni Subray Banaulikar

1. Name of the Respondent _____
2. Address of the Respondent _____

My name is Saloni Subray Banaulikar, and I have come from Goa University. I am conducting a survey on the 'LIVING UNDER DUAL BURDEN AS LOWER SELF AND MIGRANT: A CASE STUDY OF LAMANIS IN GOA'. This survey is a part of my dissertation work which has to be submitted to Goa University. Your cooperation will help us in earning a M.A. degree. Participation in this survey is voluntary and it is entirely up to you to answer or not to answer any question that I ask. I hope that you will take part in this survey since your participation is important. Please spare some time for the interview and help me in successfully completing the survey.

May I begin the interview now?

- ☐ Respondent agree to be interviewed
- ☐ Respondent doesn't agree to be interviewed

BACKGROUND DATA (Tick the relevant option: - (✓))

1. Age
 - i. 17-30;
 - ii. 31-40;
 - iii. 41-50,
 - iv. 51 and above
2. Gender
 - i. Male
 - ii. Female

- iii. Others
 - 3. Place of birth _____
 - 4. Current residence _____
 - 5. What is your educational status?
 - i. Educated;
 - ii. Uneducated
 - 6. Up to what level have you studied?
 - i. Primary;
 - ii. Secondary;
 - iii. Higher secondary;
 - iv. Graduation,
 - v. Post-graduation
 - 7. Do you earn / work?
 - i. yes
 - ii. no
 - 8. How many hours do you work? _____
 - 9. What is your occupation/profession? _____
 - 10. Which social category within Lamani community you belong? _____
-

- 1. For how many years, are you staying in Goa?

-
- 2. What are the reasons for your migration to Goa?

-
- 3. Is it a Push factor/ Pull factor or both? _____

- 4. Why did you choose Goa as migratory location?

-
- 5. Is it a permanent or seasonal migration? _____

6. What are the problems that you faced, when you first came to Goa?

7. Do you live in a rented house in Goa?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

8. How is the condition of your house? (basic facilities)

9. Is Lamani community free to own business in Goa? if no, then what are the difficulties that they might face?

10. Do you face discrimination in Goa?

- i. Yes
- ii. No
- iii. May be

11. Do you face any problems/ challenges being a migrant in Goa? if yes, what are they?

12. Do you feel that the Lamani community is given opportunity to address their problem?

- i. Yes
- ii. No
- iii. May be
- iv.

13. Do you feel being burdened in private as well as public life?

- i. Yes
- ii. No
- iii. May be

14. Do you feel burdened by the family responsibilities?

- i. Yes
- ii. No
- iii. May be

15. Do you enjoy freedom in both public and private life?

- i. Yes
- ii. No
- iii. May be
- iv. Prefer not to say

16. Do you face any domestic violence?

- i. Yes
- ii. No
- iii. Prefer not to say

17. As a woman, do you face inequality or injustice in Goa?

- i. Yes
- ii. No
- iii. May be

18. Are you ashamed of your Lamani status? if yes/no, why?

19. Do you feel is it necessary to get rid of traditional cultural values of Lamani community? If yes or no, why?

20. Do you prefer wearing the traditional outfit in current times? If yes/no, why?

21. Is it good to continue with traditional mode of association (Gor Panchayat)? Why?

- i. Yes
- ii. No
- iii. May be

22. Do you agree on marrying a Goan non- Lamani? Why?

- i. Yes
- ii. No
- iii. May be

23. Do you enjoy right to vote? And in which state?

- i. Yes
- ii. No

24. Do you receive any help from Goa government? If yes, what are the aids given?

25. Do you consider Lamani community is politically conscious?

- i. Yes
- ii. No
- iii. May be

26. Do you feel there is lack of political leadership among the Lamani community?

- i. Yes
- ii. No
- iii. May be

INVESTIGATOR'S SIGNATURE

APPENDIX II

B) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR COLLECTING THE OPINION OF GOANS ON LAMANIS

Name of the Topic: LIVING UNDER DUAL BURDEN AS LOWER SELF AND MIGRANT: A CASE STUDY OF LAMANIS IN GOA

Name of the Supervisor: Assistant Professor, Prachi Naik

Name of the Researcher: Saloni Subray Banaulikar

3. Name of the Respondent _____

4. Address of the Respondent _____

My name is Saloni Subray Banaulikar, and I have come from Goa University. I am conducting a survey on the 'LIVING UNDER DUAL BURDEN AS LOWER SELF AND MIGRANT: A CASE STUDY OF LAMANIS IN GOA'. This survey is a part of my dissertation work which has to be submitted to Goa University. Your cooperation will help us in earning a M.A. degree. Participation in this survey is voluntary and it is entirely up to you to answer or not to answer any question that I ask. I hope that you will take part in this survey since your participation is important. Please spare some time for the interview and help me in successfully completing the survey.

