

International
Institute of
Social Studies

Ezafun



EL FUTURO DE LA ALIMENTACIÓN Y RETOS DE LA AGRICULTURA PARA EL SIGLO XXI:

Debates sobre quién, cómo y con qué implicaciones sociales, económicas y ecológicas alimentará el mundo.

THE FUTURE OF FOOD AND CHALLENGES FOR AGRICULTURE IN THE 21st CENTURY:

Debates about who, how and with what social, economic and ecological implications we will feed the world.

ELIKADURAREN ETORKIZUNA ETA NEKAZARITZAREN ERRONKAK XXI. MENDERAKO:

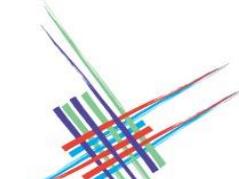
Mundua nork, nola eta zer-nolako inplikazio sozial, ekonomiko eta ekologikorekin elikatuko duen izango da eztabaidagaia

Primitive Accumulation of State Power: Rethinking Property, Gender and Advasi in India

Meenakshi Nair and Nilesh Shinde

Paper # 38

***Apirila – Abril – April
24, 25, 26
2017***


elikadura²¹

NAZIOARTEKO HIZKETALDIA
COLOQUIO INTERNACIONAL
INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM

www.elikadura21.eu

Primitive Accumulation of State Power: Rethinking Property, Gender and Adivasi in India

Meenakshi Nair and Nilesh Shinde

Abstract

Often, we are compelled to perceive that there has always been a State. Even in debates of primitive accumulation, societies seem to maneuver towards the formation of a state. However, in critical debates of the land question, we have misconstrued the fundamental economic category of primitive accumulation of state itself. In fact, the primitive accumulation of state power has been prominent character of our time: in particular, with the land question and in general, the development question. This paper retakes the concept of primitive accumulation and applies it to the state. It is this primitive accumulation which offers the spectacle of neoliberal capitalism and social reproduction of state: a redefinition and a reorganization of state apparatuses as the capture state where the law of the State is not the law of All or Nothing (State societies or Counter-State societies) but that of interior and exterior (Deleuze and Guattari, 1988). The state and the following question of law operates as model as well as a mold of development; where people, goods and capital ow as an announcement of estrangement and exploitation. Here, we suggest that it is via three fundamental accumulations. First, the accumulation of state as patriarchal landlord of property. Second, accumulation of state as social re-production of state hegemony. And third, accumulation of state as being of neoliberal capitalism: defined by its potential and capacity for discourse. The paper suggests a novel framework where economic categories of food sovereignty get dubbed as complex, self-organizing and nonlinear state organism; where ideological state apparatus, following (Fowkes and Moseley, 2015) Marx's The Second Notebook, in particular, deals with the issue of private property, relations between classes, and those between executive and legislative power. The paper debates the question of food sovereignty in relation with territoriality and security question besides traditional population question. We suggest territorial and security question of food sovereignty propels us into the somewhat wild suggestion: food security as territorial question. The politics of property dynamics intermeshes with the politics of state formation which creates spaces for specific food regimes to operationalize. As a result, the question of food security becomes as much a question of food regimes as it is a question of territoriality; which invokes the question of 'agrarian citizenship (McMichael, 2003)'. We argue that it is deeply rooted into social interrogation of property rights vis-a-vis tribal-gender dissemination inaugurated by the class focused analysis, is an extremely heterogeneous space of diverse economic social organizations with their equally heterogeneous labouring practices. The paper debates these using primary fieldwork from Attappadi, an Adivasi forest highland in the district of Palakkad, Kerala.

Key words: primitive accumulation, state, property rights, gender, adivasi and food sovereignty

1. Introduction

Government is the right disposition of things arranged so as to lead a suitable end.
Guillaume de La Perriere in *Le miroir politique*(1555)

Accumulation is often seen as apparatus of state but rarely discussed as *opérateur* on State itself, conclusively resulting into state power. State has been treated (as) at best pragmatic maker of accumulation; where its own evolution is seen secondary and justifiably associated with construction of nationalism; without shred of appeal on state-ism. Albeit, many have insisted on evolutionary-adoptive thesis of institutions, logically extending it to state but in terms of theorizing accumulation of state, we are, hitherto, felled short. This paper attempts to consolidate the approaches to accumulation of state. Note that, accumulation has been read eclectically after [Marx \(1993\)](#), as wealth concentration([Piketty et al., 2014](#)), dispossession([Harvey, 2006](#)),dislocation([Chakrabarti and Dhar, 2009](#)) and accumulation for its sake([Hall, 2013](#)) by number of thinkers, however, reading accumulation as fundamental economic category unfolding as capital reproduces itself has to be seen as site of accumulation of legitimacy and overarching notion of state¹ The state by accumulation, therefore, can be pertinently put forward as hegemony state([Gramsci, 2000](#)), capture state([Deleuze and Guattari, 1988](#)) and institutional ensemble([Jessop, 2007](#)). We present an account of accumulation of state, in particular, via a case of one study area, district of Attappadi, an adivasi forest highland in the district of Palakkad, Kerala. Nevertheless, we refrain from generalizing accumulation of state as overarching economic category² which is homogeneous, linear and cohesive in all India. Note that, such a refrain can be observed even in [Marx \(1867\)](#) where he did not produce an account of the state to match the analytical power of his critique of the capitalist mode of production in *Das Kapital*([Jessop, 2007](#)). Before, we delve into arguments on accumulation of state, let us discuss the fundamental contradiction of capital (which is transcending into capitalist state). [Marx \(1867\)](#) initiates this debate by;

Now that we have considered the forcible creation of a class of outlawed proletarians, the bloody discipline that turned them into wage labourers, the disgraceful action of the State which employed the police to accelerate the accumulation of capital by increasing the degree of exploitation of labour, the question remains: whence came the capitalists originally? For the expropriation of the agricultural population creates, directly, none but the greatest landed proprietors. As far, however, as concerns the genesis of the farmer, we can, so to say, put our hand on it, because it is a slow process evolving through many centuries (emphasis added).

Here, there are two concepts to grasp, first the notion that there has been forcible creation of outlawed masses; this can be seen as spacio-temporal process of movement of global capital, reiterated and re-theorized as accumulation by dislocation and dispossession³. Secondly, and more importantly, Marx is

¹ Well documented survey of theories and debates can be found in [Hall \(2013\)](#)

² In [Marx \(1867\)](#) economic categories are historical-analytical tools, however, what matters in reading these categories is not categories in exclusion from each but categories in relation with each other.

³ See [Hall \(2013\)](#) for more debates

highlighting that this is process of actualization of farmers in any given social structures; over centuries. Thus, giving a notion that the primitive about primitive accumulation has to deal with genesis of farmer, before the workers. We argue this has been evolutionary moment of accumulation of state vis-a-vis power, following Marx's own explication that forcible creation has been bloody, slow, exploitative and hierarchical, therefore, essentially accumulation of state power is, first moment of accumulation. Note that, we suggest that accumulation of state power is initial and yet necessary condition of primitive accumulation. Using Hegelian logic⁴, that *initial/necessary* condition. Hence, it is historical-universal and/or particular-of the accumulation of state(s). Now that we have seen that accumulation of/by state is continuing process; we suggest that fundamental contradiction of capital-(of) private property & capitalist state-origins in [Marx \(1993\)](#) notion of distinction between individual appropriation and private property. [Harvey \(2014\)](#) elaborates this as;

We all of us, as living persons, appropriate things in the course of actively making use of them. I appropriate food when I eat it, I appropriate a bicycle when I ride it, I appropriate this computer while writing this (...)For many processes and things, however, an exclusive relationship exists between the user(s) and that which is being used. This is not the same thing as private property.

Private property establishes exclusive right of use. Thereby, on lines of fundamental contradiction of capital, the accumulation, discussed, so far in this paper, notes this distinction. This, in order to avoid the assumption that if there is *initial/necessary condition* of accumulation of state. This can be only when there is usufructuary rights (rights that pertain to active use) and exclusionary permanent ownership rights ([Harvey, 2014](#)). To sum up, we have established that accumulation of/by state can be seen as power itself, for instance this was as true in the transition from feudalism to capitalism in Europe as it later became when the Chinese set up special economic zones for capitalist activity in southern China after 1980s. However, what is important to note here, is, in case of India, we observe the existence and development of capitalism requires an environment of non-capitalist forms of production⁵, but not every one of these forms has served its ends. We argue that in Indian case, the capitalism needs non-capitalist social strata as a market for its surplus value, as a source of supply for its means of production and as a reservoir of labour power for its wage system⁶. For all these purposes, forms of production based upon a natural economy, such as shifting cultivation or tribal mode of food appropriation, are of no use to capital. Following what [Luxemburg \(2003\)](#) argues;

In all social organizations where natural economy prevails, where there are primitive peasant communities with common ownership of the land, a feudal system of bondage or anything of this nature, economic organization is essentially in response to the internal demand; and therefore there is no demand, or very little, for foreign goods, and also, as a rule, no surplus

⁴ See; as complexity theory has demonstrated that phenomena in a complex system follow from the inner structure of the system which in principle cannot be derived from that inner structure by the methods of formal logic. in section *The Law of Sufficient Ground* in Hegel, G. W. F. (2010). Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel: the science of logic. Cambridge University Press.

⁵ Non-capitalist forms such as feudal or semi-feudal structures, often as caste or patriarchal system

⁶ In classic work, [Luxemburg \(2003\)](#) presents an argumentative theory of historical condition of accumulation.

production, or at least no urgent need to dispose of surplus products. What is most important, however, is that, in any natural economy, production only goes on because both means of production and labour power are bound in one form or another. The communist peasant community no less than the feudal corvee farm and similar institutions maintain their economic organisation by subjecting the labour power, and the most important means of production, the land, to the rule of law and custom. A natural economy thus confronts the requirements of capitalism at every turn with rigid barriers. Capitalism must therefore always and everywhere fight a battle of annihilation against every historical form of natural economy that it encounters, whether this is slave economy, feudalism, primitive communism, or patriarchal peasant economy. The principal methods in this struggle are political force (revolution, war), oppressive taxation by the state, and cheap goods; they are partly applied simultaneously, and partly they succeed and complement one another.

Our main argument is that the mode of production is inevitably an interaction between means of production and labor power. But in natural economy it is bound in one form or another, while in contemporary mode of production it is owned in one form or another. The primitive accumulation of state power, therefore, reveals itself through identities based on caste, class, gender and so on. In fact, the accumulation of state lead to formation of neo-liberal state whose driving force is surplus value creation and motive force is accumulation. The state conditions and maintains, regulates, protects and often justifies the accumulation process. The following paper is divided into three sections; first we present idea of accumulation of state via normalization and moralization; second we give a theoretical overview of debates on property and state formation and lastly, we present a primary field account supporting our preceding arguments.

2. What is accumulation?

Accumulate, accumulate! That is Moses and the prophets! Industry furnishes the material which saving accumulates. Therefore, save, save, i.e., reconvert the greatest possible portion of surplus-value, or surplus-product into capital! Accumulation for accumulation's sake, production for production's sake: by this formula classical economy expressed the historical mission of the bourgeoisie, and did not for a single instant deceive itself over the birth-throes of wealth.

Marx (1867) in *Chapter Twenty-Four: Conversion of Surplus-Value into Capital*

Accumulation is mainly understood as dynamics that motivates circulation of capital. However, it is complex system of accumulation of-capital, time and labor-operates as accumulation as understood by political economy. Accumulation, therefore, is what happens to market economy left to virtues of 'free market', and results into primarily the State of/as accumulation in and onto itself. Note that, the argument that accumulation of state in and onto itself is pragmatic argument which occurs in diverse and different forms and formation; in dynamic nature across different societies. Reading [Marx \(1867\)](#) in Capital Volume I, Chapter 25 gives an

operational a model of accumulation where the main focus is on implications of accumulation on working class. However, doing this, he emphasizes on fundamental economic category i.e. accumulation. Here, as Marx (1867) insisted 'the most important factor in this inquiry is the composition of capital and the changes it undergoes in the course of the process of accumulation'. We suggest that the composition as well as changes in capital occurs relationally in Marx (1867), where composition and changes in capital determines required state (power) hierarchies in order to ensure capitalist mode of production as well as consumption. Here, to explore a thorough undertaking of the accumulation of state power, one has to explore broader perspectives on cooperation-competition, credit system and of course property, proprietorship and so on. Here, our purpose is to theorize two founding notions of and how accumulation of state power operates via normalization and moralization by state. We observe that the state and the following question of law operates as model as well as a mould of development; where people, goods and capital ow as an announcement of estrangement and exploitation. Similar, exposition were found in Harvey (2006) notion of accumulation by dispossession and dislocation (Chakrabarti et al., 2012). However, we suggest that accumulation often appears imitating the pre-existing social hierarchies in formation of state. Here, if there exists a stratified social formation in every society, the accumulation of state appears to refines itself, via normalization and moralization of stratified social regime into a state regimes such as law, nomenclature and so on. Therefore, we suggest that it is via three methods of accumulations, where normalization and moralization exhibits the formation of state. First, the accumulation of state as patriarchal landlord of property. Second, accumulation of state as social re-production of caste hegemony. And third, accumulation of state as being of neo-liberal capitalism: defined by its potential and capacity for discourse.

2.1 Normalization as Accumulation

I think it is indisputable, or hardly disputable, that *discipline normalizes*.

Foucault (2007) on *apparatus* of Security

The two processes-the accumulation of men and the accumulation of capital-cannot be separated; it would not have been possible to solve the problem of the accumulation of men without the growth of an apparatus of production capable of both sustaining them and using them; conversely, the techniques that made the cumulative multiplicity of men useful accelerated the accumulation of capital . . . Each makes the other possible and necessary; each provides a model for the other.

Foucault (2012) on *accumulation process*

To begin with, according to Foucault (1980) normalization refers to social processes through which ideas and actions come to be seen as 'normal' and become taken-for-granted or 'natural' in everyday life. In sociological theory, normalization appears in two forms. it is tactic of maximum social control and .(Foucault, 1980) suggests that method of administrating the accumulation of men enabled the accumulation in political economic terms. The notion of accumulation in Foucault (1980) initiates with accumulation of men. Nonetheless, Foucault (1980) is arguing

on genealogy of emergence and constitution of human science, but we believe that the assumption of accumulation of men is not pre-condition but as we argued earlier, a necessary condition of accumulation of state. In order to undertake this clearly, let us begin the debates on normalization as accumulation. We suggest the notion of primitive accumulation of state, mainly because we argue that accumulation of state, in Marx, seen as the class theory of state, has to be conceived as actualization unfolding since the epochs of primitive accumulation. Similar, logic can be observed in [Deleuze and Guattari \(1988\)](#), where the historicization of the State-form: it places us immediately at the heart of the theory of capture developed in the 13th Plateau and the redefinition of State apparatuses as apparatuses of capture. Note that, we present categorically differing argument of capture, insisting that like over-accumulation is an internal contradiction of capital, over-determination is an internal character of state formation. Thus, we read [Deleuze and Guattari \(1988\)](#) state as capture, in line of, the State is sovereignty. But sovereignty only reigns over what it is capable of internalizing, of appropriating locally over the populus. Naturally, the case of accumulation of state, essentially, operates as relationship between law and norm of society, in which state-internalizing and appropriating-demonstratively grows by capturing landed property and labor power. [Foucault \(1980\)](#) elaborates this in his notions of the socio-institutional strategies of coding, overcoding, recoding, and axiomatization of law and norm (over property). For instance, [Foucault \(1980\)](#) argues that;

there was and could not fail to be a fundamental relationship between the law and the norm, and that *every system of law is related to a system of norms (emphasis added)*. I think it really is necessary to show that the relationship of the law to the norm does in fact indicate that there is something that we could call a normativity intrinsic to any legal imperative, but this normativity intrinsic to the law, perhaps founding the law, cannot be confused with what we are trying to pinpoint here under the name of procedures, processes, and techniques of normalization.

Hence, every law system (not each law) is related to its norm system (not each norm); this reveals a kind of normativity intrinsic to legal imperative but it differs from (everyday) normativity of procedures, processes, and techniques of normalization. These normativity of procedures, processes, and techniques of normalization is diverse, dynamic and different in societies, therefore marking a pragmatic accumulation of state in each society, not in exclusivity from other societies but in association with each other. The evolution of state, in a essence, primarily deals with synthetic evolution of accumulation of state. Note that, we do not argue that the state is synthetic to capitalist society, in fact, we argue that it is collaboration of state, market society and economy which leads to formation of accumulation of state, and accumulation of capital and so on. To be clear, we conceive that the state and its accumulation gives birth to almost all ideas in development theories, for instance, the notion of growth, revealed in simple concept of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) reveals not only numerical value of growth⁷ but also territorial, populous and historical notion of a particular State itself. Thus, the simple numerical value of GDP encompasses a larger notion of territorial belief in we vis-a-vis they in numerical scale of growth. Thus, the accumulation state occurs

⁷ Here, we do not necessarily agree with versions of measures of growth but merely cite GDP as tool to explain our point.

in many forms, however it is refined, at best, in forms of, what we argue in this paper that normalization and moralization as accumulation is an umbrella economic phenomenon. In summary, normalization is an act of coding-decoding norms into law, for example every modern state has a provisional right to property which, in theory, is guaranteed by mutual parties involved in (legal and social) contract, in practice, however, it is determined by class stratified state and property regime.⁸ Normalization revised into the right to (landed) property plays vital role in primitive accumulation (or recurring accumulation) via production-determining-distribution (Harvey, 2006). The landed property, under normalization appears in dual sense in accumulation of state, firstly to recognize territorial aspect of state and secondly, as means of production. Albeit, the point where Marx (1993) suggests landed property differs from other kinds of property in that it appears superfluous and harmful at a certain stage of development, even from the point of view of the capitalist mode of production' (Capital, vol. 3, p. 622). Normalization, therefore, is primarily a form accumulation actualized in landed property debates.

2.2. Moralization as Accumulation

Capitalist state is a new form of statehood. If the previous form of state swung between extremes of taking life or letting live this new state assigns itself the task of life administration (p.136). Power in the capitalist state is not exercised in the name of the sovereign who must be defended but in the name of the existence of everyone, in the name of the entire population. The modern capitalist state takes the responsibility for and guarantees the individual's continued existence by assuming the right to manage life. Thus modern state power is exercised at the level of life, the species, the race, and the large scale phenomenon of population (ibid; p.137). While the feudal state was centered on the phenomenon of death, the capitalist state is centered on life; it legitimizes itself as the manager of life (ibid; p. 138).

Foucault (1980) and Foucault (1990)

Common wealth is, simply put, accretion of infinite use-values put together; however the private appropriation of common wealth is imposition of exchange-value regime over the common wealth. We suggest that moralization of this imposition actualizes via state power. Note that, the notion of private property, personal wealth and gains is fundamental to political economic life. However, the moralization of excessive accumulation appears Marx (1867) notion of personified capital; taunted as 'personified capital (...) except as personified capital, the capitalist has no historical value, and no right to that historical existence. Given that, treatment of surplus-value solely as a fund for supplying the individual consumption of the capitalist or its treatment as it solely as a fund for accumulation. Marx (1867) clarifies that it is, however, neither the one nor the other, but is both together. One portion is consumed by the capitalist as revenue, the other is employed as capital, is accumulated. In this understanding, we observe that modern state satisfies the accumulation of landed property, tax and so on as a fund of accumulation, meanwhile the state-power (or dominant class of Gramsci (2000) satisfies the individual consumption aspect. Here, the key point to be understood is that production or reproduction of surplus-value leading to progressively form a

⁸ See arguments in Li (2014);Lund (2016);McMichael (2010); andAgrawal (2005)

productive power of state-accumulation⁹. Now that we grasped normalization of surplus-value accumulation of/by state, the question of how normalization as accumulation goes hand-in-hand with moralization. In simple terms, accumulation as moralization is 'to insert the power to punish more deeply into social body (Foucault, 2016)'. To elaborate, we shall look at it, as object of control of 'working class-illegality and the production of more effective workers into-docile bodies(Foucault, 2016)'; therefore moralization as accumulation is totality of accumulation which inscribed in economic process. For example, Capital Volume I offers a model, often explicit and sometimes implicit, of mechanism of power which are latent in neo-liberal democratic structure and patent in market society. Nonetheless, the power vis-a-vis accumulation: a notion rather serious in its own right; becomes a point of departure if put together with capital accumulation. The power in accumulation of state reify in, what Marx (1867) suggests 'the pre-history of capital, and of the mode of production corresponding to capital'. What precedes, here, is history which is essentially a form state preceding its nestling pre-capitalist (and by no means primitive) state with structural account of surplus extraction and re-production, which in turn is what Marx refers as capital accumulation as self-production on ever expanding scales. State accumulation, therefore revealed as normalization and moralization of property, citizenship and caste-class process. To sum up, Foucault (1979) and Foucault (2016) has suggested that moralization will extends to institution like police and other authorities supervising people. Effectively, reproducing the elements of putative economic process such as caste or gender based hierarchies. The state's emphatic call for sacrificial love (Povinelli, 2011) sees specific communities being asked to sacrifice their interests for the larger good and development of the state. For instance, the allocation of lands and creation of special economic zones to attract private investment in land also depends on the inherent belief that people ought to give up their rights to land as property for the development of the nation and for the greater common good. The emphasis on this sacrificial love where one positions oneself in a place of disadvantage for public good through moral calls sees the creation of a narrative that justifies and legitimizes exclusion- often of a category of persons belonging to marginalized castes and genders. We shall suggest that the accumulation by moralization and normalization is archaeological notion of history of 'relations between classes and its corresponding executive and legitimate power of state. This will be discussed in next section of article.

3. Property as a Site of State Formation

In 2006, (von Benda-Beckmann et al., 2006, p.6) wrote, Property is in. The statement holds relevance a decade later. Property becomes symbolic of the sovereignty the state enjoys (von Benda-Beckmann et al., 2006, p.6). It becomes site where the nature of specific relations with land are authorized and legitimized. The site of property, therefore, is a space where the value of what is to become of goods, activities and obligations pertaining to land are decided (von Benda-Beckmann et al., 2006). The material and symbolic aspects of land in constituting

⁹ In other words, we suggest that accumulation of surplus value has inherent component of normalization. Such a moment is clearly stated in Marx (1867) where he quotes John Stuart Mill,, saying 'Wages have no productive power; they are the price of a productive power..'

identity and livelihoods, in the era of neoliberalism, undergo a process of evaluation where articulations of property regimes that meet the logic of capitalism gain legitimacy over other enunciations (Li, 2007). Property, then, becomes not a commodity with a single value or dimension but a multifaceted site that enables access to other resources and claim-making capacities (Sikor and Lund, 2009). Drawing from Proudhon (1876); the right to property needs to be continuously defended (p.161). Thus, providing a compelling need to interrogate how competing (and often conflicting) institutions negotiate and legitimize property regimes that pave way to validating a specific claims to land as property (Lund, 2011a). In other words, the creation of enclosures or large-scale land grabbing is reflexive of a specific articulation of a property regime that gains validity and legitimacy vis-a-vis other notions. On one hand, property becomes a space where power and authority gets reified while on the other, recognition and legitimacy engages (Sikor and Lund, 2009). Legitimizing and recognizing a certain claim to rights to land as property also suffices as a means to recognize the power and authority of the institution that successfully performs the act of legitimization (Lund, 2016). This way, property functions not just as a site where rights and access are negotiated but also as a means to legitimize the very institutions that seek to legitimize and authorize claims to land (Sikor and Lund, 2009).

By deciding who gets access to resources, whose claims to property are valid, whose rights are disenfranchised and whose rights are defended, property essentially becomes a site of state formation (Lund, 2016). The possession of land as property presupposes that the occupant is the rightful proprietor of land, until the contrary can be proved (Proudhon, 1876, p.170). The ability to bestow the status of being rightful rests with an authority whose legitimacy also depends on how valid the status remains when competing authorities challenge the claim (Sikor and Lund, 2009);(Lund, 2011a). What this essentially points towards is that state-formation at the site of property requires the state to be re-conceived (Lund, 2016). The conceptualization of the state as an assemblage would then enable analyzing the processes that are key to looking at negotiation, power, legitimacy and authority (Li, 2007, p.2). The assemblage enables to view the state no longer as an exclusive center that excludes power but as one that creeps into everyday realities and lives of people through various social arrangements and mundane activities. Thus, the emergence and prominence of specific locales of authority (Li, 2007, p.2); that are non-statutory may reflect how state-formation takes shape and how distinct actors gain the power to decide the legitimacy of claims. If property were to be understood as a bundle of rights (von Benda-Beckmann et al., 2006), then by legitimizing specific claims, the state grants access to specific bundles of rights. Additionally, the recognition also amounts to the activity that would be ensue in the land (Ferguson (2013); Li (2007); Lund (2016)). Thus, far from being solely about legitimizing the rightful owner, what ownership of property also signals is the rightful way of disposing things (Foucault, 1980). Conceptualized this way, it becomes pertinent to shift the gaze towards processes that enable institutions to accrue enough power so as to decide who is entitled to property and who is not. While Proudhon (1876) argued that property was theft, Li (2014) emphasizes how land becomes property only when it is excludable. When the state is conceived as an assemblage, it becomes easier to see how neoliberal articulations of choice, productivity, effective utilization and improvement inter-mesh themselves in the everyday to build

legitimate narratives of exclusion.¹⁰ The quest for development and improvement, thus, prove to be vital ways in which narratives of exclusion are built at the site of property. This once again, determines the access not just to land as property but a bundle of socio-economic rights that come with it by virtue of projects of development.

Therefore, activities that are not considered to produce value of a certain nature remain delegitimised or unrecognized (Li, 2007). This provides ground for legitimate mode of an accumulation by dispossession where specific land based activities are effectively removed from the everyday milieu and land is allotted to actors who are considered to undertake activities that are more valuable (Harvey, 2006). As a site of state formation, social arrangements and politico-legal institutions of power enunciate definitions that validate particular property regimes over others. Boone (2014) argues that 'property rights lie at the confluence of politico-legal order and economic order'. Therefore, institutions that recognize property essentially perform not only the act of legitimizing possession as was argued earlier but also govern the use of land and the access to other resources. This proves vital in the question of food security and agrarian activity as shall be elucidated later. The acts of legitimacy and recognition are processes through which conditions are put in place that push people to make the right choice in terms of articulation of property (Li, 2014, p.43). Governmental rationality, then, acts through assemblages to coerce people into acting in specific ways by emphasizing on their wills to improve (Li, 2007);(Li, 2014). This suggests that social relations and social arrangements become part of the state assemblage through which particular grammars of property become more valid (Boone, 2014); (Li, 2014). The fluidity in social arrangements would suggest that authority itself is in the process of making depending on how competing institutions negotiate claims to rights to land as property. Thus, the institution that successfully manages to defend a property right regime accrues authority and it is this constant need to defend the right to property that Proudhon (1876) has articulated.

This gives opens the space to analyze how state power itself is accumulated. James (2013) argue that powerful actors often co-opt positions in the mundane bureaucratic state apparatus that enables creating and producing documents that find one claim more authentic than the other. State offices and administrative positions then enable primitive accumulation by consolidating and reinforcing specific regimes of property. The ability of state-like institutions outside the statutory body to affect state apparatus (Lund, 2016) becomes obvious when one looks at how despite legal and constitutional provisions to safeguard property rights regimes of adivasi communities in India, the community still faces rampant alienation- both by the state and by powerful non-advasi actors. Here, normalization¹¹ of property rights through mundane bureaucratic activities like surveying, mapping, census taking and other administrative process not only make populations legible but also aid in forging new relationships between the state and the people, integrating new rationalities of property through expert knowledge (Li, 2014);(Loveman, 2005). Further, Loveman (2005) argues that the primitive accumulation of the state's symbolic power by enmeshing mundane administrative

¹⁰ Li (2007) argues modernization narratives promoted by development agencies that assume inefficient farmers who lose out in the shift to high-value export crops can find jobs elsewhere, see(Li,2011;2014)

¹¹ We argue that accumulation, as discussed earlier in this paper, reveals as normalization of everyday free activity of labor into juridical-legal process.

processes in the everyday lives presents ways in which lives are ordered and conducted. Through practices and processes such as these- surveying, resurveying, enumerating and coding, the state and state-like actors design how claim-making processes itself are constituted. For instance, to be able to negotiate one's claims to land as property, one would have to go to a local bureaucracy citing what is considered authentic evidence. This evidence would only be authentic if it meets the checklists and eligibility criteria drafted by the state in the first place. Therefore, even though as a paternalistic custodian of people the state creates legislation that are intended to protect specific communities and their articulations of property from being marginalized, the validity of these claims are essentially managed through checklists and eligibility criteria that are drafted by the state assemblages (Loveman, 2005). In this sense, symbolic power accumulated through mundane activities enable the state to constitute both the identity and nature of existence of communities and the grammar of their claims (Loveman, 2005). This becomes pertinent in the context of property because the rationality of what is the right form of property essentially disadvantages one form of land based activity against the other if it does not produce values that are deemed valuable by the capitalist state (Povinelli, 2011).

4. Agricultural practices, Land and Property

Agricultural practices and property define a broader notion of food security, however unlike food security, the food territory in agrarian question is axiomatic, moreover it has venerable precedence in the political economy. By food territory, we suggest that land is associated with food preference and consumption, which makes food security inherently associated with territory. This aspect of territory is further associated with the land question. We refer food security and territory together as a dynamic problem of the agrarian question. This approach is seen parallel to Harvey (2006) who adopts it after H. Lefebvre consorting the mental space with real space. Foucault (2007) moves further to integrate the notion of mental space to power and the notion of real space to the transition from pastoral power to 'political governmentality', which according to Foucault (1979), marks the origin of the modern state; making the land question concrete in political as well as social formation of the state. At this point, this paper suggests that the land question is *raison d'État* of the political economic question of development. In fact, the failure to tackle the agrarian question is, consequently, a cascading failure of the development question. Food territory in the agrarian question is nested with internal governmentality which Foucault (2007) entitles *as an art of government*. He promotes that the modern state is a configuration of political quislingism of economic-enterprise with political economy. We suggest that each market society precedes and succeeds its particular form of (capitalist or/and supplementary) production progression, which has imbibed a space defined by an autopoietic system of the state-market creation. This is self-contained and cannot be described by using dimensions that define another space such as ethnic nationalism and industrialization in Europe. When we refer to our interactions with a concrete autopoietic system i.e. governmentality of particular kind, however, we project this system on the space of our manipulations and make a description of this projection. Thus, it is suggested, in resolution of the agrarian question, the intrinsic question of territory gets equal cognition.

On further note, the question of food sovereignty, which rests on notions of choice, then is not simply about the ability to produce food but about the ability to produce food the right way following the right articulations of property. For instance, [Li \(2007\)](#) and [Povinelli \(2011\)](#) argue that legitimacy and recognition often accrue to those that fit into a certain definition of value creation as articulated by the state. Thus, it becomes pertinent to underscore how rights to land that do not translate to effective production of value as articulated by the neoliberal state, often leads to the creation of exclusionary land regimes. This can be seen through the experiences of land alienation faced by adivasis, women and Dalits in India. As a result, what is invariably seen is the undermining of user rights and the elevation of the right to own, which is made possible through the allocation of property rights. The supremacy of ownership rights over user rights would perhaps be useful in distinguishing property rights in land from land rights.

The creation and institutionalization of property rights in India has its roots in colonial history ([Kjosavik and Shanmugaratnam, 2015](#)). The need for individual private property emanates from the desire for greater investment and increased productivity. By allocating ownership rights in land, it was believed that cultivators would have the required incentive to work harder and produce more, which would lead to greater revenues for the state as well. When land becomes property, it also allows for the sale and transaction of the same, thereby allowing the opening up of markets. All of this was largely absent in the traditional system that saw customary land laws determine usage. This economic justification is widely accepted and is also reflected in the colonial understanding of the need for property rights. Colonials saw the need for the development and enforcement of property rights to meet the revenue demands of the state ([Oommen, 1971](#));([Krishnan, 1993](#)). This resulted in increased emphasis on settled agrarian practices and cultivation than shifting agricultural practices that was largely prevalent among adivasi communities ([Kjosavik and Shanmugaratnam, 2015](#)). The rationale was that settled agriculture was more productive since it provided stable revenue. Thus, as [Li \(2014\)](#) argues, the propagation of the idea as settled agriculture and private property being the right way of living clearly transformed the nature of the everyday of adivasi communities. Thus, through practices, categories and cognitive schemes administrative practices aide in promoting specific governmental rationale that seeks to rely on expert knowledge to improve the lives of people ([Loveman, 2005](#));([Li, 2014](#)).

The recognition of specific articulations of property that are in tandem with the agenda of the state elucidates the crux of the problem: the identification of the proper producer. Often, this could stand in direct contradiction to the state's paternalistic role as a caregiver and harbinger of social justice and welfare. The capitalist state, whose driving force is the need to ensure further accumulation, would most likely recognize and legitimize the claim of the proper producer. Therefore, even if the state wants to act on the basis of distributive and social justice of the marginalized group, always in contestation with the need to accumulate and ensure production. Thus, a contradiction between production and justice would always lie at the core of any act of legitimization of property rights. By virtue of the authority institutions, administrative practices, social actors and arrangements hold in disenfranchising and/or entitling people with rights, property clearly becomes a site of state formation. Therefore, the territoriality of property in

terms of what to do with land, who owns land and what is land determine the nature of activities undertaken on it.

Modern property regimes, therefore, are closely connected with agrarian practices and hence, food systems. Hall (2015) argues that the economic valuation of land spiked manifold following the surge in the prices of agrarian commodities between 2007-08. The change in economic valuation transformed arable land into an asset that guaranteed impressive returns to investment. Thus, agriculture of specific commodities was considered more investment friendly and this reflected in the type of crops that was cultivated (Hall, 2013). The argument that lands had to be acquired since they were being under-utilized or under-productive in the hands of small cultivators or farmers elucidates how non-statutory institutions with state-like power successfully negotiate terms with the state to ensure the legitimacy of a specific form of property regime (Hall, 2013). Additionally, it also sheds light into how property is fluid and dynamic. Through her ethnography of the Lauje highlanders, Li (2014) shows how the Lauje came to incorporate modern agricultural methods following significant rewards in cacao cultivation in the 1990s. The incentives resulted in the transformation of property regime from one of communal to that of private property (Li, 2014, p.97). While the initial translation to private individual holding of land was voluntary and in response to the prices of cacao, the subsequent interventions by governmental and non-state actors changed the grammar of the highlanders' livelihood and cultivation practices. With private property ownership gaining momentum in the region, Li argues, that a certain limit to land was reached, which was inconceivable by the populations who kept articulating the lack of land for cultivation. The enclosures provided opportunity to those with credit and power to retain their rights over land on a permanent basis. In other words, those with greater power, stronger families and more knowledge had unequal access to land. This is congruous with the nature of how social arrangements come together to create institutions that engage in state-like practices of enfranchisement (Lund, 2016).

What is interesting in the entire narrative was how specific desires and quests of improvement by the community led them to choose capitalist relations of production. Once this was done, development agents who came to the highlands also promoted the cultivation of cash crops and modern agricultural techniques. Not only did they supply the seeds to the community but also assured the community that the shift to cash crops was the right way to go forward. The shortage in food and the change in agrarian practices essentially are rooted in the nature of the property regime itself. However, what is pertinent to this paper is how those with power and knowledge of landscapes took advantage in pushing for the creation and establishment of capitalist frontiers in the highlands where markets were no longer one of opportunity- as initially conceived by the community- but one of compulsion and coercion- where existence and livelihood depended on participation in specific agrarian activities at the expense of food (Li, 2007). In other words, actors and activities that were deemed non-competitive were eliminated from the relations of production while their lands were usurped as part of the creation of the capitalist frontier (Li, 2014).

Thus, the operation of power and the reach of the state to shape the conducts of people and educate them of ends and goals reflects how governmental rationality

operates in the everyday in terms of transforming agrarian practices and notions of property through incentives. The transformation of property regimes not only drastically changed access to resources but also transformed the ordering of society and the means in which power relations operated (Li, 1999). The encouragement of cash crop cultivation and the support by actors in providing seeds that corresponded to cash crop cultivation at a time when food security was being marred reflects how the state as the landlord works towards legitimizing specific forms of usage and property regimes (Li, 1999);(Li, 2014). Thus, it would be safe to argue that the will to improve (Li, 2007) justifies not only land grabbing but also the legitimacy that accrues to specific property regimes through accumulation of symbolic power by the state through everyday administrative practices. Therefore, state formation at the site of property and the subsequent expansion of capitalist ties concomitantly transform agrarian practices. This shall be elucidated through primary data collected from Attappady, an Adivasi highland in Kerala, India between April-May 2014¹².

4.1 Notes from the field

Home to three major adivasi communities: Irular, Muduga, Kurumbar- Attappady is a highland that is located in Palakkad district of Kerala. One of the most pressing problems faced by the adivasi communities here is the issue of land alienation. Historically, all the land of Attappady was vested in the hands of the Zamorin¹³ of Calicut, who granted administrative and jenmom rights to three Nair chieftains ((Kunhaman, 1981);(Kunhaman, 1983);(Mathur, 1977)). The chieftains, thus, decided what was to be done with the land. With the annexation of Malabar into the Madras Presidency by the colonials, the Zamorin was deprived of all powers over the land and the chieftains were granted legal ownership over the lands (Kunhaman, 1983). Apart from the Kurumbas, who resided in the Reserved forests, all other adivasi communities were tenants of these chieftains. With the influx of migrants or settlers, the land holding patterns began to change, especially post 1950s¹⁴. The adivasis who were a majority, as per the 1961 census, were reduced to a minority by 1971 (ITDP¹⁵). The settlers moved to Attappady- a land once considered inaccessible because of its dense forest cover- from parts of Kerala and Tamil Nadu. The pressures over land and its scarcity led to migrants coming to the region in search for land. Given the low prices of land at Attappady, there was a strong incentive to migrate here. While earlier the adivasis had the right to cultivate as much land as they could, the onset of the settler community changed the situation. The settlers were in the position to pay nominal rents and this placed them in a position to hold receipts, which proved their claims over land as property- something largely missing in the case of adivasis. In a certain sense, when competing notions of property- adivasis and non- adivasis- engaged with each other, mundane administrative processes like drafting of tax receipts, production of title

¹² The fieldwork was part of MA Development studies thesis by M. Nair at Tata Institute of Social Science, Mumbai. The data used for this paper comes from 65 interviews with adivasis and a number of conversations with settlers and government officials. While the primary data collection does not reflect the typical ethnography that spans across months, interesting narratives did emerge.

¹³ Samoothiri of Kozhikode or Zamorin of Calicut ruled for almost six centuries, between c. 12th and 18th century AD based at the city of Kozhikode, one of the more important trading centres in southern India

¹⁴ see Kunhaman (1983) and Mathur (1977)

¹⁵ Integrated Tribal Development Program, Kerala

deeds and appropriate documentation etc enabled private ownership of land as property to garner more validity. Surveys and studies¹⁶ show that the ability of settler communities to get receipts accentuated their ability to stake claims over land based on articulations of individual private property. Confirming [Proudhon \(1876\)](#) theorisation, property rights of non-ativasi communities were easily legitimized because they could be more easily defended through documents and other papers. The fact that there were no surveys done before to ascertain the real owners of the land meant that the settler community could stake claims over any land they wanted and get receipts for the same. Thus, one sees how the act of surveying of lands became an important tool of accumulation of power that aided one community to legitimize claims over another ([Loveman, 2005](#)). This needs to be understood in the context of the shifting cultivation practiced by adivasis. Since they leave land fallow for years before the next bout of cultivation, the settlers found it easy to establish their claims by practicing settled cultivation that was considered more productive and rewarding. It is in this historical context that the fieldwork undertaken by the researcher needs to be looked at. The settler communities that reside in Attappady are: one, the Gounders (Tamils) and two, the Syrian Christians (Malayalis). The Gounders came to Attappady mostly from Coimbatore that is only forty-two kilometers away, while the Syrian Christians migrated mostly from Tranvancore-Cochin. The livelihood of the settlers is mostly dependent on agriculture. They engage in cultivation of fruits and vegetables, apart from cardamom, rubber and spices. However, most settlers barring smaller poorer farmers engage in cultivation of rubber. This becomes important when one looks at how, as per the narratives of Irulars and Mudugars, the agrarian cultivation was largely focused on producing Raagi, Chama and Horsegram: three important food crops that are grown in the region. Following the alienation of lands, not only were adivasi communities evicted from their lands, but they also were employed as wage labourers in larger plantations owned by the settler communities. Drawing from snippets of interviews¹⁷ taken during the month-long fieldwork in 2014, we try to construct an argument as to how legitimization of specific property regimes affect the agrarian practices. Chakki, an Irular, fleshed out the crucial issue facing the adivasi community:

The problem is not with title deeds. We have the documents. We have the necessary papers and evidence. But, no one helps us in establishing our claims¹⁸.

This elucidates one of the important themes ([Lund, 2016](#)) and ([Li, 2014](#)) articulates. The ability to establish and enforce claims to land depends on the authority and recognition enjoyed by institutions and process that emanate from social arrangements and contexts. Thus, recognition only leads to redistribution and enforceable claims to land as property when the social arrangement has the authority to see to it that the recognition is legitimized. In this context, despite having documents that are legally enforceable the inability of Chakki to validate her claims comes from the fact that when competing notions of property meet, her's do not garner recognition. She went inside her small concrete house that was brightly painted in pink and came back with a bundle of papers. Each of those

¹⁶ See ITDP; (Kunhaman),1981,1983; (Mathur), 1977

¹⁷ Names of all respondents would be changed to protect privacy.

¹⁸ Part of an interview conducted on 17th May, 2014

validated her rights to two acres of land. However, her land rights did not translate into effective property rights. The inability to operationalize these rights is reflexive of their capacity to influence political institutions. Therefore, it is not the lack of recognition of identity-based rights that is seen. The problem rests with the inability to access and enforce rights that are provisioned.

We are not allowed to pay taxes. When I go to the office to pay taxes over the land I own, I am denied that right. I can only rightfully claim to be the owner of this land if I pay my taxes. Every time I go to the office with some money- either after selling a goat or something else- I am not allowed to do so. They take the bribes I give, but not the taxes. They tell me my documents are not valid. This, despite all of these papers having the seal of the government and various signatures. Tell me, how can the government refuse to acknowledge something that it has provided me with?

Thus, at the site of property, what is seen is how everyday bureaucratic processes work in undermining specific claims to lands. To problematize it further, this reflects how despite claims being recognized by the state, at specific locales of governance, where the state and the Adivasi interact in the everyday, claims never accrue the recognition and legitimacy they need so that adivasi communities can access and possess land and other resources. The importance of holding property rights in land goes beyond it being a chief source of livelihood. It is representative and symbolic of 'social status and political power structure relations within and outside the household' (Agarwal, 1994, 13). It becomes important to underscore that ownership of land does not automatically lead to control of the same resource. Land plays a pivotal role in strengthening one's identity and 'rootedness within the village' (Agarwal, 1994, 13). Claims over land, therefore, need to be recognized both socially and legally. The enforceability of the same by a legitimate and strong authority is pivotal. Property rights, therefore, only makes sense if they are well-defined, recognized and enforceable. Unlike *simple* land rights, property rights in land mandate both legal and social recognition. Having rights slated in law does not mean that these can be effectively accessed by all. To elucidate, woman's ownership of property showcases this problem. Women may hold property rights- in terms of documentation, but not effective rights- in terms of control and access. They may not enjoy the right to control their lands, enter into a transaction with the land they *own* or even completely access it. Therefore, clearly, legitimacy of rights to property accrues not merely through legal recognition but essentially through the accumulation of state power- through politico-legal institutions that can enforce it and symbolic power through administrative practices that deem documents powerful.

Attappady was in the news in 2013 largely for instances of malnutrition deaths among infants and others. During field work, every adivasi who spoke with the researcher repeatedly suggested how land alienation impacted their ability to meet vital food requirements. Udayan, a Muduga adivasi said,

Traditional crops like kollu, chama, ragi, thomara can no longer be cultivated in vast stretches of land like earlier times. We have very little lands, now. There are days I think of the old times when food was abundant and we could store them. Now, we don't. We watch those people use our lands,

sometimes even leaving them fallow doing nothing. Rubber doesn't feed us. But, what do we do? Everything depends on Sunny ichayan¹⁹

This narrative is corroborated by Mari who said,

The cropping pattern has changed a lot. The settlers grow banyan, cashew and other crops that give them profits. In the process, we have lost out on chaama, ragi and thomara. The laws are of no help to us. Most often, we are looked with such contempt that 60 percent of the time, we are treated as second grade citizens. A lot of cases are still pending in many courts. Some of us die waiting. Even if the village office has an order in our favour, no one enacts or implements it. We are going through a tough time. With absolutely no support from anywhere. We have lost lands. A lot of it.

The change in cropping patterns was confirmed by the *Assistant Tribal Special Officer* who hinted that various bureaucracies and non-state actors worked hand in glove to ensure that the process of restitution of lands were not successful. This elucidates how the accumulation of state power and the influence exerted by specific non-advansi communities enabled them to not only engage in non-recognition of legal advansi land rights but also ensure that they (non-advansis) enjoyed both access and control to property. The officer said;

For advansis, land means something different. Therefore, the need to fence their land was not really a priority. In fact, such things do not cross their minds. Now, this has to be seen in the context of shifting cultivation. Therefore, borders and fences do not make much sense. With documentation becoming an important part of this transformation, the advansis began to lose out, as they were not familiar with the process. In addition, they did blindly trust the settlers. This saw many settlers- through deceit and tact- getting hold of whatever little documents the advansis had, which could prove their ownership. There was also dichotomy between the records and the actual measurement of land. So, say for example an advansi had 5 hectares of land, the document approved by the government would say that the advansi land measured only 3 hectares and so, what the advansi ended up receiving was much less than what he really had to get. Land based complaints are many. Some have even gone up to the Supreme Court. The problem is that even if the Supreme Court gives a verdict in favour of the advansis, the settlers do not return the lands. They (settlers) know the law is in their side even if overtly, something else is or has been done²⁰.

Through the narratives here what emerges is how the everyday bureaucratic processes, questions of legitimacy, recognition, authority and how politico-legal institutions and social arrangements interact at the site of property work towards enforcing only specific ideas and articulations of property that gel well with distinct articulations of production. Sunny, one of the richest Syrian Christian farmer of the area, unabashedly stated how he had the influence to ensure that his lands would never be brought under the process of restitution. Sunny-ichayan as he is popularly

¹⁹ Sunny is a settler who owns vast portions of land. He is a very powerful and rich plantation owner. Ichayan is a term in Malayalam used to refer to ones older brother. In this context, out of respect.

²⁰ Part of the conversation that took place on 13th May, 2014

called in Attappady, owns over 100 acres of land in a place where most adivasis are land starved. He cultivates rubber and pepper. Though there are allegations levelled against him about having illegally usurped lands from several adivasis, Sunny says that he knows enough people to make sure that his documents would stay legally valid. Kongu Vellala Gounder Sangam was another NGO working for the Gounder settler community that was a major stakeholder in the issue of land alienation. This powerful NGO had received over 16 notices from various courts directing their members to give back the lands to the adivasis. However, the Gounder Sangam not only ignored it but were sure that there would be no consequences of their actions. The gounders were another group engaged in plantations and cultivation of spices. The Gounders and the Syrian christians, thus, were not just rich symbolically in terms of how well they could accumulate state power to influence institutions and processes of legitimisation but were also materially rich in that they controlled both the form of agrarian practices and also the access and control to the resource. This way, it becomes easy to see how legal frameworks are easily circumvented by non-state actors with state like capacities in ensuring their notions of property were the only ones effectively enforced.

Bhanu²¹, an adivasi Chieftain from Palur said;

Since we haven't been shown the lands that belong to us officially, what we are left with are numbers. I know that the land marked with the survey number 143224 is mine, however, I have no idea as to where it is. Effectively, this means that I do not have the land. My rights to land, therefore, are as valuable as the cost of the paper money you hold- nothing. For instance, once we went to the village office and requested the officer to come to our hamlet and ensure that we were allocated our lands. This was done based on the court order I have with me. When he came, the settlers here manhandled him. After that, no village officer has ever come here. Our rights have largely remained ghost rights. Are they there? Yes, they are. Do we have them? No, we don't. The disconnect between a number, paper and the land opens up a rupture that confirms not only the fact that legitimacy does not accrue to specific claims to land as property by virtue of legal recognition alone but also that the control of state apparatus by non-state actors determines enfranchisement and/or disenfranchisement of rights (Lund, 2011b). Thus, the accumulation of state power through the offices of the bureaucracy, institutions and locales of social arrangements- which determines who gets access to what- and, the state's accumulation of symbolic power through surveying, mapping, assigning numbers works intimately to transform property as a site that validates distinct claims to lands that reflect the will to improve (Li, 2007)

4.2 Conclusion remarks

The transformation of food and agricultural practices which come through from the narratives of adivasis- Irular and Muduga, state officials and settler communities reveal that when land changed hands, notions of property certainly changed; with that, cultivation styles also underwent renovation. Far from being a space that

²¹ Name of the respondent has been changed. Excerpt part of the interview taken on 20th May, 2014

cultivated forty-six varieties of fruits and vegetables²², the space transformed into a specific form of property that saw elites investing in rubber and pepper plantations. Property, as von Benda-Beckmann et al. (2006) argue, is essentially a bundle of rights. It not only determines access to other resources and rights but also provides the space for state-formation and accumulation of state power by state-like actors by essentially deciding who has the right to land and who doesn't, who is entitled and who isn't, who is disenfranchised and who is not; and whose notions of property receive legitimacy and validation.

5. Summary

The paper suggests a novel approach to explore accumulation of state, positioning itself markedly different from former readings of accumulation, we emphasize on property as site of accumulation of legitimacy and notion of state formation. Through the narratives from the field, we argue that accumulation of state power—both through politico-legal institutions and administrative practices—has been vital in disenfranchising adivasis of their claims to land and according them to the more elite non-tribal populace. It is essentially this that transformed a region that was once under food-crop cultivation to that of cash-crops and plantations. The ability to exclude and defend this exclusion, which is essential in ensuring the transformation of land as private property, therefore hinges upon the initial/necessary condition of accumulation. By ejecting adivasi community of their lands and usurping their means of production (i.e. land), as data from the field suggests, an army of labourers were created that regulated the wage system. In addition to this, a form of agrarian practice and a food regime was invalidated as it was seen to be of no use to capital.

Bibliography

- B. Agarwal. *A field of one's own: Gender and land rights in South Asia*, volume 58. Cambridge University Press, 1994.
- A. Agrawal. *Environmentality: technologies of government and the making of subjects*. 2005.
- C. Boone. *Property and political order in Africa: Land rights and the structure of politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- A. Chakrabarti and A. K. Dhar. *Dislocation and Resettlement in Development: From third world to the world of the third*. Routledge, 2009.
- A. Chakrabarti, A. Dhar, and S. Cullenberg. *World of the third and global capitalism*. World View, Delhi, 2012.
- G. Deleuze and F. Guattari. *A thousand plateaus: Capitalism and schizophrenia*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 1988.
- J. Ferguson. *How to do things with land: A distributive perspective on rural livelihoods in*

²² Data obtained through interviews with state officials and adivasis

southern africa. *Journal of agrarian change*, 13(1):166{174, 2013.

M. Foucault. *On governmentality. Ideology & Consciousness*, (6):5{21, 1979.

M. Foucault. *Power/knowledge: Selected interviews and other writings, 1972-1977.* Pantheon, 1980.

M. Foucault. *The history of sexuality: An introduction, volume i.* Trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage, 1990.

M. Foucault. *Security, territory, population: lectures at the Collège de France, 1977-78.* Springer, 2007.

M. Foucault. *On the Punitive Society: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1972-1973.* Springer, 2016.

B. Fowkes and F. Moseley. *Marx's Economic Manuscript of 1864-1865.* Brill, 2015.

A. Gramsci. *The Gramsci reader: selected writings, 1916-1935.* NYU Press, 2000.

D. Hall. *Primitive accumulation, accumulation by dispossession and the global land grab.* *Third World Quarterly*, 34(9):1582{1604, 2013.

D. Hall. *Lands essentiality and land governance.* *Governing Access to Essential Resources*, page 49, 2015.

D. Harvey. *The limits to capital (new and fully updated edition).* London and New York: Verso, 2006.

D. Harvey. *Seventeen contradictions and the end of capitalism.* Oxford University Press (UK), 2014.

D. James. *Citizenship and land in south africa: From rights to responsibilities.* *Critique of Anthropology*, 33(1):26-46, 2013.

B. Jessop. *State power.* Polity, 2007.

D. J. Kjosavik and N. Shanmugaratnam. *Political Economy of Development in India: Indigeneity in Transition in the State of Kerala.* Routledge, 2015.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

V. K. Krishnan. *Tenancy Legislation in Malabar, 1880-1970: An Historical Analysis.* Northern Book Centre, 1993.

M. Kunhaman. *Alienation of tribal land: The case of attappady in kerala.* *State and society*, 2 (2), 1981.

M. Kunhaman. *Understanding tribal life: Kerala dossier.* *State and Society*, 4(2):71{90, 1983.

T. M. Li. *Transforming the indonesian uplands: Marginality. Power and Production.* Amsterdam, OPA, Amsterdam, 1999.

- T. M. Li. *The will to improve: Governmentality, development, and the practice of politics*. Duke University Press, 2007.
- T. M. Li. *Lands end: Capitalist relations on an indigenous frontier*. Duke University Press, 2014.
- M. Loveman. The modern state and the primitive accumulation of symbolic power 1. *American Journal of Sociology*, 110(6):1651{1683, 2005.
- C. Lund. Land rights and citizenship in Africa. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, 2011a.
- C. Lund. Property and citizenship: conceptually connecting land rights and belonging in africa. *Africa Spectrum*, 46(3):71{75, 2011b.
- C. Lund. Rule and rupture: State formation through the production of property and citizenship. *Development and Change*, 47(6):1199-1228, 2016.
- R. Luxemburg. *The accumulation of capital*. Routledge, 2003.
- K. Marx. 1990): *Capital*, 1867.
- K. Marx. *Grundrisse*. Penguin, 1993.
- P. R. G. Mathur. *Tribal situation in Kerala*. Trivandrum: Kerala Historical Society, 1977.
- P. McMichael. Food security and social reproduction: Issues and contradictions. In *Power, production and social reproduction*, pages 169{189. Springer, 2003.
- P. McMichael. *Contesting development: Critical struggles for social change*. Routledge, 2010.
- M. A. Oommen. *Land reforms and socio-economic change in Kerala: An introductory study*. Number 8. Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society, 1971.
- T. Piketty, A. Goldhammer, and L. Ganser. *Capital in the twenty-first century*. 2014.
- E. A. Povinelli. *Economies of abandonment: Social belonging and endurance in late liberalism*. Duke University Press, 2011.
- P.-J. Proudhon. *What is property?: An inquiry into the principle of right and of government*, volume 1. BR Tucker, 1876.
- T. Sikor and C. Lund. Access and property: a question of power and authority. *Development and change*, 40(1):1{22, 2009.
- F. von Benda-Beckmann, K. von Benda-Beckmann, and M. Wiber. *Changing properties of property*. Berghahn Books, 2006.

Nazioarteko Hizketaldia

ELIKADURAREN ETORKIZUNA ETA NEKAZARITZAREN ERRONKAK XXI. MENDERAKO:

**Mundua nork, nola eta zer-nolako inplikazio sozial, ekonomiko eta ekologikorekin
elikatuko duen izango da eztabaidagaia**

2017ko apirilaren 24 / 26. Europa Biltzar Jauregia. Vitoria-Gasteiz. Araba. Euskal
Herria. Europa.

International Colloquium

**THE FUTURE OF FOOD AND CHALLENGES FOR AGRICULTURE IN THE 21st CENTURY:
Debates about who, how and with what social, economic and ecological implications
we will feed the world.**

April 24th - 26th. Europa Congress Palace. Vitoria Gasteiz. Álava. Basque Country/Europe

Coloquio Internacional

**EL FUTURO DE LA ALIMENTACIÓN Y RETOS DE LA AGRICULTURA PARA EL SIGLO XXI:
Debates sobre quién, cómo y con qué implicaciones sociales, económicas y ecológicas
alimentará el mundo.**

24 / 26 de Abril, 2017. Palacio de Congresos Europa. Vitoria-Gasteiz. Álava. País Vasco.
Europa.

GUNTZAILEAK/COLABORAN/COLLABORATING ORGANIZATIONS



LAGUNTZA EKONOMIKOA/APOYAN/WITH SUPPORT FROM

