PASTORALISTS INSIDE-OUT: THE CONTRADICTORY CONCEPTUAL GEOGRAPHY OF RAJASTHAN'S RAIKA

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Pastoralism in Rajasthan, as elsewhere in India, has for many years been declared to be in a state of 'crisis'. Decline of pasturage and capitalisation of agricultural production regimes have long been identified as culprits in 'squeezing' the region's livestock producers out of the economy (Salzman 1986). Reports of the death of Rajasthani pastoralism, however, have been greatly exaggerated; livestock production in the region continues to boom and animal production remains closely tied to the increasingly capitalised agricultural system of the area. Indeed, the expansion of the agricultural economy, which has had a squeezing effect on pastoralism, has itself been enabled by the growth of the livestock economy. This contradiction, whereby pastoralism continues to grow 'inwards' towards the centre of the regional economy, even while it is increasingly pushed 'outwards' to its margins, marks an odd disparity in economic development.

In investigating this economic inversion, it becomes apparent that the contradictory state of affairs is a direct result of government development efforts. While overlooking pastoral development needs and discursively making pastoralists disappear, state officials have simultaneously built an agricultural land use system and export market that actually depends heavily on pastoralists. The eventual success of such an effort, pushing pastoralists 'out' onto the periphery that the state thinks herders already occupy, must lead to crises on the 'inside' of an agricultural economy that depends so much on pastoralism. The complex terrain of the pastoral economy, therefore, suggests the necessity for rethinking the conceptual apparatus with which pastoralism is described and understood.

Pastoralism in Rajasthan

This article draws upon several research projects conducted in the state of Rajasthan, India, between 1993 and 1999, but especially those in the Aravalli region of Godwar in the southern Pali district. The data referred to here are drawn from state-level statistics for Rajasthan, district-level data for the westernmost parts of the state (including Jodhpur, Barmer, Pali and Jaisalmer) and regional data for the Desuri and Bali subdistricts (*tehsils*) of Pali district, traditionally known as 'Godwar'.

These data were supplemented with two mixed-caste surveys of household production conducted in Godwar in 1998 and 1999. These surveys assessed household assets as well as resource-use patterns and plant species knowledge of

157 individuals, in eight villages bordering the Kumbhalgarh wildlife reserve in southern Pali, stratified to be representative of major local caste groups, including twenty women and eighteen foresters at varying stages of their careers and levels of bureaucracy (Robbins 2000a). The survey was administered in the homes of producers and queried species and species uses important to household production. The questionnaire also queried annual resource use and access, and scheduling of resource collection over the course of the year.

These data were supplemented with analysis of satellite imagery for the region from 1999, using SPOT satellite sensors, georectified at 22–metre resolution. The images were classified into six land use categories, using unsupervised classification of twenty-eight clusters, aggregated based on ground truth analysis of more than one hundred spatially stratified sites (see Robbins 2001).

This discussion focuses specifically on the sheep- and goat-herders of the Raika caste living in the western region of the state, and their relationship to agricultural production and the rural economy more generally. The conclusions of this summary, it can be argued, however, extend beyond this caste community and these geographic boundaries. The robust character of the pastoral economy throughout India has received increasing attention, at the same time as concerns have arisen concerning its sustainability and marginalisation. As such, the contradictions of Rajasthan's pastoral economy are echoed in the situation of other pastoral communities in India, including the Gujjar of western Uttar Pradesh and the Gaddi of the Himalaya. Pastoral development in India has begun to show more generally the increasingly tenuous political position of pastoralism within a growing pastoral economy.

Specifics about the Raika do set them apart, however, and are worth noting. As summarised by Kohler-Rollefson (1994), pastoralism in this region is historically market-oriented, integrated with cropping and typified by annual migration. Raika households keep permanent homes in agricultural villages that are frequently mixed-caste, from which they organise herding migration, with most Raika households including several semi- or fully itinerant members who take animals on migrations lasting from three to nine months. The incidence of permanent migration, where animals circulate continuously and do not return to the home village of the producer family at all, has increased over the last few decades (Robbins 1998b). The frequency of migration varies from regular or even annual migration to periodic or solely drought-driven movements, depending upon availability of local pasturage (Prasad 1994), local labour and capital (Agrawal 1999), and the presence of markets at migration destinations (Kavoori 1990; Kohler-Rollefson 1994).

Not all Raika are sheep- and goat- herders, and the caste was historically split into camel herding and small stock herding sub-castes, with the latter occupying a slightly less auspicious position in caste hierarchy (Singh 1993). Nevertheless, the greatest proportion of Raika households favours small stock management, keeping herds that range from a few animals to several hundred. This is especially

true in the southern Pali district of Rajasthan where, though still an important area for camel breeding, sheep and goat herding has come to dominate the pastoral economy in recent years.

Pastoralists Outside

Seen in terms of material and discursive indicators, Raika pastoralists in Rajasthan continue to fall outside the regional economy. The decreasing access of pastoralists to livestock forage resources and the increasing marginality of pastoralists in state development both indicate that pastoralists are on the periphery of regional production.

Declining Pasture: Quantity and Quality

By all reasonable measures, the loss of pasturage for the Raika has continued and indeed accelerated since Salzman (1986) summarised the problem in the mid-1980s. This dramatic loss of grazing resources has been precipitated by; (1) the expansion of cropping into previously uncropped lands; (2) the extension of double-cropping into fallow fields; and (3) the invasion of scrub forest, with low value as graze and browse, into community grazing lands. The first two changes represent a decrease in the quantity of pastureland; the last case reflects a decline in forage quality even where pasture persists.

In the first case, there has been a clear decline in the quantity of traditional grazing resources, including revenue waste land (those lands held by the State Revenue Department and set aside for potential future cropping); long-fallow fields (lands not cropped in the last decade); and permanent *gocher* pasturage (land held by under village authority for use by local herds). State census records for the southern Pali region for the period 1971 to 1992 show a nearly 50 percent decline in these categories of coverage, from eighty-one thousand to forty-two thousand hectares. This official statistic is confirmed by satellite image analysis, based upon a 900 square kilometre study area centred near the town of Sadri, straddling the Desuri/Bali area (Robbins 2001). In this area, grassland coverage, including permanent pasture and long-fallow land, declined by fifteen thousand hectares, 45 percent of the original total between 1986 and 1999.

Increased double cropping is a further culprit in lost fodder resources, since short fallows (those lands not cropped during the long dry season) have historically been an important component of annual grazing resources from January to May. The area under twice cropped land doubled between 1984 and 1992 according to a state census and tripled in the Sadri subsample region between 1986 and 1992 according to satellite analysis. The loss of fallow land represents a loss of key winter fodder, including both annuals and perennials preferred by small stock.

At the same time, some pasture persists locally, in the form of unconverted revenue wastes, village *gocher* lands, and *orans*, those lands associated with local Hindu goddesses or Muslim *pirs* (saints) and protected from tree-cutting by informal social sanctions (Gold 1989; Robbins 1998a). An invasive scrub tree ecology, however, dominated by *Prosopis juliflora* (Mexican mesquite, locally called Angrezi or 'English' *babul*), has increasingly overrun these lands. Originally introduced for soil erosion control, fuel-wood support and 'greening' of the desert, *juliflora* arguably has some value for the local environment and for poverty alleviation. With a low value as a browse for livestock, however, and germination inhibiting allelochemical leaf litter, the species grows quickly and stifles the reproduction of competing species, including other fodder trees and grasses. Satellite image analysis shows a 49 percent increase in the coverage of tree canopy in the region, almost all of which represents the rapid growth of *juliflora*.

Land-Cover Change and the State

These processes seem, on the surface, to be driven simultaneously by 'natural' or 'inevitable' economic forces and savannah succession processes. The rising national demand for cash crops, especially mustard and chillies, accounts for much of the winter cropping and its concomitant infringement on pasture land. So, too, the spread of *juliflora* is explained, at least in part, by the 'natural' advantages the species has over its indigenous counterparts as it invades areas traditionally used by pastoralists. But despite economic and biological tendencies, these land-cover changes overwhelmingly represent government development efforts and reflect the marginal position of pastoral production in the rural planning imaginary of the state.

In the case of agricultural intensification in southern Pali, state irrigation authorities have underwritten double cropping by impounding over twenty-eight thousand cubic meters since independence. Private well development followed on from these efforts in the last decade only after water tables rose as a result of state intervention. The resulting water resource surplus, however temporary, has allowed massive planting efforts on extensive fallow lands.

The spread of *juliflora* in southern Pali is also the result of modern government planning. Introduced into the subcontinent for the purposes of conservation forestry, the tree first appeared in the Sindh province of what is today Pakistan in 1878 and was brought to western Rajasthan in 1912 (Hocking 1993). Originally, the babul tree was viewed as the solution to a fuel-wood crisis. Despite the well known limits of the tree's fodder potential, it has been planted in hundreds of small village lots around the district. This aggressive invasive species has jumped the fence lines of plantations since its introduction, however. It has then spread at a rapid rate, establishing itself in monocultural stands, especially in village

community lands where no local or state institutions exist to manage and enforce its extraction, or provide vigilance against its return. The relative absence of official concern over the matter has itself been a product of state incentive structures in forestry. The loss of grazing land to the species is a matter of little concern to natural resource management authorities whose institutional incentive to 'green' the desert outweighs concerns about the perilous decline of pastoral resources (Robbins 1998c, 2000a).

At the same time, pastoral access to indigenous forests in the region, long a crucial part of herding strategy in the region, is increasingly challenged. The Reserved Forest belt of southern Pali has remained state land since before Indian independence in 1947, but varying modes of administration culminated in the creation of the Kumbhalgarh Wildlife Sanctuary in 1986, a 562-square-kilometre conservation zone where herding is tolerated, but fodder coppicing and collection are illegal (Chief Wildlife Warden 1996). The tensions between herders and foresters in the reserve have long been acute. The murder of a forester nine years ago is alleged to have been sparked by a conflict with herders over tree coppice within the reserve. Foresters generally report Raika pastoralists to be one of the most troublesome local communities for the state. Additionally, local village forest protection committees, which are organise d and made up of a cross-caste membership appointed by the Forest Department, have up to now not included any Raika members and have recently ruled to turn away herders from outside the area.

Pastoralism Discursively Outside

Taken together, these state-directed efforts to 'reclaim' the desert through forest preservation, agricultural intensification and resource conservation have been arguably lackadaisical regarding, or even hostile to, pastoral development needs. The pastoral economy of Rajasthan received 161 million Rupees (around 4.5 million U.S. dollars) in the 1996–1997 state development budget (Government of India, Department of Economics and Statistics 1997). This represents 5.5 percent of the state's agricultural budget, in comparison to 39 percent for crop husbandry and agricultural extension and 30 percent for forestry. Even here, the development efforts for livestock commonly represent ongoing efforts to create settled, intensified, feed-shed livestock systems with hybrid animals; such efforts are aimed at settled agriculturists, are oriented exclusively towards dairy production and have failed repeatedly (Kohler-Rollefson and Rathore 1998).

This trend grows directly from a vision of the Rajasthani economy in which pastoralists simply do not exist. For development planners, pastoral communities contribute little to, and remain essentially on the outside of, the regional economy. Most texts and proceedings on 'dryland development' in India (see for example Mensching and Sharma 1984) are insistently silent on the question of traditional pastoral communities. Such groups as the Raika, when they do appear, are usually described as archaic and minor participants in the region's economic life.

It would seem as though, therefore, pastoralists remain on the outside of and irrelevant to the 'new' desert economy, which is to be built on high water inputs, high yielding varieties, cash crops, crossbred livestock and state forestry, to lever an intensified and capitalised boom in the region. Such an impression would be grossly misleading, however, since pastoral production remains very much at the centre of the regional economy, and the growth of new markets and production systems continues to depend on pastoralists.

Pastoralists Inside

Despite this typical characterisation of the extensive pastoral economy as a 'remnant' part of an earlier system of production, and despite the decreasing availability of inputs for pastoralism, the livestock economy of Rajasthan continues to boom. Furthermore, it sits at the centre of the agricultural economy, providing economic inputs and outputs that put it on a par with other sectors of the regional economy. Fertiliser inputs produced in livestock production increasingly offset the massive nutrient losses due to soil mining from agricultural intensification. Further, meat-animal outputs are an increasingly large part of the regional economy.

Intensification: Dependency on Pastoral Fertiliser Inputs

Agricultural intensification is the universally stated goal of the Indian Development State. Unlike the more humid regions of Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, however, intensification in the drylands is less a matter of increasing yields in any given crop, than one of extensifying cropland coverage into uncropped areas and enabling multiple cropping on lands that had previously supported only rainy-season production. In this direction, as noted previously, the state has made great strides. The massive increase in irrigation, the spread of dry-season crop coverage and the farming of 'waste', lands has greatly increased overall yield indexes in the region (Government of India, Department of Economics and Statistics 1997).

However, an increase in water inputs is not the only requirement for the success of the intensification program. The Calciorthid Aridisols of the western Rajasthan region are already poor in the availability of nitrogen and potassium, and increased cropping mines the available soil nutrients (Singhania and Somani 1992; Mongia and Bandyopadhyay 1993). Dryland Green Revolution technology, based on industrial urea supplied in extension packages by the state to offset nutrient declines, promises to remove the '*natural* limitation of crop production, i.e. a supply of nutrients from the soil' (Pandey et al. 1987: 90). This view of soil dynamics overlooks a central fact: the nutrients that support traditional dryland agriculture do not originate in the soil, but are brought to the soil as nutrient subsidies (including nitrogen, phosphorus, potassium and lime) in the form of livestock dung, especially that of goats and sheep. Experimental treatments under

test farm conditions further demonstrate the efficacy of dung and urine inputs (Williams and Haynes 1995; Powell et al. 1998; Devendra 1999).

Moreover, agricultural producers throughout the region report that industrial fertiliser inputs are inadequate to support sustained double and triple cropping, notwithstanding extension agents' claims. According to most irrigated agricultural producers in southern Pali, the fertility of twice cropped land dramatically falls off in the year following urea deposition and production becomes difficult to sustain, even under subsequent fertiliser loadings. Farmers explain that the urea 'burns' or draws the 'heat' from the soil. As a result, all producers prefer goat and sheep dung (*mingni*) to industrial fertiliser. Curiously, this preference of traditional inputs is in fact as great or greater in capitalised, intensified cash-crop farming.

Figure 1 shows the nutrient exchange system in capitalised agriculture in southern Pali with estimates of annual quantities based on interviews with farmers and herders. Herders, keeping anywhere between forty and five hundred animals, herd their small stock daily into the forest and, seasonally, into fallow fields in the area. Here, plant nutrients are turned in to an easily deliverable nutrient form. Half of that nutrient, in the form of *mingni*, is left 'unharvested' in the forest and fields during the day. The other half is deposited in pens where animals are stalled nightly. The latter is then collected and stored in enormous piles visible in every village. Each animal produces approximately 84 kg of night-stalled *mingni* per year.

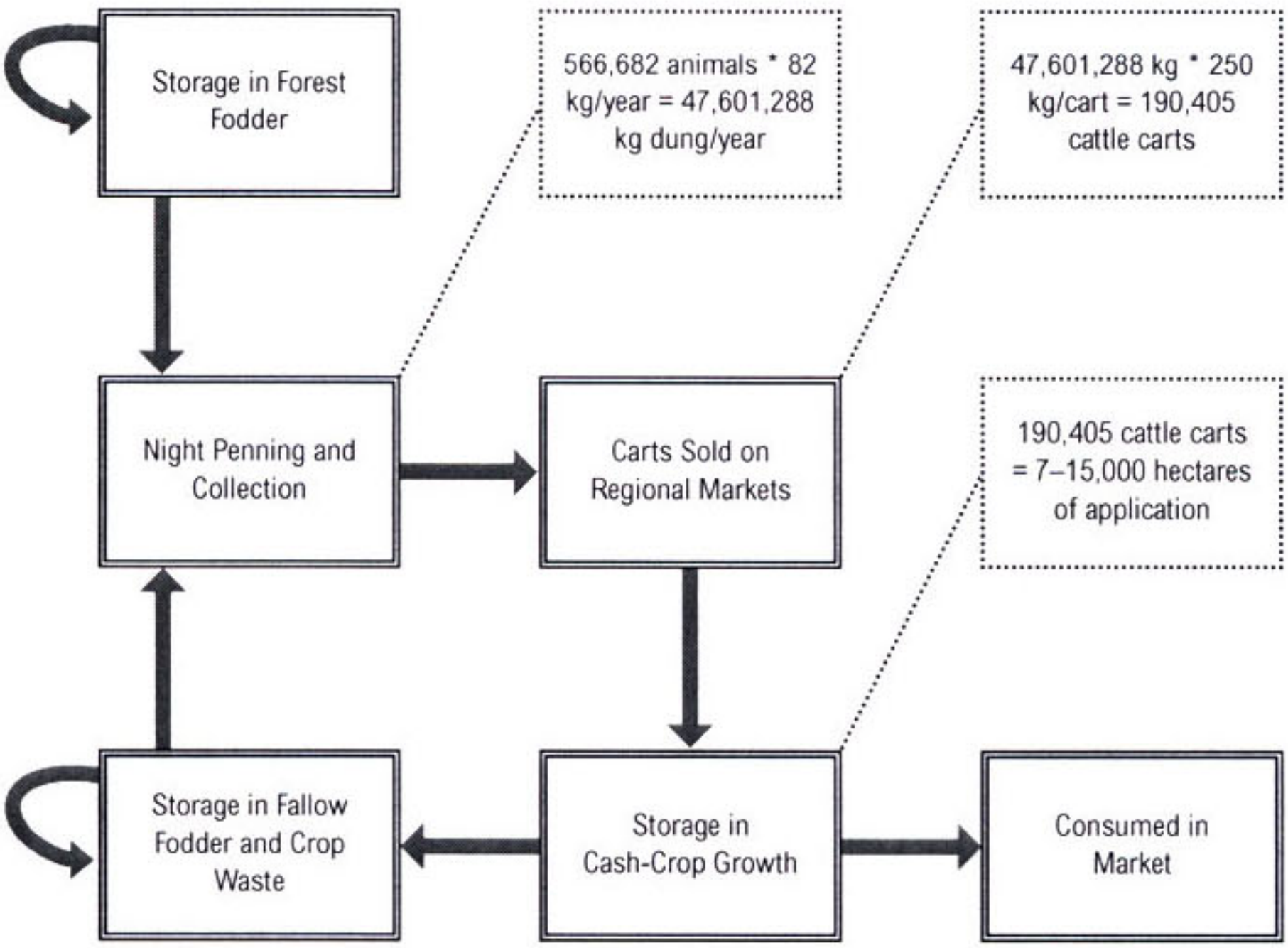

Figure 1: *Nutrient Cycling in the Agropastoral Economy*

Generally, one *bigha* (0. 16 hectares) of twice cropped land requires between two and four cattle carts (500–1000 kg) sewn into the soil prior to planting. This application is usually good for the entire year, even, on occasion, two years. The cost of between 200 and 225 Indian Rupees (US$ 4.88–$5.49) per cattle cart (or that value in wheat) is paid directly to the pastoralist. The 1993 Godwar population of 566,682 small stock therefore produced roughly 47,601,288 kg of *mingni*, equal to 190,405 cattle carts or between 48,000 and 95,000 *bighas* (7,700–15,000 hectares) of application. If that were all sold, it would represent a fertiliser economy in the tens of millions of Rupees within the two subdistricts (*tehsils*) of Godwar alone. Even half that quantity puts *mingni* sales on a par with almost all other major commodity markets in the area.

Moreover, with 28,665 hectares under double cropping in 1992, *mingni* contributes between 27 and 52 percent of fertiliser inputs into the cash-crop agricultural system. The pastoral nutrient cycling system, which accompanies the growth of high-demand cotton, chilli and mustard crops, drives a considerable proportion of the agricultural system and contributes significantly to the cash economy through nutrient transactions.

Capitalisation: Booming Markets

Simultaneously, the animal economy is driving a steadily increasing supply of meat for a bottomless market within and outside the region. The capitalisation of rural agriculture is supported by the prominent position of animals in the larger economy. Pastoralists in particular are the centre of a national meat-product boom. The total value of meat exports from India rose from 2 million U.S. dollars in 1960 to 200 million in 1997, putting the value of meat exports on a par with more traditional Indian exports like jute (U.S. $2155 million), tobacco (U.S. $213 million), and fruit and vegetables (U.S. $233 million). The leather and skin trade has long been a major export earner and in 1997 export earnings in this sector totalled U.S. $1.5 billion, far surpassing the value of exports in rice, cotton, sugar, spices, tea or machinery (Government of India, Ministry of Finance 1998). Animals are big business for India. National consumption of animal products is also high and growing. The rate of vegetarianism in India varies greatly by state, with nonvegetarians making up between 30 and 95 percent of varying state populations (Achaya 1994). Urban middle-class meat consumption is on the rise, as is the spread of fast-food restaurants serving goat and sheep meat around the country (Reitman 1993; Robbins 1999).

Regionally, arid Rajasthan contributes heavily to this economy. The arid state holds 10 percent of the total livestock population in India, but probably contributes a considerably higher proportion of animals into the national meat and skin economy, given its high and growing proportion of small stock, which represents nearly 20 percent of the national total (Government of India, Department of Economics and Statistics 1997). The western districts of the state, in particular, are historically regions with a high proportion of pastoral specialist castes, especially

Raika and Sindhi herders. These westernmost districts also have relatively higher numbers of animals per capita, especially small stock, and hold a growing concentration of the region's livestock. Between 1961 and 1997, the proportion of the state's population of sheep held in these desert districts rose from 21 to 30 percent, the proportion of the state's goats rose from 18 to 24 percent, and cattle from 10 to 13 percent. Figure 2 shows the upswing in the population of small stock in the southern Pali region and the increasing ratio of females to males in the regional herd. The first feature is largely a result of the previously described markets for animal products and byproducts, coupled with the declining availability of the high-quality grassy fodder favoured by large stock. The second feature, dramatically changing herd ratios, reflects the lower relative number of males in the herd, resulting from the slaughter, at a younger age, of male animals for the meat market. These herds, it is increasingly clear, are destined for cash markets.

The degree to which traditional pastoral communities hold these small stock in Rajasthan and supply these markets varies over districts and communities; livestock holding is becoming a common feature for nontraditional pastoralists in the region as households diversify their subsistence bases and capitalise on growing markets (Robbins 2000a, b). Nevertheless, in Pali and other western

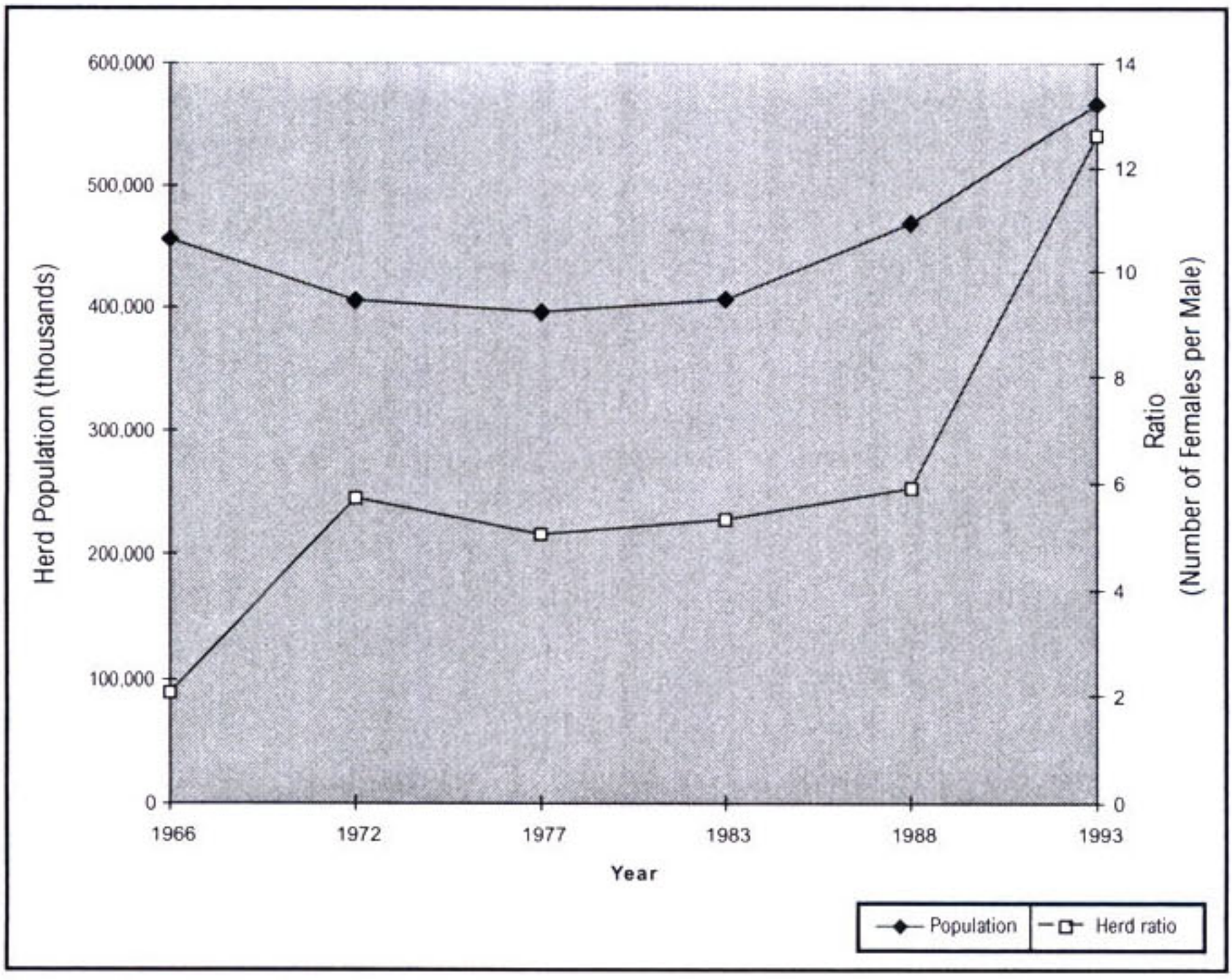

Figure 2: *Regional Herd Demography: Small Stock in Southern Pali 1966–1993*

districts, traditional pastoral castes, especially Raika, continue to dominate in the managing and marketing of large herds of small stock (Prasad 1994; Agrawal 1999).

Research in additional sectors suggests that pastoralists sit in the centre of other strands of the Indian economy. Traction power in agriculture continues to depend heavily upon livestock (George 1990). Nongovernmental organisations working with Raika also report that increased fuel prices tend to result in continued demand for camel traction, even in highly mechanised agriculture, though formal statistics are unavailable. Demand for camels often outpaces supply at the larger annual camel marketing fairs (Kohler-Rollefson 1999; Kohler-Rollefson and Rathore 1999). Milk demands and marketing are increasingly managed through non-traditional urban dairies, though milk continues to be an important product for pastoral communities. Markets for goat milk are poorly recorded in official state statistics, however. Camel milk marketing is on the increase too, with peri-urban camel herds providing milk to tea stalls and hotels in both the states of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, though it too is poorly tracked (Kohler-Rollefson 1997).

In sum, for a nation with a quickly expanding animal economy, the pastoralists of the arid and semi-arid regions of Rajasthan sit at the centre of a booming economy. The products of pastoral labour are finding their way into local, regional, and international markets. The degree to which the integration of pastoralists into regional and global capitalism has created new modes of pastoral production is an important question, if beyond the bounds of this inquiry (Koster and Chang 1994). Nevertheless, pastoralists in Rajasthan are clearly very much inside the growing Indian economy.

Looking Out from Inside: The Contradiction of Pastoral Development

However, because pastoral populations, in the imagination of planners, occupy the 'fringes' of development, even as their labour and products form the centre of a thriving capitalised economy, state development efforts continue to bypass the very producers, pastoralists, whose products undergird this economy. The proportion of development funding for livestock support in traditionally livestock-dependent Rajasthan, as noted earlier, is small and dwindling.

Ironically, the imagination of the Indian development state, which places pastoralists 'outside' the economy, mimics the discourse of critical scholarship in pastoral studies which, though politically sympathetic to pastoral concerns, places pastoralists 'on the periphery' (Chang and Koster 1994). The substance of the two arguments is, of course, quite distinct. While the former perspective, which is founded in state development ideology, insists that pastoralists are essentially unimportant to the economy, the latter perspective, which is Marxian in outlook, emphasises only the disempowered nature of pastoralists relative to the 'core' of

the capitalist space economy. Both, however, view the world through the modernist lens of inevitable progress, insisting on the relict nature of precapitalist economies, and the way the 'inside' or 'core' affects those who live either 'outside' the economy or on its fringes.

Reflection on the situation of the pastoralists of Rajasthan supports the latter view to a degree. The state has built an increasingly intensified agricultural system and an export-oriented meat and skin economy on the back of pastoralists, while simultaneously removing the ecological supports for the reproduction of that very pastoral economy.

Thus, while state development posits (and works towards) an end to extensive production systems such as pastoralism, it builds an intensive production system that depends on these very pastoralists. In Marxian terms, this represents O'Connor's 'second contradiction of capitalism' where depletion of the conditions of production leads to a crisis of underproduction (O'Connor 1996). In this case, there seems to be a required depletion of natural and human capital in the form of lost pasturage, long fallow and sacred *oran* forests, which form the underpinnings of the expanding capitalised economy its conditions of production. Such aggressive extraction must lead to a contradictory decline in supplies of dung nutrients, meat, traction and milk which all support the greater whole, ultimately leading to regional underproduction, scarcity and crisis.

It also seems clear, as materialist analysis would suggest, that the articulation of pastoral production with the market economy has transformed pastoral society and economics, both in terms of the 'mode of production' and the social relations within the economy. In this regard, the observed pastoral 'resource transition' in neighbouring Gujarat is also clearly in evidence here. In this transition, as described by Cincotta and Pangare (1994), livestock 'waste' (manure in particular), begins to dominate the economy rather than livestock 'products', such as milk. Pastoralism thereby becomes a 'livelihood sustained through servicing agricultural systems as agents for rapid nutrient cycling and nutrient transport' (Cincotta and Pangare 1994: 33), in which pastoral economies are marginalised, even while pastoral labour is recruited in the larger transition to a more highly capitalised system.

However, to surrender entirely to such a theory, where larger markets and state actions harness pastoralism while slowly making it irrelevant, would be a mistake. Neither O'Connor's insistence on ultimate crisis, nor Cincotta and Pangare's prediction of pastoral irrelevance have yet been observed in Rajasthan. The traditional pastoral specialists of Rajasthan have clearly found a position nested within regional institutions to both capitalise on growing markets and to bend the economy in their direction. Pastoral Raika, most notably, while often describing themselves in a position of poverty, have quietly amassed small fortunes as they protect their dominant role in providing pastoral products to an apparently limitless demand (Agrawal 1999). Many agricultural groups, especially lower-caste smallholders from traditionally nonagricultural communities (like the

Meghwal/Chamar caste), who are not so well positioned in this transformation, are increasingly dependent on livestock production and are experiencing escalating poverty similar to that of 'peripheral' pastoralists (Robbins 2000a).

Ultimately, then, both the state's image of pastoralists on the 'outside' of the economy and the critical view of herders on the 'periphery' share the same mistaken optic. This view of an 'outside' pastoralism interacting with a fixed 'inside' is itself an historical relic, inherited from colonial views of pastoral production, posited as they were in a colonial 'surveillance modality'. Here, 'people whose practices threatened the prescribed sociological order ... appeared by their nature to wander beyond the boundaries of settled civil society', necessitating 'special instrumentalities' to fix and bound them (Cohn 1996: 10). Such social technologies include social scientific assessments that require such categories as inside and out, core and periphery. The modern categories of the state and its Marxian critics, therefore, both stem from a common colonial discourse.

Whether it is the case, then, that it is the pastoralists of Rajasthan themselves who are 'inside'-looking towards an 'outside world' (following Khazanov 1983), or whether instead any such binaries inhibit a clear understanding of socio-economic change, the view of Rajasthani pastoralists outside the Indian economy is a problematic one. For development planning in southern Pali, this view has meant a fundamental failure to see the link between of the developing agrarian economy and the realm of pastoral production upon which it depends. For critical scholarship that insists on viewing pastoralists as 'marginal', it means a limited and somewhat confused basis for intervention. The case of the Raika in this way underlines the importance of putting the inherited conceptual geographies of pastoral scholarship under scrutiny.

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