May I begin the interview now?

- ☐ Respondent agree to be interviewed
- ☐ Respondent doesn't agree to be interviewed

Background data

1. Name of the respondent

2. Age

- i. 18-20
- ii. 21-30
- iii. 31-40
- iv. 41 and above

3. Gender

- i. Male
 - ii. Female
 - iii. Others
4. Religion
- i. Hinduism
 - ii. Christian
 - iii. Muslim
 - iv. Others
5. Caste
- i. General
 - ii. OBC
 - iii. ST
 - iv. SC
6. Level of education
- i. Uneducated
 - ii. Primary education
 - iii. Secondary
 - iv. Higher secondary
 - v. Graduate
 - vi. Post – graduate
7. District
- i. North Goa
 - ii. South Goa
-

1. Do you know about the presence of Lamani (Banjara) community in Goa?
- i. Yes
 - ii. No
 - iii. May be
2. Do you think that Lamanis should be allowed to migrate in Goa?
- i. Yes
 - ii. No
 - iii. May be
3. Do you think that, Lamanis boost Goa's economy through their business activities in Goa?

- i. Yes
 - ii. No
 - iii. May be
4. Do you consider Lamani community is necessary to provide Labour services in Goa?
- i. Yes
 - ii. No
 - iii. May be
5. In any way, do you think Lamani community add to cultural diversity of Goa?
- i. Yes
 - ii. No
 - iii. May be
6. Do you feel Goa's image is spoiled as Lamanis are present in Goa?
- i. Yes
 - ii. No
 - iii. May be
7. Do feel Lamanis' business activities in Goa puts local business in danger?
- i. Yes
 - ii. No
 - iii. May be
8. Do you think Lamanis should continue to own business in Goa?
- i. Yes
 - ii. No
 - iii. May be
9. People of Lamani community are involved in criminal activities in Goa, do you agree or disagree?
- i. Agree
 - ii. Disagree
 - iii. Neutral
10. Do you feel people of Lamani community face discrimination in Goa?
- i. Yes
 - ii. No
 - iii. May be
11. Why do you think Lamanis face discrimination in Goa?
- i. As they belong to lower section of society
 - ii. As they are non Goans
 - iii. As they wear dress which is not modern

- iv. As they are involved in Low profile Jobs
- v. As they are poor

12. Do you agree on having a political leader from Lamani community in Goa?

- i. Agree
- ii. Disagree
- iii. Neutral

13. Why would you agree or disagree on not having a political leader from Lamani community in Goa?

APPENDIX III

C) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE EMINENT PERSONS OF THE ALL-GOIA BANJARA SAMAJ

Name of the Topic: LIVING UNDER DUAL BURDEN AS LOWER SELF AND
MIGRANT: A CASE STUDY OF LAMANIS IN GOA

Name of the Supervisor: Assistant Professor, Prachi Naik

Name of the Researcher: Saloni Subray Banaulikar

Name of the Respondent _____

Address of the Respondent _____

My name is Saloni Subray Banaulikar, and I have come from Goa University. I am conducting a survey on the 'LIVING UNDER DUAL BURDEN AS LOWER SELF AND MIGRANT: A CASE STUDY OF LAMANIS IN GOA'. This survey is a part of my dissertation work which has to be submitted to Goa University. Your cooperation will help us in earning a M.A. degree. Participation in this survey is voluntary and it is entirely up to you to answer or not to answer any question that I ask. I hope that you will take part in this survey since your participation is important. Please spare some time for the interview and help me in successfully completing the survey.

May I begin the interview now?

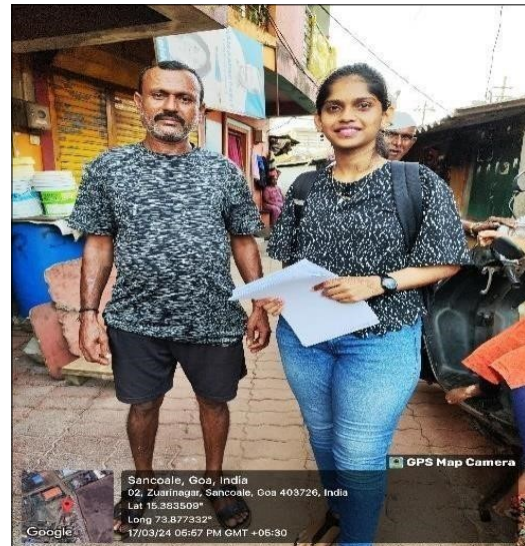
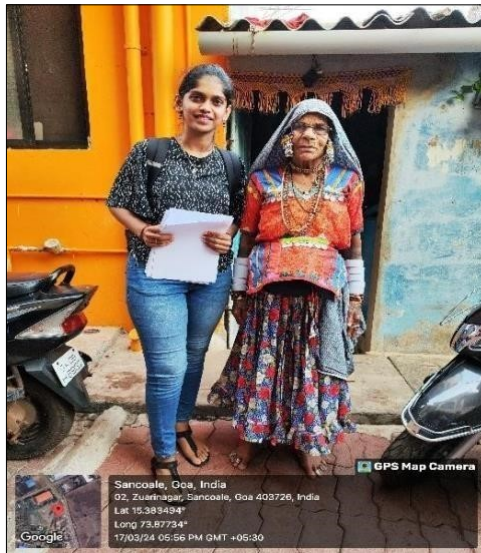
- ☐ Respondent agree to be interviewed
 - ☐ Respondent doesn't agree to be interviewed
-

