



INTERNATIONAL  
STANDARD  
SERIAL  
NUMBER  
INDIA

2395-2636 (Print):2321-3108 (online)

## HUMAN INTERVENTION AND DESTRUCTION OF NATURE IN PANKAJ SEKHSARIA'S *THE LAST WAVE, JARAWA TRIBAL RESERVE DOSSIER*

HEBA FARHEEN

Research Scholar, School of English, Gangadhar Meher University, Odisha, India

DOI: [10.33329/rjelal.12.1.149](https://doi.org/10.33329/rjelal.12.1.149)



### Article info

Article Received:10/01/2024

Article Accepted: 13/02/2024

Published online:01/03/2024

### Abstract

In this paper the focus is on the violation of Human Rights, and exploitation of natural resources in Andaman and Nicobar Islands, as depicted in the novels of Pankaj Sekhsaria. In the novel the writer tries to showcase how the tribal people are losing ground and are getting dispossessed from their original land. This paper also analyses how in the name of the civilizing mission, the outsiders are encroaching into their land, and are exploiting them with drugs, human safari etc. Such a practice is akin to a new kind of colonialism in a time when the colonization by foreigners in this part of the world has come to an end. In this context, this article makes an attempt to highlight the situation and to expose the colonial practices of acquiring the 'empty land' or terra nullis for production practices. While doing so, this article shall also highlight such activities result in the associated disasters of, human exploitation, cultural dislocation and ultimately, an overall environmental crisis becoming seriously detrimental to humanity.

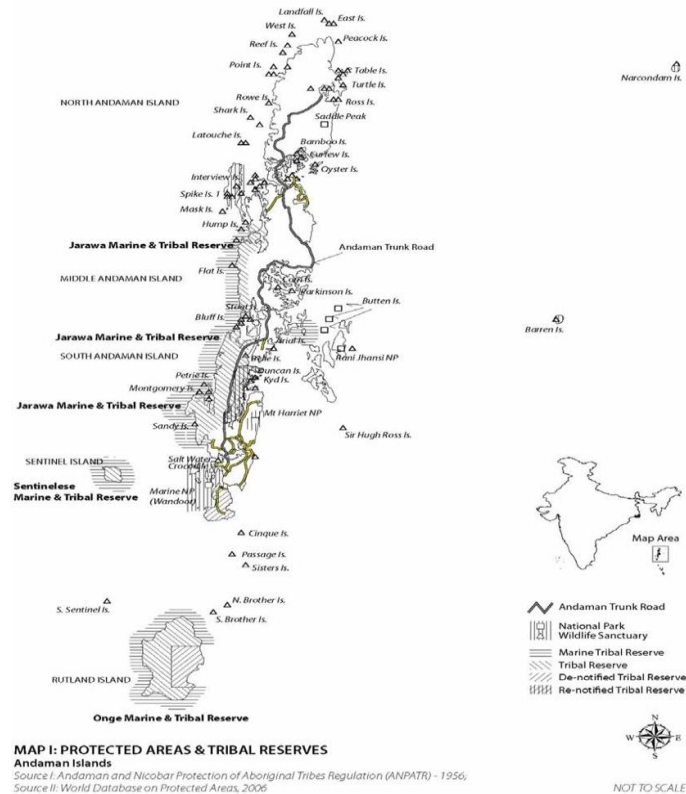
Keywords: tribes, encroachment, terra nullis, land rights, human safari, drugs, human rights

The Governor of India issued the Andaman and Nicobar Islands Protection of Aboriginal Tribes Regulations (ANPATR) in June 1956. According to this statute, the chief commissioner of the islands might designate some regions inhabited by aboriginal tribes as exclusively for their usage. Additional duties to prohibit the alienation of tribal land and control the encroachment of "non-tribals" into designated tribal area were also transferred.<sup>1</sup> Following his appointment as chief commissioner, the commissioner moved quickly to reserve some parts of the Andaman and Nicobar group of islands for tribal communities on April 2, 1957 (see Map 1).<sup>2</sup> Large areas of land are

recognised as "exclusive tribal territory," and the rule "guaranteed the protection of tribal culture by law,"<sup>3</sup> according to conventional wisdom, which interprets the ANPATR's official adoption favourably.<sup>4</sup> Reading the regulation at face value, this interpretation is unduly optimistic. The government's interpretation of tribal territory was shaped by agricultural colonisation, which is not taken into account. Furthermore, it appears from the actual language of the ordinance and the way it was subsequently put into practice that it established the legal foundation for the enslavement and eviction of native tribes rather than providing them with protection. In this way, the

historical exclusion of "primitive" tribes and "backward tribal areas" from all forms of self-government during colonial India must be understood in the context of the protection of

indigenous tribes in the Andaman Islands. These groups eventually found an afterlife in independent India under special provisions created for "schedule areas."<sup>15</sup>



By means of a contextualised interpretation of the ANPATR and its mobilisation efforts in the Andaman Islands from 1956 to 1979, I will propose that this legal protection measure was intended to transform tribes that were viewed as primitive and lawless into subjects of the law rather than citizens with rights.

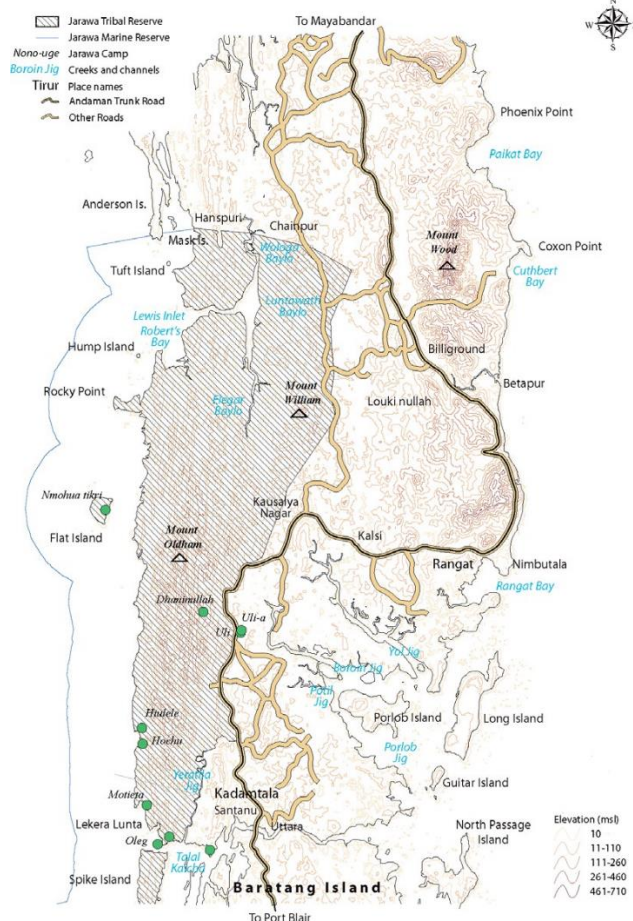
The colonisation of the Andaman Islands by mainland residents was far advanced by the time the Government of India issued the ANPATR in 1956. The impacted tribes and civil society groups, who have been instrumental in shaping government policy towards the Jarawas<sup>vi</sup> in recent years, did not make any specific demands that prompted the government to give the protection. This unilateral "protection" provided to native tribes made sense in the current national framework of the Indian Union's territorial reorganisation, which was made possible by the State Reorganisation Act of 1956, despite being in opposition to the local context of

rapidly spreading colonisation. A Union Territory designation was given to the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. In the midst of a territorial inventory and administrative restructuring, the Andaman Islands were already split among forested areas, thought to be inhabited by "hostile" or merely "primitive" aboriginal people, and settled areas, where the state maintained a presence. Although Forest Department workers frequently visited the forests to harvest timber, there was no ongoing state presence in the forests. After work in a certain area was finished, even the tramlines used for extraction were "pulled up immediately."<sup>vii</sup> Consequently, the 1957 proclamation by the Chief Commissioner designating specific regions as tribal reserves recognised the actual state of affairs. Referencing the boundaries of "tribal territory" was done without consulting the relevant tribes about their customs and land use in the past. The rule did nothing more than give existing colonial and

settlement borders—maintained by brutal policing—legal form.

In the Middle and South Andamans, this was especially true in the Jarawa Tribal Reserve. Before the notice was sent, these regions had become centres for the confinement of the "hostile" Jarawas. Bush police camps delineated the boundaries of the reserve with the intention of safeguarding residents. Since the Government of India's plans to relocate refugees to "empty" territories are to blame, these settlements and the boundaries of tribal land are relatively recent. As an example, consider the South Andaman region of Tirur, which saw settlement between 1949 and 1952. <sup>viii</sup> It's considered that this

is Jarawa territory where the boundaries of the farmed fields merge with the hills. Four bush police camps that separated "their" territory from the settlers' provided protection to the settlements. <sup>ix</sup> Initiated in 1952, the first five-year plan was designed to settle displaced people from eastern Pakistan. The idea included creating new villages in the Middle Andamans and a forty-five-man bush police unit to deter Jarawas attacks. <sup>x</sup> Settled in the Rangat and Kadamtala regions of the Middle Andamans between 1952 and 1956, the new settlements of Uttara, Santanu, and Kalsi effectively signalled the entry of settled agriculture into wooded areas (see Map 2).



MAP VIIc: MIDDLE ANDAMAN ISLAND  
JARAWA CAMPSITES RECORDED BY ASI, ZSI & BSI  
Source: Anthropological, Zoological and Botanical Surveys of India as reported in the 2003 Expert Committee Report submitted to the Kolkata High Court.

NOT TO SCALE

The extent to which these forests were "empty" prior to this, meaning the Jarawas were not living there, is debatable, especially considering that an increasing number of bush police officers were required to keep the Jarawas at bay after that. A string of fourteen Bush Police installations, manned

by 140 soldiers, was maintained along the eastern boundary of Jarawa land by 1957 in order to stop the Jarawa people from invading the colonisation region. <sup>11</sup> 82% Administrative jargon had it that these areas became "frequented" by the Jarawas, but ironically, they were never called their "occupied" or

"inhabited" zones.<sup>12</sup> When the refugees who came to these territories spoke about how they were pioneers, they frequently show less caution about how their presence would affect the Jarawas. There were no settlements here, according to Kalsi settler Shukharanjan Mridha, who I spoke with in 2007. They owned the jungle in its entirety. We were brought over and settled when the colony was established in their territories. The ANPATR provided the legal foundation for regularisation, which was necessary given the previous and brutal history of indigenous displacement and refugee relocation. When the chief commissioner unilaterally imposed a bounded region on the indigenous populations on April 2, 1957, in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, he surely created "a discourse of power, obedience and authority" by designating certain areas as "reserved."<sup>13</sup>

*Seema too had replied 'When small nomadic, forest-dwelling populations come in contact with sedentary, high density populations, there is always the chance that they will be infected with diseases that might be common in the settled communities. Measles is a classic example, what's very surprising is that the Andamans and the Andamanese never featured in whatever little we studied at university. Australia yes, Fiji yes, Amazonia yes, but the Andamans? Never. And from the little I know and understand, the present Jarawa-settler interface is exactly this- the developments at Kadamtala that you witnessed, the interactions in Tirur, God alone knows what else is going on- it could be a time-bomb waiting to explode. The fuse perhaps has already been lit.' (127)*

Nevertheless, more significantly, he was also legitimising the violent and recent history of marginalisation of the Jarawas through the use of law as a mechanism of rule. Interpreted appropriately, the ANPATR represents a legal embodiment of the settler-colonial force shaping the Andaman Islands' postcolonial history.

This interpretation of the ANPATR as a colonising tool and its mobilisation as acts of

"lawfare"—an attack on indigenous life carried out through the language and idiom of law—is supported by a closer examination of the text.<sup>14</sup> The ANPATR's eleven clauses address management and occupation of tribal territory. Legal restrictions on land sales and transfers, non-tribal ownership and usage of tribal land, and the presence and commercial activity of non-aboriginal people within reserve regions are a few of these. The necessity of maintaining tribal culture and autonomy was not mentioned at all. It also rejected the notion of any autonomous right to land or indigenous title. Rather than achieving this goal, the rule expanded the Indian state's total control over all facets of the management and demarcation of land inhabited by tribes in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The chief commissioner had the authority to redraw the tribal reserve's boundaries whenever he deemed fit, without seeking input from others or facing appeals. Comparably, clause four of the Act, which forbade anyone who was not a member of an aboriginal tribe from receiving conserved land for agricultural reasons, included a proviso allowing the chief commissioner to deviate from the norm.<sup>15</sup>

All he had to do was ensure that the land was deemed "not required" by the indigenous people, or that its distribution was deemed "in the public interest."<sup>16</sup> Both the movement of non-tribal individuals and their commercial activity within reserve regions, as well as the sale of reserved land to non-aboriginals, were prohibited without the chief commissioner's approval. Rather than being issued under unusual circumstances, these penalties and authorizations were now standard procedures for governance. By April 1957, the Andaman and Nicobar government had established particular guidelines and protocols that allowed settlers to apply for permits to visit the reserve regions and licences to trade in particular products, like betel nuts and coconuts. Both the exchange rates and the fees that needed to be paid were predetermined.<sup>17</sup>

In addition, a 1960 revision waived the requirement for government employees to apply for a pass in order to enter the reserves "while proceeding on duty to a reserved area."<sup>18</sup> This may be interpreted as an attempt to cut back on pointless red tape, but strangely, the same legislation also



excluded all members of the government employees' families from applying for passes. The term "family" was used to describe the broadest range of individuals, including parents, siblings, and spouses in addition to children. In other words, this set the stage for subordinate workers—particularly forest workers and bush police officers and their families—to misuse their positions of authority.

They had a special chance to take advantage of the land and the people for financial gain because they were the only authorised outsiders in the tribal reserves. Consequently, the ANPATR unintentionally created an environment that encouraged poaching, the illegal settlement extension into tribal territories, and the infamous Jarawa "safaris," in which tourists stare, take pictures, record videos, and throw food at nearly nude Jarawas.<sup>19</sup>

*Lekra lunta is the place where ice was supposed to be broken. The contact parties of the administration were basically bunch of jokers who came to drop gifts-coconuts, plastic items, red cloth.. initially, the Jarawa on the coast always showered the visitors with arrows. Then it changed. First the accepted gifts, later members of the party landed on beach to intermingle and interact with the Jarawas. Anil Tripathy an anthropologists working with the Tribal Welfare Department with a bloody spine. He called these contact parties as jamborees. These were indeed parties where the main aim of the men - was to have fun and make contact with Jarawa women. They would boast how many women they had touched and where. He described this mission as "you drop gifts and they pick them up. It's like throwing grain and then waiting to snare the birds. The Jarawas got snared. They lost their freedom. Forever."(TLW137)*

The fact that Ranchiwallas, or labourers hired on short-term contracts by the Forest Department or the Department of Public Works, are responsible for a disproportionately high number of illegal "encroachments" into the Jarawa Tribal

Reserve and come from the Oraon, Munda, and Kharia tribes in the Chotonagpur region, is noteworthy.<sup>20</sup>

The fact that the voice ordering the Jarawa girls to dance in return for food in a recent video that exposed the world to the crudeness of the Jarawa safaris belonged to a man who was variously identified as a government employee, a member of the Indian army, or the local police is equally significant.<sup>21</sup>

*we come across European photo journalist who pays any amount to get the photos of naked tribal women. It's normally happen in house. The inhabitants lured by money. They normally show the way out. Here Michael Ross an European photo-journalist from London on assignment with The Bangkok Mail. Previously too a French guy also a photo-journalist who had taken picture from the Sarawak forests wanted to get those Jarawa pictures. He secretly too ten to fifteen pictures, of the Jarawa women. The corniest was a wide-angled picture of a well-proportioned Jarawa woman reclining in the crystal waters of the coast, her head resting on her hand, her breasts thrusting into the camera. He'd obviously got her to do it. Shameless voyeurism, complete vulgarity. "An innocent creature of mother nature, in the virgin coast of the Andaman Islands."(TLW 153)*

Neither the Onge nor the Jarawa were able to exercise any form of political or economic rights thanks to the ANPATR. In this way, it carried on the colonial legal system that provided protection to the Indian communities classified as "tribes" in place of self-representation.<sup>22</sup> The Scheduled Districts Act of 1874 and the Government of India Act of 1935, which established and upheld a distinct legal framework for the tribal areas and variously categorised them as "non-regulation tracts," "scheduled districts," "backward areas," and "excluded areas," provided this protection.<sup>23</sup> The central claim of these laws was that the local tribal populations were exploitable by the nearby caste

Hindus because they were too primitive or backward to be able to exercise political self-representation. In the pretext of "protection," it mostly served to uphold direct colonial administration and prohibit any kind of representative politics in indigenous territories. Through its fifth and sixth schedules, the Indian Constitution upheld the legal pluralism that denied tribes complete political agency. Within the Indian states, scheduled and tribal areas were established as unique legal exception zones. For instance, the governor of a given state may restrict the application of current laws or impose specially crafted regulations on the scheduled area under his jurisdiction, as per the provisions of Article 244 (1) of the Fifth Schedule of the Constitution of India, which dealt with the administration of tribal areas in all of India with the exception of the Northeast. This approach of advancing tribal welfare and protection through neocolonial benign dictatorship was carried to the Andaman Islands by the ANPATR.<sup>24</sup> The top commissioner in the Andamans was tasked with taking on the role of the kind-hearted ruler.

In the Andaman Islands, however, the chief commissioner was free to enact laws pertaining to tribal welfare without being constrained by the need to consult or even notify the indigenous tribes, in contrast to the rest of India, where the governor was required to confer with a Tribes Advisory Council.<sup>25</sup> The chief commissioner of the tribal reserves invoked the ANPATR, but the changes he made were, for the most part, summary reductions of reserved areas to make room for new settlements. This is not surprising, considering the strong push to support settler-led development of the Andaman Islands.

A notification in 1959 changed the eastern boundary of the Jarawa Tribal Reserve in the Middle Andamans, essentially giving the Forest Department the authority to draw the new "imaginary line" wherever it pleased. According to the notice's wording, the Forest Department was given free reign to eat away at the Jarawa reserve as long as "enough land" was "left" to "provide enough hunting ground to Jarawas while they are on the move." However, "the suitability of such alignment, from the point of view of water and terrain, as a patrol path" had to be weighed against the needs of the Jarawas.<sup>26</sup> A

series of announcements in the 1970s changed the borders of the tribal reserves.<sup>27</sup> Rutland Island was de-notified in 1973, and a sizable portion of Little Andaman Island's eastern shore was taken out of reserve areas 97 in 1972.<sup>28</sup> The Jarawa Tribal Reserve was de-notified in 1979, encompassing the whole area east of the recently built Andaman Trunk Road in South Andaman Island.<sup>29</sup> The road passes directly through the tribal reserve. All of these modifications amounted to post facto legalisations of encroachment into tribal areas, and they were all a part of the 1965 Andamans "accelerated development" plans, which were carried out by the same officials tasked with "protecting" the native populace.

*The changes found in the Andaman Trunk Road noticed by Harish. New type of Jarawa tourism came to foreplay. It was actually taken as an opportunistic local tourism. The advertisement was wide and the promotions was blatant, often outrageous. 'See and feel the primitive dark tribe of the Andaman forests; A once in a life time opportunity of meeting primitive naked people.'* (226)

*The Jarawa Tourism business was blooming. It had Enchanting Islands package. There was sharp rise in hosting charges for private vehicles in Port Blair. It not only offered an opportunity to see the primitive dark people, but also take photograph with them. They can even do some good deed by providing coconuts, bananas, biscuits. Even tobacco and booze wa offered. Even the placards read the following instructions:*

*Don't break the convoy*

*Don't honk loudly*

*Don't over speed beyond 40kmph*

*Don't overtake inside the Jarawa Reserve*

*Don't stop anywhere on the Andaman Trunk Road*

*Don't give any eatables to the Jarawa*

*Photography and videography of the Jarawa is strictly prohibited*

*What the annihilator feel? How would he himself feel when the Jarawa were no more? Not because he wanted them to be vanquished, but because he could do nothing about their slide into oblivion. The world he belonged to did not want to annihilate the Jarawa, but it did not seem to know better.'(TLW 237)*

This is where the paradox of the "protection" the Indian government provided for the indigenous Andaman tribes resides. For outsiders appointed as protectors, it established a range of unique abilities, regular duties, and tasks. It is very likely that the Jarawas were not informed of the terms of their own protection, including the boundaries of the Jarawa Tribal Reserve, as local administration had little to no grasp of the Jarawa language.<sup>30</sup> Throughout the 1950s, when public discussions centred on policies for the welfare of tribes reaffirmed colonial notions of backwardness, there was a great deal of prejudice towards tribal culture in Indian administrative circles. Protectors immersed in such prejudice might and did become exploiters, which is not unexpected.

31

Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to ignore the systemic reasons for the marginalisation of indigenous people by concentrating on the "degenerate notions about the indigenous tribes in the Andamans" held by "continually changing administrators."<sup>32</sup> Laws that purported to protect tribes had an innate connection to the idea of tribes as primitive groups devoid of the right to self-govern. The ANPATR serves as an example of the failure of legal protectionism, rather than guaranteeing tribal autonomy. It supplied the legal basis for native eviction in the Andaman Islands.

*'The Jarawa have to be taught to negotiate with the outside world, and the outside world that lives around their forests has to be taught to negotiate with them. This is not happening in a hurry, if at all, and while we wait for that, we need some drastic surgery.'(TLW 239)*

I would like to argue that how in the context to their land rights and in the due process of acculturating them. In due course we are forcing our culture on them. The style of living, eating habits we are trying to change. The topographical, geographical factors determine their way of living. As they reside in interior doesn't make them *Jungles or uncivilised*. Rather they are more sensible and civilised according their culture. We must learn to co-operate, negotiate and learn from them certain ways of communicating the. We need to teach them in their own eco-friendly surrounding. We just can uproot them and plant it any other land. They have their own culture, identity and sense of belongingness to their surroundings.

Hence, it is crucial to comprehend and take a leap for the welfare of the indigenous people. Both will be benefitted without the risk of another. We need to make the survival rate our target. In the wave of development, it should be form them not through them. The construction of Andaman Trunk Road stands an epitome of savegry and selfishness. We must learn to incorporate and live in harmony with them.

#### References

- Philipp Zehmisch, "A Xerox of India? Policies and Politics of Migration in an Overseas Colony," Working Papers in Social and Cultural Anthropology, vol. 2 (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 2012).
- Surajit Chandra Sinha, Report on the Possibilities of Further Resettlement of East Pakistan Refugees in Andaman Islands (Anthropological Survey of India, 1952).
- Uday Chandra, "Liberalism and Its Other: The Politics of Primitivism in Colonial and Post-colonial Indian Law," Law & Society Review 47, 1 (2013): 135–68.
- Uditi Sen, "'Dissident Memories': Exploring Bengali Refugee Narratives in the Andaman Islands," in Panikos Panayi and Pippa Virdee, eds., Refugees and the End of Empire: Imperial Collapse and Forced Migration during the Twentieth Century (Palgrave, 2011), 235.

**Notes**

<sup>1</sup> Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism."

<sup>2</sup> Regulation No: 76/56, promulgated by the President of India under clause (2) of article 243 of the Constitution, published in the Gazette of India, Extraordinary, Part II, Section I, 14 May 1956, in Sekhsaria and Pandya, Jarawa Dossier, 86.

<sup>3</sup> Sekhsaria and Pandya, Jarawa Dossier, 88.

<sup>4</sup> Pandya, "In Terra Nullius," 22.

<sup>5</sup> Manish Chandi, "Colonization and Conflict Resolution in the Andaman Islands: Learning from Reconstruction of Conflict between Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Islanders," in Pankaj Sekhsaria and Vishvajit Pandya, eds., *The Jarawa Tribal Reserve Dossier: Cultural & Biological Diversities in the Andaman Islands* (UNESCO, 2010), 13.

<sup>vi</sup> Schedules V and VI of the Constitution of India.

<sup>vii</sup> For reference, Sita Venkateswar, "The Fate of the Jarawa: Some Lessons across Space and Time," in Deepak Kumar Behera and Georg Pfeffer, eds., *Contemporary Society: Identity, Intervention, and Ideology in Tribal India and Beyond* (Concept Publishing Company, 2008), 131–46; and Vishvajit Pandya and Madhumita Mazumdar, "Making Sense of the Andaman Islanders: Reflections on a New Conjuncture," *Economic and Political Weekly* 47, 44 (Nov. 2012): 51–58.

<sup>viii</sup> Quinquennial Report for the Period 1934–35 to 1938–39 on the Forest Administration in the Andamans (Government of India, 1939).

<sup>ix</sup> Surajit Chandra Sinha, Report on the Possibilities of Further Resettlement of East Pakistan Refugees in Andaman Islands (Anthropological Survey of India, 1952).

<sup>x</sup> Vishvajit Pandya, "Hostile Borders on Historical Landscapes: The Placeless Place of Andamanese Culture," in Pankaj Sekhsaria and Vishvajit Pandya, eds., *The Jarawa Tribal Reserve Dossier: Cultural & Biological Diversities in the Andaman Islands* (UNESCO, 2010), 20.

<sup>11</sup> File 8/2/1950- AN, Ministry of Home Affairs, Andamans Branch, 1953, National Archives of India, New Delhi.

<sup>12</sup> Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Publication Division, *The Andaman and Nicobar Islands* (Government of India, July 1957).

<sup>13</sup> Udit Sen, "'Dissident Memories': Exploring Bengali Refugee Narratives in the Andaman Islands," in Panikos Panayi and Pippa Virdee, eds., *Refugees and the End of Empire: Imperial Collapse and Forced Migration during the Twentieth Century* (Palgrave, 2011), 235.

<sup>14</sup> Udit Sen, "'Dissident Memories': Exploring Bengali Refugee Narratives in the Andaman Islands," in Panikos Panayi and Pippa Virdee, eds., *Refugees and the End of Empire: Imperial Collapse and Forced Migration during the Twentieth Century* (Palgrave, 2011), 235.

<sup>15</sup> Pandya, "Hostile Borders," 20.

<sup>16</sup> Eyal Weizman, "Legislative Attack," *Theory, Culture & Society* 27, 11 (2010): 11–32.

<sup>17</sup> "Annexure I: Andaman and Nicobar Protection of Aboriginal Tribes Regulation (ANPATR) 1956 Including all Amendments until 2004," in Sekhsaria and Pandya, Jarawa Dossier, 87.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 91–106.

<sup>19</sup> This particular form of "contact" with the Jarawas is of relatively recent provenance and became an issue only after 1997–1998, when the Jarawas started regularly venturing out of the forests to accept gifts. This sudden change in Jarawa behavior created a rupture in established policy, which focused on befriending and containing them. For details of debates on formulating new policies for this new situation, see Venkateswar, "Fate of the Jarawa"; and Pandya and Mazumdar, "Making Sense of the Andaman Islanders."

<sup>20</sup> Philipp Zehmisch, "A Xerox of India? Policies and Politics of Migration in an Overseas Colony," *Working Papers in Social and Cultural Anthropology*, vol. 2 (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 2012).

<sup>21</sup> Gethin Chamberlain, "Andaman Islands Tribe Threatened by Lure of Mass Tourism," *Observer*, 7Jan. 2012,

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2012/jan/07/andaman-islands-tribe-tourism-threat> (last accessed 13 Aug. 2023); and Zubair Ahmed, "Jarawa Dance Video: Army Personnel Involved," *Light of Andamans* 35, 24 (13 September 2023),

<http://lightofandamans.blogspot.co.uk/2012/01/cover-story-jarawa-dance-video-army.html> (last accessed 28 October 2023).

<sup>22</sup> Uday Chandra, "Liberalism and Its Other: The Politics of Primitivism in Colonial and Post-colonial Indian Law," *Law & Society Review* 47, 1 (2013): 135–68.

<sup>23</sup> Gopinath Bardoloi, Final Report of the Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas (Other than Assam) Sub-Committee (Government of India, 1947).

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.constitution.org/cons/india/shed05b.html> (last accessed 14 Aug. 2014).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> Sekhsaria and Pandya, Jarawa Dossier, 108.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 121.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 114. This patch was re-notified in 2004.

<sup>30</sup> Pandya, "Hostile Borders," 18–29.

<sup>31</sup> Chandi, "Colonization and Conflict," 13.

<sup>32</sup> Summary of literature arguing for "Andamanese exceptionalism," see Pandya and Mazumdar, "Making Sense of the Andaman Islanders."