1. When did the All - Goa Banjara Samaj come into being?
2. What is the goal and objective of the ABS?
3. How does ABS address the specific needs and concerns of Lamani community?
4. What initiatives has ABS taken to promote the welfare of the community?
5. How does ABS plan to collaborate with other communities or organization to achieve common goal?

6. How does ABS involve and empower Lamani youths in decision making and political participation?
7. How does ABS envision fostering unity and representation for the diverse subgroups within the Lamani community?
8. What measures does ABS propose to address any discrimination or marginalization faced by the Lamani community in various spheres?
9. How ABS ensures gender inclusivity and representation, particularly addressing the concerns and aspirations of Lamani women?
10. How does ABS plan to engage with the younger generation to ensure their active involvement and representation in political association?

APPENDIX IV

A) A Field Visit at Zuarinagar



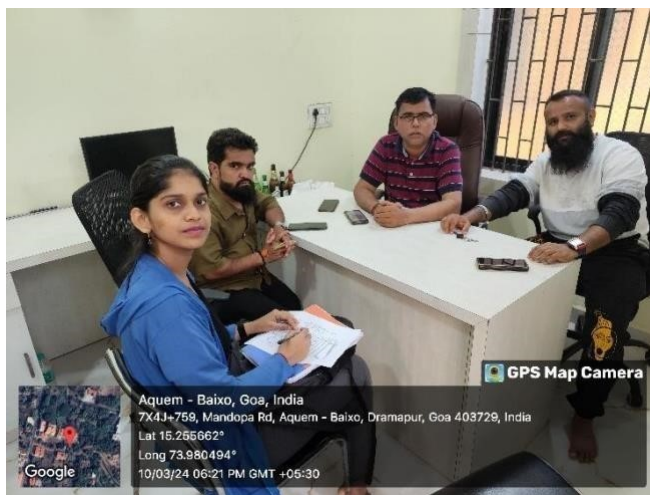
B) A Field visit at Mapusa



C) A Field visit at Calangute



D) Interviewing the leaders of All Goa Banjara Samaj






APPENDIX V

A) Personal Diary Report

M.A. DISSERTATION
POLITICAL SCIENCE PROGRAMME
D.D. KOSAMBI SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND BEHAVIOURAL STUDIES
GOA PROGRAMME
PERSONAL DIARY/ FIELD RECORD

Name of the Researcher: Saloni Boraulkar Name of the Guide: Ms. Prachi Naik
Title: Living under dual burden as lower ^{self} cast and migrants: A case study of Lonaris in Goa

SR. NO.	DATE	PLACE VISITED	PURPOSE OF VISIT	TIME	SIGNATURE OF OFFICIAL
1	10/3/2024	(ABS) Mangar	Interview	6:00 PM	
2	10/3/2024	Mangar	Interview	6:00 PM	
3	10/3/2024	Mangar	Interview	6:00 PM	
4	28/1/2024	Marpusa	Survey	4 PM to 6 PM	
5	18/2/2024	Marpusa	Survey	4 PM to 7 PM	
6	20/2/2024	Calangute	Survey	4 PM to 7 PM	
7	23/2/2024	Calangute (condom)	Survey	4 PM to 7 PM	
8	24/2/2024	Marpusa	Survey	4 PM to 7 PM	
9	25/2/2024	Marpusa	Survey	4 PM to 7 PM	
10	9/3/2024	Quilim Marisa	Survey	7 PM to 9 PM	
11	11/3/2024	Calangute	Survey	4 PM to 7 PM	
12	12/3/2024	Calangute Mangar	Survey	4 PM to 6 PM	
13	17/3/2024	Zuarnagar, Mangar	Survey	4 PM to 7 PM	
14	18/3/2024	Condolim	Survey	4 PM to 6 PM	
15	3/4/2024	Library (Wark G.V.)	Library work	10:55 to 12 PM	
16	4/4/2024	Library (Wark G.V.)	Library work	2:25 PM to 4 PM	
17					
18					
19					
20					

Signature of the Researcher:



Signature of the Guide:

