DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATON

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH BENGAL

MASTER OF ARTS - HISTORY

SEMESTER-IV

THEMES IN INDIAN HISTORY (MODERN)

CORE 401

BLOCK – 1

FOREWORD

The Self-Learning Material (SLM) is written with the aim of providing simple and organized study content to all the learners. The SLMs are prepared on the framework of being mutually cohesive, internally consistent and structured as per the university's syllabi. It is a humble attempt to give glimpses of the various approaches and dimensions to the topic of study and to kindle the learner's interest to the subject

We have tried to put together information from various sources into this book that has been written in an engaging style with interesting and relevant examples. It introduces you to the insights of subject concepts and theories and presents them in a way that is easy to understand and comprehend.

We always believe in continuous improvement and would periodically update the content in the very interest of the learners. It may be added that despite enormous efforts and coordination, there is every possibility for some omission or inadequacy in few areas or topics, which would definitely be rectified in future.

We hope you enjoy learning from this book and the experience truly enrich your learning and help you to advance in your career and future endeavours.

THEMES IN INDIAN HISTORY (MODERN)

BLOCK-1

BLOCK-2

BLOCK-1 THEMES IN INDIAN HISTORY (MODERN)

Introduction to the Block

Unit 1 deals with The Colonial Economy and State- Introduction. When we talk of Colonial Historiography the first task is to remove a possible source of confusion.

Unit 2 deals with History from Bellow. History from Below began as a reaction against the traditional histories which concerned themselves almost exclusively with the political, social and religious elites.

Unit 3 deals with Migrant labour: Calcutta, Bombay, Burma, Fiji and Trinidad. Compelling individual and structural 'push' and 'pull' factors related to labour, conflict, security and disasters underpin Indian citizens' migration overseas.

Unit 4 deals with Nationalist Approach. This is a simple presentation of a very complex problem, especially because historiography is an aspect both of history and persons, and events and intellectual history

Unit 5 deals with Tribes and Other Communities. After discussing social structure and religion of the tribal societies in India, we now examine the impact of the process of modernisation on them.

Unit 6 deals with Gender and environment. Colonialism is generally considered an environmental turning-point in the history of India.

Unit 7 deals with Science and technology. Massive demographic change, aided by science and technology, has changed the landscape beyond recognition.

UNIT 1: THE COLONIAL ECONOMY AND STATE- INTRODUCTION

STRUCTURE

1.0   OBJECTIVES

After this unit, we can able to know:

- To know the Influential Works of History in Colonial India

- To discuss Some Other Historiographic Developments

- To know about the Colonial Ideology in Historiography

- To discuss the Impact of Historical Writings in Colonial India

1.1   INTRODUCTION

When we talk of Colonial Historiography the first task is to remove a possible source of confusion. The term 'colonial historiography' applies to (a) the histories of the countries colonised during their period of colonial rule, and (b) to the ideas and approaches commonly associated with historians who were or are characterised by a colonialist ideology.

In British India the term was used in the first sense and only since independence the second meaning of the term has come into prominence. Many of the front rank historians were British colonial officials, and the term colonial history, when it was used at all, was meant to refer to the subject rather than to the ideology embedded in that history. Today the ideology is the subject of criticism and hence the term 'colonial

historiography' has acquired a pejorative sense. In this Unit we shall use the term 'colonial historiography' in both of these senses mentioned above. In a sense colonial history as a subject of study and colonial approach as an ideology are interconnected. The theme of empire building in the historical works of the British naturally gave rise to a set of ideas justifying British rule in India. This justification included, in different degrees in different individual historian, a highly critical attitude towards Indian society and culture at times amounting to contempt, a laudatory attitude to the soldiers and administrators who conquered and ruled India, and a proneness to laud the benefits India received from Pax Britannica, i.e. British Peace. We shall study this ideology in detail later but it is important to note here that lack of consciousness of the ideological dimension was a characteristic of colonial history writing. The influence of Leopold von Ranke and the positivist school of history had, for the major part of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, created a belief in the 'objectivity of the historian' and this made it difficult to perceive the possibility of ideological leanings in historians' discourse. The ideological dimension of colonial historiography was brought to the surface only in the post-independence critique of earlier historiography. This critique was launched mainly in India while, as late as 1961, C H Philips of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London, in The Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon, did not raise the issue at all in a comprehensive survey of historiography.

The colonial condition in Africa has been revisited by all of the main historiographic currents of thought, from a heroizing, highly political and military history of colonization primarily considered from the colonists' standpoint, to a much more complex and rich history integrating the colonized perspective. This history has been enhanced by contributions from Postcolonial Studies and Subaltern Studies as well as from New Imperial History and perspectives opened by its global interconnected history.

At the intersection of these issues and methods, colonial studies offers an innovative reinterpretation of various facets of colonial Africa, such as the factors and justifications for colonial expansion; conquests and

colonial wars; processes of territorial appropriation and border demarcation; and the organization and control of the colonies. In these fundamentally inegalitarian societies, accommodation and social and cultural hybridization processes were also at work, as well as multiple forms of resistance or subversion that paved the way for African states to win their independence. In addition to the role played by the First and Second World Wars, the emergence of nationalist and separatist movements helps to clarify the multifaceted nature of these independences, when approached from a political as well as a cultural and social perspective, while questioning the durability of the legacy of the colonial phase in African history.

During the last half-century of the British Empire, few historians outside the political Left expressed concern about how British rule would be judged by future generations. To most scholars, at least through World War II, the empire appeared to be building a solid legacy of progressive political and economic institutions, which were gradually rooting both the "rule of law" and commercial, agricultural, and industrial development in native soil. As the Cambridge historian Eric Walker summed up in his wartime work, The British Empire: Its Structure and Spirit, the empire was "a great human achievement."[1] As historiography, this view had a number of basic flaws. It was morally and empirically one-sided, taking little account of the complaints coming from the governed or the criticisms from British scholars of the Left; it exaggerated not just the empire's beneficence but its power and influence upon the colonized; it had no place for the agency of these colonized people themselves; and it treated the long centuries before British arrival as unimportant and irrelevant.

Nowadays, this view of empire and its influence has been widely and justly rejected; but, more problematically, it has been inverted. The idea of a strong "colonial legacy" remains pervasive, but now in highly negative terms. If one googles the phrase, one finds over twelve million entries, the great majority of them pejorative. Most of the problems new states have encountered have been attributed at some point to the legacy left by former European colonial rulers. Not surprisingly, criticism of European empires has been widespread in these states, but it has also

been widespread in the West. Films representing heroic colonial battles, once very popular, have gone completely out of fashion. In the 1960s films like Zulu (1964) and Khartoum (1966) were great successes in both Britain and America, but nowadays only disillusioned or straightforwardly anticolonial films are made—one might cite Gandhi, A Passage to India, Breaker Morant, Gallipoli, Empire of the Sun, The Wind that Shakes the Barley, and a good many others. In 2003, Channel Four's documentary series, "Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World," was far more balanced than the almost purely positive approach of previous generations, but nonetheless drew sharp criticism from journalists and historians for sugar-coating imperial history.2

Leading politicians today share a negative assessment of the legacy of empire. Former Prime Minister Tony Blair, often himself accused of a kind of "neo-colonialism" regarding the former Yugoslavia and Iraq, dramatically condemned Britain's role in the slave trade as "one of the most inhuman enterprises in history." His successor, Gordon Brown, similarly offered his apologies for the sending of children of the poor to Australia and Canada in order to build up the dominions. And even Tory Prime Minister David Cameron, on a visit to Pakistan, when asked how Britain could help end the stalemate over Kashmir, insisted that it was not his place to intervene in the dispute, declaring, "I don't want to try to insert Britain in some leading role where, as with so many of the world's problems, we are responsible for the issue in the first place."3 As The Economist noted, with typical understatement, in 2011, "in modern Britain, it is bad form to speak too highly of the British empire."4

A dramatic change of public outlook has been fostered by, and in turn has encouraged, a scholarly re-evaluation of imperial rule over the past several decades, one that also encompasses the troubled history of the postcolonial era. Problems plaguing postcolonial states—religious and ethnic communalism, the easy eruption of violence, the weakness of democracy, the pervasiveness of corruption—are regularly traced to their legacy from colonialism. As the young historian Dara Price, reviewing work on Indian history, has observed, "Sixty years after Britain's 'shameful flight' from the subcontinent, the reading and writing of modern South Asian history is still heavily influenced by the central

question of British accountability for the contours of contemporary Indian society."5 This is even more true for the history of Africa, the Caribbean, and other former parts of the empire. The nature of the British "colonial legacy" to the postcolonial world remains a live issue a half-century after the empire's end.

While earlier British national self-satisfaction cried out for challenge and critique, and a highlighting of all the harms ignored in the earlier historiography, "critical" imperial history has in its turn become as conventional as its target once was. Having triumphed, the historiographical reaction against "imperial whiggism" now in its turn needs revision. The first step necessary is to contextualize this anti-imperial thought, just as the earlier positive historiography has been contextualized, and then take a careful look at the assumptions and fundamental values held by its exponents.6 Just as "whig-imperial" historiography was bound up in a specific situation and worldview, clearer to us now than it was to its exponents, the same holds true of anti-whig imperial historiography. It too has arisen out of specific problems facing scholars and intellectuals in the second half of the twentieth century, and has been developed in a particular intellectual and political climate, which needs to be explored as that surrounding its predecessor has been, so that we can arrive at a proper assessment of its strengths and weaknesses.

The origins of "critical imperial" historiography are to be found in more than simply a scholarly response to an earlier, egregiously one-sided body of historical work. More broadly, scholars as well as others were greatly disappointed in decolonization's aftermath. At first, independence was accompanied by euphoria, in the new states and among their sympathizers in the West. This heady atmosphere had been breathed in by many scholars, especially of the younger generation. In a presidential address to the African Studies Association in 1992, Martin Klein recalled the "excitement of watching the destruction of an oppressive colonial order and being involved in the creation of a new one."7 In this, Klein was speaking for most of his colleagues in those years. However, this excitement proved short-lived. After a few years in which the progress made in the last years of colonialism continued, newly independent states

found themselves running into both political and economic trouble, some of which had been predicted by colonialists. The horrors of Partition in the Indian subcontinent, followed by continuing political turmoil in Pakistan, unending disputes over the status of Kashmir, military dictatorship in Burma, developmental frustrations in all the South Asian successor states, and the even greater political and economic disasters in Africa led in the course of the 1960s and 1970s to a general mood of disillusion.

Indeed, with regard to Pakistan, parts of the Caribbean, and most of all Africa, disillusion deepened into despair, as constitutional arrangements providing for multiple parties, individual rights, and the rule of law quickly succumbed to one-party rule, caesarism, and corruption, broken only by coups and horrendous breakdowns of order. Eighteen of the twenty-one new states with parliamentary institutions in Africa failed to keep them, usually replacing them with "presidential" institutions that became a screen for dictatorship.8 The era of wars waged by European states against independence movements was succeeded by an even more calamitous era of postcolonial wars, some interstate but most civil, encompassing Nigeria, Angola, Sudan, and most of the other African states, as well as Pakistan, Burma, and India, which experienced several insurgencies. Almost nine million African and seven-and-a-half million Asian military personnel were killed in wars between 1960 and 1995, dwarfing the toll of decolonization wars—and this accounting leaves out the millions more civilian deaths in these conflicts

Similarly, the rapid economic gains that the ending of colonial "exploitation" had promised generally failed to materialize, and where there was initial strong growth, it slowed frustratingly after a few years. As early as 1967, the Deputy Secretary-General of the Commonwealth Secretariat, A.L. Adu, could remark in a public talk that "the political revolution that brought African leaders to power has undoubtedly failed to satisfy the economic and social needs of the people."10 The rhetoric of nationalism and independence came to be increasingly employed in Orwellian fashion to support rulers who cared little for their people, and who outdid the former colonialists in repression, exploitation, and self-dealing. During the 1970s, prospects of economic development, political

stability and democracy, individual freedom, and social justice all seemed to be receding out of sight, and a kind of "postcolonial melancholia" began to settle in. Even in India, where democracy and the rule of law had been maintained and some grounds for satisfaction existed, a slowdown in economic growth combined with a political deadlock leading to Indira Gandhi's resort to a state of emergency brought disappointment to the fore in the academic and even public mood. What, it was asked over and over throughout most of the former European empires, had gone wrong? Why had the end of colonialism not yielded better results?

One way out of the dilemma was to locate the source of these problems outside the control of the new states and their peoples. Decolonization, it was suggested, had brought not a clean slate, but one deeply scarred and pitted. As the preeminent Western scholar of Africa at the time, and a strong partisan of its nationalist movements, Basil Davidson, remarked in his admiring 1973 biography of Kwame Nkrumah, the "dish" the new leaders were handed on the day of independence "was old and cracked and little fit for any further use. Worse than that, it was not an empty dish. For it carried the junk and jumble of a century of colonial muddle and 'make do,' and this the new . . . ministers had to accept along with the dish itself. What shone upon its supposedly golden surface was not the reflection of new ideas and ways of liberation, but the shadows of old ideas and ways of servitude."

Postcolonialist historiography as it developed presented an expanding list of reasons for this letdown. Colonialism, Davidson and others argued in the 1970s, had left an inheritance that undermined, even doomed, efforts at solidifying national cohesion, at making a democratic and constitutional politics work, and at moving the mass of the people out of poverty. New nations had been crippled at their birth by the continuing institutions, arrangements, and culture of their colonizers. Neither exploitative economic structures nor hierarchical and Eurocentric educational and cultural institutions were easily remolded to more beneficial ends. Nor was it to be wondered at that tribal and religious divisions, encouraged, indeed virtually "invented," under colonialism's policies of "divide and rule," now flared up, nor that as soon as the first

generation of leaders faced such predictable difficulties they fell back on the authoritarian and militarist ways of their former rulers, or the repressive laws still in many cases in operation. "A genetic code for the new states of Africa," the respected political scientist Crawford Young wrote in a 1994 summation of the basic theme of a generation of scholarly studies, "was already imprinted on its embryo within the womb of the African colonial state."

The influential "subalternist" historian Partha Chatterjee went further: even in comparatively successful India, as well as in Africa, he argued, "the colonial state. . . was not just the agency that brought the modular forms of the modern state to the colonies; it was also an agency that was never destined to fulfil the normalizing mission of the modern state because the premise of its power was a rule of colonial difference, namely the preservation of the alienness of the ruling group." Such a "rule of colonial difference" did not, he insisted, vanish with the colonizers, but continued to separate the new indigenous rulers from their people. Colonialism's legacy, in short, was a tightly spun spider's web in which new nations thrashed about, finding their freedom of action far more constrained than they had expected. "Most Africans," one French scholar working for UNESCO observed, "hardly recognize themselves in the states their colonizers have bequeathed to them." The postcolonial state was in many respects "alien" to its people, and its very existence blocked their natural development. No doubt, it was usually conceded, there had been some good, in medicine and technology particularly, in the colonial impact upon the non-European world. "But the simple fact remains," another Western scholar argued, "that these colonized peoples, cultures and ultimately nations were prevented from becoming what they might have become: they were never allowed to develop into the societies they might have been."

They were prevented, it was argued, by a fourfold inheritance from colonialism: first, of authoritarian state structures and habits, with "emergency" laws readily employable to suspend liberties; second, by economic structures created to facilitate foreign exploitation of the nation's resources; third, by colonial authorities' promotion of religious and ethnic distrust; and finally, by ongoing international political and

economic relationships and structures emerging out of colonialism designed to preserve and maintain this pernicious colonial inheritance—that is, by "neocolonialism." As the head of the Third World Economic Forum, Dr. Samir Amin, declared in 2010, "Colonisation was very catastrophic and hence the world economic order should be held responsible for any post-independence failures."

This critique had originally been put in Marxist terms, by Amin and other scholars like Andre Gunder-Frank, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Walter Rodney. Political independence, they and others contended in the later 1960s and through the 1970s, made little difference when the true levers of power were economic, and remained firmly in the hands of international capitalists and the Western states that served them. Indeed, "underdevelopment," the new term for the economic backwardness of formerly colonized states, was part of the global capitalist system—it had, in the phrase Gunder-Frank made widely known, been carefully "developed." Rather than being a force for modernization, as it had seen itself, colonialism, it was argued, had ensured a lack of modernization in crucial areas. Backwardness, economic and political, was "built into" the colonial system and its postcolonial successor, as Walter Rodney influentially argued in 1972 about Africa.

By the end of the 1970s, as the prestige of Marxism among both Western and Third World intellectuals was fading, a new mode of postcolonial thinking emerged, "cultural" instead of Marxist. Edward Said's Orientalism, published in 1978, had an almost immediate impact, in part because it synthesized ideas from such figures as Foucault and Fanon, while speaking directly to a pressing practical need of its readers. The central message taken from that work was that colonialism's psychological and cultural exploitation had been even more harmful than economic exploitation, particularly in its pejorative representation of its subjects and its employment of such representation to more effectively control them through their internalization of this representation. And just as the structures of economic exploitation could continue after independence, so could structures of psychic exploitation, in a kind of neocolonialism of the mind.

During the following decade the Saidian paradigm rapidly advanced in Western universities and, as more and more Third World students came to study in these universities, among the scholars and intellectuals of postcolonial societies. Then the collapse of Soviet Communism gave fresh life to the concept of neocolonialism, now represented by a newly unchecked United States and the international agencies, like the IMF and the World Bank, that were seen as its agents. What George H.W. Bush famously called "a new world order" seemed to postcolonialists to be simply the latest form of neocolonialism, now in more purely American dress, a world order that maintained and deepened the inequities of the older, more overt colonialism. Said's indictment of Western cultural arrogance slotted neatly into this new situation of American-dominated globalization. Intellectuals both in the West and in formerly colonized countries, increasingly skeptical of universalist claims emanating from the West, saw the twofold advance of "neo-liberal" prescriptions for economic development (significantly referred to as "the Washington consensus") and the emergence of calls for humanitarian intervention in the Balkans, in Africa, in Southeast Asia—everywhere, it seemed, but in the West itself—as a re-establishing of the colonialist "civilizing mission." These developments, from a Saidian viewpoint, fit together into a continuing and indeed newly intensified neocolonialism. As Carol Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer observed of their 1993 collected volume, Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament, the "common theme that links the essays is the proposition that Orientalist discourse is not just restricted to the colonial past but continues even today." The watchword of scholars of the former Third World, now relabeled "the Global South," became "continuity."

Though already targeted by postcolonial scholars in the 1990s, neo-imperialism seemed to them to clearly intensify after September 11, 2001, in the "global war on terror," with its accompanying upsurge of Orientalist "Islamophobia." After 2001 a great deal of writing appeared that claimed continuity between colonialism and present-day globalization. Over time, the persistent tracing of postcolonial problems to colonial origins, whether in a nationalist, Marxist, or culturalist form, has reshaped the historiography of colonialism. One stream of such

thinking focused on South Asia, another on Africa. Despite the great differences between these locales, the literature on both has shared similar characterizations of problems and of their origins.

1.2 INFLUENTIAL WORKS OF HISTORY IN COLONIAL INDIA

Before we take up the question of the colonial ideology in historiography, let us try and get a clear idea of the historians we are talking about. In the eighteenth century there were very few genuinely historical works. The British were perhaps too busy fighting their way to the top pf the political pyramid in India to devote much attention to history. One of the notable writers in the historical vein in the eighteenth century was Charles Grant, who wrote Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic Subjects of India in 1792. He belonged to the 'evangelical school', i.e. the group pf British observers who believed that it was the divine destiny of the British rulers of India to bring the light of Christianity to India which was sunk in the darkness of primitive religious faiths and superstitions. However, this kind of reflective writing on Indian society and history was rather rare in till the early decades of the nineteenth century. By the second decade of the nineteenth century British rule in India had stabilised considerably and was about to enter a new period of expansion. By 1815 in Europe Britain was not only established as a first class power after Britain's victory over Napoleon and France, but Britain had also undergone the first Industrial Revolution and had emerged as the most industrialised country in the world. Britain's confidence in being at the top pf the world was nowhere better displayed than in British writings on India, a country she dominated and regarded as backward. This attitude is reflected in the historical writings of the British from the second decade of the nineteenth century.

Just about this time, between 1806 and 1818, James Mill wrote a series of volumes on the history of India and this work had a formative influence on British imagination about India. The book was entitled History of British India, but the first three volumes included a survey of ancient and medieval India while the last three volumes were specifically about British rule in India. This book became a great success, it was

reprinted in 1820, 1826 and 1840 and it became a basic textbook for the British Indian Civil Service officrs undergoing training at the East India's college at Haileybury. By the 1840s the book was out of date and in his comments its editor H.H. Wilson pointed that out in 1844 (Wilson also pointed out many factual errors in the book); but the book continued to be considered a classic

Mill had never been to India and the entire work was written on the basis of his limited readings in books by English authors on India. It contained a collection of the prejudices about India and the natives of India which many British officers acquired in course of their stay in India. However, despite shortcomings from the point of view of authenticity and veracity and objectivity, the book was very influential for two reasons. One of these reasons is often recognised: James Mill belonged to an influential school of political and economic thought, the Utilitarians inspired by the philosopher Jeremy Bentham. As an Utilitarian exposition of history Mill's history of India was also at the same time implicitly an Utilitarian agenda for British administration in India. The other reason for the immense influence the book exercised has not been recognised as much as one might have expected. This book perfectly reflected the cast of mind at the beginning of the nineteenth century which we have noticed earlier, a cast of mind which developed in the wake of Britain's victory in the Anglo-French wars for hegemony in Europe, and Britain's growing industrial prosperity. James Mill broadcast a message of confident imperialism which was exactly what the readers in England wanted to hear.

While James Mill had produced an Utilitarian interpretation of history, a rival work of history produced by Mountstuart Elphistone is more difficult to categorise in terms of philosophical affiliation. Elphinstone was a civil servant in India for the greater part of his working life and he was far better equipped and better informed than Mill to write a history of India. His work History of Hindu and Muhammedan India (1841) became a standard text in Indian universities (founded from 1857 onwards) and was reprinted up to the early years of the next century. Elphinstone followed this up with History of British Power in the East, a book that traced fairly systematically the expansion and consolidation of

British rule till Hastings' administration. The periodisation of Indian history into ancient and medieval period corresponding to 'Hindu' period and 'Muslim' period was established as a convention in Indian historiography as a result of the lasting influence of Elphinstone's approach to the issue. While Elphinstone's works continued to be influential as a textbook, especially in India, a more professionally proficient history was produced in the 1860s by J. Talboys Wheeler. The latter wrote a comprehensive History of India in five volumes published between 1867 and 1876, and followed it up with a survey of India Under British Rule (1886).

If one were to look for the successor to Elphinstone's work as an influential text book, one would probably turn to the History of India by Vincent Smith who stands nearly at the end of a long series of British Indian civil servant historians. In 1911 the last edition of Elphinstone's history of 'Hindu and Muhammedan India' was published and in the same year Vincent Smith's comprehensive history, building upon his own earlier research in ancient Indian history and the knowledge accumulated by British researchers in the decades since Elphinstone, saw the light of day. From 1911 till about the middle of the twentieth century Vincent Smith's was the authoritative textbook on the syllabi of almost all Indian universities. While Vincent Smith's book approximated to the professional historians' writings in form and was unrivalled as a text book in summing up the then state of knowledge, in some respects his approach to Indian history seems to have been coloured by his experience as a British civil servant in India. The rise of the nationalist movement since 1885 and the intensification of political agitation since the Partition of Bengal in 1905 may have influenced his judgements about the course of history in India. For instance, time and again he referred to the fragility of India's unity and the outbreak of chaos and the onset of general decline in the absence of a strong imperial authority. The disintegration and decline experienced in ancient and medieval times at the end of great empires suggested an obvious lesson to the Indian reader, viz. it was only the iron hand of imperial Britain which kept India on the path of stability with progress, and if the British Indian empire ceased to be there would be the deluge which will reverse all progress

attained under British rule. As regards the potentials of the nationalist movement and the fitness of the Indian subjects to decide their own destiny, Vincent Smith did not pay much attention to that 'political' question.

The political question, however, was assuming increasing importance in the last years of British rule and a historical work more accommodative to the political outlook of the Indian nationalist movement appeared in 1934. This work, Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India was different from all the previously mentioned books in that it was written from a liberal point of view, sympathetic to Indian national aspirations to a great extent. The authors were Edward Thompson who was a Missionary who taught for many years in a college in Bengal and became a good friend of Rabindranath Tagore, and G.T. Garratt, a civil servant in India for eleven years and thereafter a Labour Party politician in England. Given their background, both were disinclined to toe the line laid down by the civil servant historians of earlier days. Thompson and Garratt faced very adverse criticism from conservative British opinion leaders. On the other hand, many Indians found this work far more acceptable than the officially prescribed textbooks. This book, published less than fifteen years before India attained independence, is a landmark indicating the reorientation in thinking in the more progressive and liberal circles among the British; it was in accord with the mindset which made the transition of 1947 acceptable to the erstwhile imperial power. From James Mill to Thompson and Garratt historiography had traveled forward a great distance. This period, spanning the beginning of the 19th century to the last years of British rule in India, saw the evolution from a Euro-centric and disparaging approach to India towards a more liberal and less ethno-centric approach.

1.3 SOME OTHER HISTORIOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENTS

Till now we have focused attention on histories which were most widely read and attained the status of text books, and hence influenced historical imagination and understanding. There were other historical works not of that kind but nevertheless of historiographic importance. In the middle

decades of the nineteenth century two great authors wrote on India, though India was really not in the centre of their interest. One was Lord Macaulay whose essays on some great British Indian personalities like Robert Clive were published in Edinburgh Review. Macaulay's literary style made Indian history readable, though his essays were flawed by poor information and poorer judgement about the 'native' part of British India. It was a great change from the uncommonly dull and censorious James Mill's writings. Macaulay's lasting influence was the establishment of a tradition of writing history in the biographical mode; this was widely imitated later and hence volume after volume of biographies of Viceroys and the like and histories of their administration. Sir Henry Maine's contribution was of another kind. A great juridical historian, Maine applied himself to the study of ancient Indian institutions while he was for a short period the Law Member of the Governor-General's Council in India. His Ancient Law (1861) and his work on Indian village communities were path-breaking works in history. Maine changed the course of European thinking on the development of law by looking at laws and institutions beyond the domain of Roman law. There were, however, few mentionable contributions by British Indian scholars to follow up Maine's tradition in legal and institutional history. His impact was limited to European scholarly work in the late nineteenth century and perhaps even beyond in the development of sociology in the hands of Max Weber and others.

In the area of legal history the works which British Indian authors produced were of a level different to, indeed inferior to Maine's. Thus for instance Sir James Fitzjames Stephen, also a Law Member of the Viceroy's Council, wrote a defence of British administration under Warren Hastings. Edmund Burke, he argued, was wrong in thinking that the punishment awarded to Nanda Kumar by Justice Elijah Impey was a case of miscarriage of justice. This was the subject of Stephen's Story ofNuncoomar and the Impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey (1885). In reaction to this an I.C.S. officer, Henry Beveridge, wrote in support of the impeachment and in condemnation of the trial and punishment of Nanda Kumar: Nanda Kumar: a narrative of a judicial murder (1886). Similarly, again in defence of previous British administration, Sir John

Strachey of the I.C.S., wrote Hastings and the Rohilla War (1892). Thus there were legal historical debates about a thing in the past, Warren Hastings and his impeachment and Edmund Burke's criticism of British administration. The site of this kind of debate was history, but the hidden agenda was contemporary – to present British conquest and administration of India as an unsullied record which must not be questioned.

In the high noon of the Empire two very contrary tendencies of historical writing were displayed by two prominent authors. One was Sir William W. Hunter, the editor of a good series of Gazetteers and the author of a pedestrian work on the history of British India. From 1899 he began to edit a series of historical books called The Rulers of India. The series lauded the makers of empires in India – mainly the makers of the British Indian empire, though one or two token Indians, like Asoka and Akbar, were included. The series was endowed with government sponsorship and the volumes found place in official libraries and syllabi. The object was to present history in a popular form and very often included not only solemn moments of resolve to do good on the part of an empire builder, but also cute stories of incidents in their childhood back home. The 'hardboiled types' of empire builders were chosen for immortality in a biographical form – British civil servants who sympathised with India were excluded — and it was a caricature of the eighteenth century English tradition of writing history as biography

Sir Alfred Lyall's work, Rise and Expansion of British Dominion in India (1894), offers a contrast because he showed great originality in his methodology and interpretation, although one may disagree very fundamentally with the trend of his interpretation. In methodology his originality consisted of the use, in the manner of ethnographers, of his own observation and knowledge of contemporary Indian society, customs, institutions, etc. in order to understand the past events and processes. Thus he went beyond the textual evidence which most historians at that timer depended upon. In his interpretation of Indian history Lyall projected the story on a very wide canvas, looking at the incursion of the British into India in the light of the entire history of the relationship between the East and the West from the days of the Greeks

and the Romans. This wide sweep of history, resembling in some ways Arnold Toynbee's wide-angled global vision of relationship between civilisations, was different from that of most British Indian historians of the nineteenth century. The third element of originality in Lyall was his theoretical position that India and Europe were on the same track of development, but India's development was arrested at a certain point. This was also the view of Sir Henry Maine who wrote that Indian society had a 'great part of our own civilization with its elements…not yet unfolded." India as an 'arrested civilization' was an influential idea in Europe but in India it had few takers. The nationalistically inclined intelligentsia rejected the view that India was just a backward version of Europe; they believed that India was radically different from Europe in the organisation of her society and state systems, and that India must be allowed to work out a different historical destiny rather than try to imitate Europe. At any rate, while in some matters Lyall's interpretative framework may be questioned, his attempt to look at India as a civilisation merits recognition.

Finally, a noteworthy historiographic development that occurred in the first two or three decades of the twentieth century was the beginning of explorations in economic history. A basis for that had already been laid in the work of many British civil servants who examined economic records and formed broad conclusions about the course of agrarian relations and agricultural history. This they did as district collectors or magistrates responsible for 'land revenue settlement', i.e. fixation of tax on agricultural income in order that Land Revenue may be collected by the government. Among such civil servants an outstanding historian emerged: this was W. H. Moreland who examined the economic condition of India at the Death of Akbar, published in 1920. This work was followed up with another work of economic history on the period From Akbar to Aurangzeb (1923) and finally a history of The Agrarian System of Mughal India (1929). To some extent Moreland's approach was flawed by a preconceived notion that the economic condition of India was better under British rule than what it was in medieval times. He tried to prove this preconception by various means in his works, including his writings on Indian economics in the twentieth century.

Moreover, his response to the Indian economic nationalists' critique of British economic impact was far from being adequate. One of his junior contemporaries was Vera Anstey who wrote on similar lines; she taught at the University of London and wrote a standard textbook on The Economic Development of India (1929). However, her work lacked the historical depth which Moreland attained. Moreland's outstanding contribution was to lay the basis of a new discipline of economic history. However, economic and social history remained marginal to the concerns of the typical colonial historians. This is evident from the classic summation of all the British historians' work on British India in the volume in the Cambridge History of India (1929) edited by David Dodwell as well as P E Roberts' textbook, History of British India (reprinted often since 1907). Neither Indian economic and social conditions nor indeed the people of India were in focus in such works, their history was all about what the British soldiers and civil servants did in India.

1.4 COLONIAL IDEOLOGY IN HISTORIOGRAPHY

It will be an error to homogenise all of British historical writings as uniformly colonial, since different approaches and interpretative frameworks developed within the colonial school in course of the 19th and early 20th centuries. However, there were certain characteristics common to most of the works we have surveyed till now. However simplistic it may be, it may be useful to sum up these characteristics:

• An 'Orientalist' representation of India was common, promoting the idea of the superiority of modern Western civilisation; this is a theme recently brought into prominence by Edward Said and others, but the Indian nationalist intelligentsias had identified and criticised this trend in British writings from James Mill onwards.

• The idea that India had no unity until the British unified the country was commonly given prominence in historical narratives; along with this thesis there was a representation of the eighteenth century India as a

'dark century' full of chaos and barbarity until the British came to the rescue.

• Many late nineteenth century British historians adopted Social Darwinist notions about India; this implied that if history is a struggle between various peoples and cultures, akin to the struggle among the species, Britain having come to the top could be ipso facto legitimately considered to be superior and as the fittest to rule. • India was, in the opinion of many British observers, a stagnant society, arrested at a stage of development; it followed that British rule would show the path of progress to a higher level; hence the idea that India needed Pax Britannica.

• The mythification of heroic empire builders and 'Rulers of India' in historical narratives was a part of the rhetoric of imperialism; as Eric Stokes has remarked, in British writings on India the focus was on the British protagonists and the entire country and its people were just a shadowy background.

• As we would expect, colonial historiography displayed initially a critical stance towards the Indian nationalist movement since it was perceived as a threat to the good work done by the British in India; at a later stage when the movement intensified the attitude became more complex, since some historians showed plain hostility while others were more sophisticated in their denigration of Indian nationalism. In general, while some of these characteristics and paradigms are commonly to be found in the colonial historians' discourse, it will be unjust to ignore the fact that in course of the first half of the twentieth century historiography out-grew them or, at least, presented more sophisticated versions of them. In essence colonial historiography was part of an ideological effort to appropriate history as a means of establishing cultural hegemony and legitimising British rule over India.

The basic idea embedded in the tradition of Colonial Historiography was the paradigm of a backward society's progression towards the pattern of modern European civil and political society under the tutelage of

imperial power. The guiding hand of the British administrators, education combined with 'filtration' to the lower orders of society, 11 implantation of such institutions and laws as the British thought Indians were fir for, and protection of Pax Britannica from the threat of disorder nationalism posed among the subject people – these were the ingredients needed for a slow progress India must make. Sometimes this agenda was presented as 'the civilizing mission of Britain'. What were the intellectual lineages of the colonial ideology as reflected in historiography? Benthamite or Utilitarian political philosophy represented Britain's role to be that of a guardian with a backward pupil as his ward. It may be said that Jeremy Bentham looked upon all people in that light, European or otherwise. That is partly true. But this attitude could find clearer expression and execution in action in a colony like India. Another source of inspiration for the colonialist historian was Social Darwinism, as has been mentioned earlier. This gave an appearance of scientific respectability to the notion that many native Indians were below par; it was possible to say that here there were victims of an arrested civilisation and leave it at that as an inevitable outcome of a Darwinian determinism. A third major influence was Herbert Spencer. He put forward an evolutionary scheme for the explication of Europe's ascendancy and his comparative method addressed the differences among countries and cultures in terms of progression towards the higher European form It was an assumption common among Europeans, that non-European societies would follow that evolutionary pattern, with a bit of assistance from the European imperial powers. This mindset was not peculiar to the British Indian historians. In the heydays of mid-Victorian imperialism the British gave free expression to these ideas while in later times such statements became more circumspect. In the 1870s Fitzjames Stephen talked of "heathenism and barbarism" versus the British as representatives of a "belligerent civilization". In 1920s David Dodwell's rhetoric is milder, indeed almost in a dejected tone: the Sisyphian task of the British was to raise to a higher level the "great mass of humanity" in India and that mass "always tended to relapse into its old posture …like a rock you try

to lift with levers." (Dodwell, A Sketch of the History of India, 1858-1918).

1.5 IMPACT OF HISTORICAL WRITINGS IN COLONIAL INDIA

The above ideological characterisation applies to the dominant trend in historical thinking in the colonial school. But it will be inaccurate to apply this without discrimination. It is well known that among the British officers of the government of British India, as we all know, there were some like Thomas Munro or Charles Trevelyan who were widely regarded as persons sympathetic to the subject people although as officers they served an alien and exploitative regime; there were British officers and British Missionaries (e.g. C F Andrews, author of Renaissance in India, 1925) who sympathised with the National Congress; and there were also those, like say Garratt of the Indian Civil Service and later of the Labour Party in England, or George Orwell of the Indian Police Service who were inveterate critics of the empire. It was the same case with the historians. But the inclinations of lone individuals were insignificant in the face of the dominant tradition among the servants of the British Raj. Official encouragement and sponsorship of a way of representing the past which would uphold and promote imperial might, and the organised or informal peer opinion the dissident individual had to contend with. Our characterisation of the ideology at the root of colonial historiography addresses the dominant trend and may not apply in every respect to every individual historian. Such a qualification is important in a course on Historiography in particular because this is an instance where students of history must exercise their judgement about the range and the limits of generalisation. It must be noted that despite the colonial ideology embedded in historiography in British India, the early British historians of India made some positive contributions. Apart from the obvious fact that the colonial historians laid the foundations of historiography according to methodology developed in modern Europe, their contribution was also substantial in providing in institutions like the Asiatic Society and Archaeological Survey of India opportunity for Indian historians to

obtain entry into the profession and into academic research. Further, despite an ethnocentric and statist bias, the data collected by the British colonial historians as well as the practice of archiving documents was and remains an important resource. Most important of all, the teaching of history began from the very inception of the first three universities in India at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras (1857-1858). This had several unintended consequences. The history that was taught under colonial auspices was highly biased in favour of the imperial point of view. The textbooks were those produced by the school of colonial historiography. Nevertheless, there was a positive outcome. First, along with the history of India by James Mill or Elphinstone, Indian students also read histories of England and of Europe and thus were implanted in the minds of the educated Indians the ideas of Liberty and Freedom and Democracy and Equity, as exemplified in European history, the lessons of the Magna Carta, the Glorious Revolution, the American War of Independence, the struggles of Mazzini and Garibaldi in Italy, etc.

Anyone familiar with the early Moderate phase of the development of nationalism in India will see the relevance these ideas acquired through reading history. Secondly, professionally trained Indian historians began to engage in writing history. Writing history on modern lines with documentary research and the usual apparatus of scholarly work was no longer a monopoly of the amateur historians of British origin. Indians professionally trained began to engage in research, first in learned associations like the Asiatic Society, then in the colleges and universities, and in the government's educational services, particularly the Indian Education Service. Thirdly, and this is the important part, the history which the Indian students were made to read, the books by British civil servant historians of the nineteenth century, created a critical reaction against that historiography. The first graduate of an Indian University, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, repeatedly reviled the British interpretation and raised the question, When shall we write our own history? Rabindranath Tagore put it most eloquently: in other countries, he wrote, history reveals the country to the people of the country, while the history of India the British have gifted us obscures our vision of India; we are unable to see our motherland in this history. This reaction was typical of

the intelligentsia in India and it led some of the best nationalist minds to search for a new construal of history. Thus there developed a Nationalist interpretation of Indian history, putting to an end the hegemony of British colonial historiography. Writing history became a major means of building the consciousness of a national identity. In the next Unit in this collection the Nationalist School of historiography has been surveyed.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. What do you know the Influential Works of History in Colonial India?

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2. Discuss Some Other Historiographic Developments.

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3. What do you know about the Colonial Ideology in Historiography?

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4. Discuss the Impact of Historical Writings in Colonial India.

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1.6 LET US SUM UP

The term 'colonial historiography' has been used in two senses. One relates to the history of the colonial countries, while the other refers to the works which were influenced by colonial ideology of domination. It is in the second sense that most historians today write about the colonial historiography. In fact, the practice of writing about the colonial

countries by the colonial officials was related to the desire for domination and justification of the colonial rule. Therefore, in most such historical works there was criticism of Indian society and culture. At the same time, there was praise for the western culture and values and glorification of the individuals who established the empire in India. The histories of India written by James Mill, Mountstuart Elphinstone, Vincent Smith and many others are pertinent examples of this trend. They established the colonial school of historiography which denigrated the subject people while praising the imperial country.

In such accounts, India was depicted as a stagnant society, as a backward civilisation and as culturally inferior while Britain was praised as a dynamic country possessing superior civilization and advanced in science and technology.

1.7 KEY WORDS

Historiography: Historiography is the study of the methods of historians in developing history as an academic discipline, and by extension is anybody of historical work on a particular subject.

1.8 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1) What is colonial historiography? Discuss some of the important works of historians who are generally associated with colonial historiography.

2) Do you think that all the works written by colonial or the British historians on India belong to the colonial school of history-writing? Answer with examples.

3) Discuss the basic elements of colonialist ideology contained in colonial historiography.

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1.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 1.2
2. See Section 1.3
3. See Section 1.4
4. See Section 1.5

UNIT 2: HISTORY FROM BELLOW

2.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit, we can able to know:

- To know about the Beginning and Growth
- To discuss the Main Trends
- To know about the Problems of Writing History from Below
- To discuss the Indian Context

2.1 INTRODUCTION

History from Below began as a reaction against the traditional histories which concerned themselves almost exclusively with the political, social and religious elites. It has been variously termed as 'grassroots history, history seen from below or the history of the common people', 'people's history', and even, 'history of everyday life'. The conventional history about the great deeds of the ruling classes received further boost from the great tradition of political and administrative historiography developed by Ranke and his followers. In opposition to this 'History from Above',

the History from Below was an attempt to write the history of the common people. It is a history concerned with the activities and thoughts of those people and regions that were neglected by the earlier historians. Peasants and working classes, women and minority groups, unknown 'faces in the crowd', and the people lost in the past became the central concern of this historiographical tradition. History from Below is an attempt to make history-writing broad-based, to look into the lives of the marginalised groups and individuals, and to explore new sources and to reinterpret the old ones.

2.2 BEGINNING AND GROWTH

The beginning of the History from Below may be traced to the late 18th century. In the classical western tradition, history-writing involved the narration of the deeds of great men. The common people were considered to be beyond the boundaries of history and it was beneath the dignity of the historian to write about them. In any case, as Peter Burke points out, 'until the middle of the eighteenth century, the word "society" in its modern sense did not exist in any European language, and without the word it is very difficult to have any conception of that network of relationships we call "society" or "the social structure". According to Eric Hobsbawm, such an approach to history became possible 'only from the moment when the ordinary people become a constant factor in the making of such decisions and events. Not only at times of exceptional popular mobilization, such as revolutions, but at all or most times. By and large this did not happen until the era of the great revolutions at the end of the eighteenth century.' In particular, he traces the origin of this trend in the French Revolution which provided the impetus and opportunity for writing such history by drawing the common people in the public sphere and by creating documents related to their actions. He states: 'One of the reasons why so much modern grassroots history emerged from the study of the French Revolution is that this great event in history combines two characteristics which rarely occur together before that date.

In the first place, being a major revolution, it suddenly brought into activity and public notice enormous numbers of the sort of people who

previously attracted very little attention outside their family and neighbours. And in the second place, it documented them by means of a vast and laborious bureaucracy, classifying and filing them for the benefit of the historian in the national and departmental archives of France.' The process basically started with the 'discovery of people' by the Romantics in late18th century Europe. They used the popular cultural resources like ballads, folk songs and stories, myths and legends to reconstruct the past. Their emphasis on passion as against reason, on imagination as against mechanical science formed the basis for recovering the popular history. In Germany J.G.Herder coined the term 'popular culture'. The two early-19th century histories which used the word 'people' in their titles were the History of the Swedish People by E.G.Geijer and the History of the Czech People by Palacky. In Germany, Zimmermann wrote about the German peasant war. In France, it was Jules Michelet (1798-1874) who, in his voluminous writing on French Revolution, brought common people into the orbit of history-writing. His History of France (1833- 67), History of the French Revolution (1846-53) and The People (1846) are notable for taking the masses into account. In England, the History from Below may be traced to the writings of J.R.Green, Goldwin Smith and Thorold Rogers in the 1860s and 1870s. Green, in the Preface to his book Short History of the English People (1877) criticised the tendency to write the 'drum and trumpet' history, i.e., the history of wars and conquests. He wrote: 'The aim of the following work is defined by its title; it is a history not of English kings or English conquests, but of the English People …. I have preferred to pass lightly and briefly over the details of foreign wars and diplomacies, the personal adventures of kings and nobles, the pomp of courts, or the intrigues of favourites….' Similarly, Thorold Rogers's huge, seven-volume study, History of Agriculture and Prices (1864-1902), was a major work on the social and economic history. In the 20th century, the historian whose works inspired the left tradition of History from Below was Georges Lefebvre. He empirically grounded the study of peasantry in the context of the French Revolution. In his The Peasants of Northern France during the French Revolution (1924), he made a detailed statistical examination of the peasant life on the eve of the Revolution.

He differentiated between various groups of peasants and outlined their differential responses to the Revolution. He further sought to comprehend the motives behind their actions. It was, however, his other book, The Great Fear of 1789 (1932), which comprehensively described the peasant mentality during the Revolution. It is considered among the first texts of the new history from below which is basically concerned about delineating the thoughts and actions of the common people. Eric Hobsbawm, writing in 1985, feels that 'If there is a single historian who anticipates most of the themes of contemporary work, it is Georges Lefebvre, whose Great Fear … is still remarkably up to date.' Thus it may be said that the History from Below, as we know it today, began with Lefebvre.

Building on his work, his pupil and friend, George Rude, advanced this tradition which had moved away for the 'uncritically sentimental tradition' of Michelet and the Romantics. Rude was basically concerned with the study of 'the lives and actions of the common people… the very stuff of history'. In his many books, including The Crowd in the French Revolution (1959), The Crowd in History (1964), and Ideology and Popular Protest (1980), Rude discussed the participation of ordinary people in the epochmaking event. He was not interested in the actions and behaviour of the dominant classes. Rather, in the words of Frederick Krantz, 'He sought … to understand the crowd action of craftsmen, small shopkeepers, journeymen, labourers and peasants not as "disembodied abstraction and personification of good and evil", but as meaningful historical activity susceptible, through meticulous and innovative research, to concrete re-creation'. The questions he asked about the masses set the precedent for the later work on grassroots history : 'how it behaved, how it was composed, how it was drawn into its activities, what it set out to achieve and how far its aims were realized.' He sought to understand the crowd as a 'thing of flesh and blood' having its own 'distinct identity, interests, and aspirations'.

In Britain, during the 1920s and 1930s, there were many popular history books published by the leftist Book Club. In the 1940s, the Communist Party Historians' Group carried forward this tradition. Many of the figures identified with History from Below, such as George Rude,

E.P.Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm, Christopher Hill, and John Saville were members of this group. This group was instrumental in bringing out the famous journal Past and Present in 1952 and later on the Labour History Review. Later on this tradition was carried forward by the History Workshop Journal, founded in 1976, which remained devoted to publishing people's history.

E.P.Thompson, in his essay 'History from Below', published in 1966, first provided the theoretical basis to this tradition of history-writing. After that, according to Jim Sharpe, 'the concept of history from below entered the common parlance of historians'. Thompson had already written his classic book, The Making of the English Working Class (1963), in which he had explored the perspective of the working classes in the context of the Industrial Revolution in England. In a famous statement he stressed that his aim was to understand the views and actions of those people who had been termed as backward-looking and had, therefore, been relegated to the margins of history. He wrote : 'I am seeking to rescue the poor stockinger, the Luddite cropper, the 'obsolete' hand-loom weaver, the 'utopian' artisan, and even the deluded follower of Joanna Southcott, from the enormous condescension of posterity. Their crafts and traditions may have been backward-looking. Their communitarian ideals may have been fantasies. Their insurrectionary conspiracies may have been foolhardy. But they lived through these times of acute social disturbance, and we did not. Their aspirations were valid in terms of their own experience; and if they were casualties of history, they remain, condemned in their own lives, as casualties.' In one of his famous essays, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century' (1971), Thompson studied the crowd behaviour involved in food riots. According to him, the food riots were 'a highly complex form of direct popular action' where the people involved had rational and clear objectives.

Similarly, Cristopher Hill and Eric Hobsbawm sought to emphasise the importance of the thoughts and actions of the lower classes in the making of history. Hill studied the radical and democratic ideologies in the course of the 17th-century English Revolution.

In his book, The World Turned Upside Down (1972), Hill argued that the radical movements of the ordinary people, such as the Levellers, the Diggers, the Ranters, had great revolutionary potential and was capable of subverting the 'existing society and its values'. It is a history written from the point of view of the radical religious groups involving ordinary people. Similarly, Hobsbawm wrote extensively on the thoughts and actions of the modern workers and pre-industrial peasants in books like Labouring Men (1964), Worlds of Labour (1984), Primitive Rebels (1959) and Bandits (1969). John Foster's Class Struggle and Industrial Revolution (1974) and Raphael Samuel's Theatres of Memory (1994) carries forward this tradition. In the USA, the works on the slaves by Eugene Genovese and Herbert Gutman belong to the same tradition. Although the Marxist historians have mostly influenced the writing of History from Below in the 20th century, there are others also whose writings can be said to constitute this trend. Prominent among them are some of the historians of the Annales School. Both the founders of the Annales, Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, had interests in popular mentalities. Bloch's classic book, The Royal Touch (1924), shows his interest in collective psychology and in people's mentalities, ideas and beliefs. Bloch explores the popular belief in the healing powers of the French and the English kings and their capacity to cure the skin disease scrofula just by touching the patient. This belief became a fundamental element in construction of royalty and maintenance of its strength. Similarly Febvre's Martin Luther (1928) and The Problems of Unbelief in the 16th Century (1942) were studies of mentalities. These works stimulated the later generations of historians to explore the history of mentalities. It was, however, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's Montaillou : Cathars and Catholics in a French Village, 1294-1324 (1975) that became one of the classic texts of this genre. It is a study of the ideas and beliefs of a medieval Pyrenean peasant community and offers valuable insights into the lives and activities of common people. Ladurie used as his basic source material the inquisitorial records of the Catholic church to explore the thoughts and beliefs of a small community. Another classic work in the same tradition, though not of the Annales lineage, is Carlo Ginzburg's The Cheese and the Worms (1976). Here the author

looks into the intellectual and spiritual world of one individual, an Italian miller named Domenico Scandella (also known as Menocchio). He was tried by the church authorities for his heretic beliefs and was executed in 1600. The copious documentation dealing with his case provided the basic source material to Ginzburg who is aware of the conceptual and methodological problems involved in recreating the world of subordinate groups and individuals in the pre-modern period. However, he thinks that 'the fact that a source is not "objective" (for that matter, neither is an inventory) does not mean that it is useless…. In short, even meagre, scattered and obscure documentation can be put to good use.' Ginzburg's other works, such as The Night Battles : Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (1966) and Ecstasies : Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath (1989), also strengthened the tradition of History from Below. His works, along with those of Giovanni Levi, also created a new trend in history-writing known as 'microhistory' which we have discussed in detail in Unit 11. Peter Burke's Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (1978), Robert Darton's The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History (1984) and Natalie Zemon Davis's Society and Culture in Early Modern France (1975) and The Return of Martin Guerre (1983) are some other works which explore the popular mentalities and belong to this kind of historiography.

2.3 MAIN TRENDS

According to Raphael Samuel, the 'term "people's history" has had a long career, and covers and ensemble of different writings. Some of them have been informed by the idea of progress, some by cultural pessimism, some by technological humanism'. There is a variety in the subject matter also. 'In some cases the focus is on tools and technology, on others on social movements, on yet others on family life.' This kind of history has also 'gone under a variety of different names – "industrial history" in the 1900s .., "natural history" in those comparative ethnologies which arose in the wake of Darwin… "Kulturgeschichte" (cultural history) in those late-nineteenth-century studies of folkways to whose themes the "new" social history has recently been returning'. It is,

however, clear that this version of historiography has been dominated by the Marxist historians. From Georges Lefebvre in France to Eric Hobsbawm and E.P.Thompson in England to Eugene Genovese and Herbert Gutman in the United States, the nature and method of History from Below in the West have been defined by Marxist social historians. They have first used this term and delineated its features in relation to the conventional historiography. Thompson, Hobsbawm and Raphael Samuel have written about its concepts and contents and most of them have practiced this kind of history-writing. In this version, politics of class struggle has been an important presence. Whether it is the study of the 18th-century French peasantry by Lefebvre, or the medieval English peasantry by Christopher Hill, or the working classes of the 19th and 20th centuries by Thompson, Hobsbawm and John Foster, the existence of classes and the class struggle is always noticeable. These historians insist on the agency of the people and their own role in shaping their lives and history. Some of them, particularly Thompson and Genovese also emphasise on the lived 'experiences' of the people instead of abstract notions of class for understanding their behaviour. But the Marxist historians are not the only ones in this field. The historians belonging to the Annales School such as Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie have also studied the life and thoughts of the subordinate classes. However, with them, it goes under the name of 'history of mentalities'. Closely allied to this is the new cultural history. Developed in the 1960s by Le Roy Ladurie, Robert Mandrou and Jacques Le Goff who were part of the later Annales School in France, this version of historiography had a more populist conception of history and was critical of the 'religious psychology' approach of Febvre. These historians stressed that the people were not passive recipient of the ideas imposed from above or outside, but were creators of their own culture. Some other historians, such as Carlo Ginzburg, Robert Darnton and Natalie Zemon Davis, who are not allied with the Annales, may also be classified as cultural historians. This kind of cultural history is the history of popular ideas. It differs from the approach of the Marxist historians in that it does not stress on classes or economic or political groups. Instead, they focus on small communities or individuals, on everyday life, on

routine work practices, and on ceremonies and rituals. It is, therefore, a version of History from Below in which the politics, though not absent, clearly plays a much less important role than in the Marxist version.

These two trends, one associated with Marxism and the other with the 'history of mentalities' and cultural history, have been the most important versions of History from Below in the 20th century. However, there are other versions of this kind of historiography. In the right-wing version of such history there is no place for politics. It is a history of people in which there is no class struggle, no conflict of ideas and there is a strong sense of religious and moral values. The institution of family is idealised and there is a tendency 'to interpret the social relationships as reciprocal rather than exploitative'. Raphael Samuel states that the 'characterstic location of right-wing people's history is in the "organic" community of the past…. The ideology is determinedly anti-modern, with urban life and capitalism as alien intrusions on the body politic, splintering the age-old solidarities of "traditional" life'. G.M. Trevelyan's English Social History (1944) and Peter Laslett's World We Have Lost (1965) are examples of this trend. In the liberal version, the History from Below celebrates the spirit of modernity and benefits of capitalism and material progress. It is optimistic in tone and is future-oriented. It is critical of the pre-modern period which it considers synonymous with superstition and warfare. Guizot, Mignet, Thierry and later Michelet were some of the historians who represent this trend.

2.4 PROBLEMS OF WRITING HISTORY FROM BELOW

Both the exponents and critics have pointed towards several problems involved in the practice of History from Below. The most important problem relates to the nature and availability of sources. Most of the records left by the past describe the lives and deeds of the ruling and dominant groups. Even those records which relate to the lives and activities of ordinary people were created by the dominating classes or by those who were associated with them. This was done mostly for administrative purposes. The records about the subordinate groups are more numerous for the periods when they were resisting or rebelling

against the authorities. Before the late 18th century in Europe access to such sources is restricted. For other parts of the world, particularly the Third World countries, the availability of such records is even more difficult. Moreover, as most of these records were created by and for the members of the dominant groups, they suffer from hyperbole, neglect and misrepresentation. For example, the police records revealing the subversive activities among the masses are often exaggerated. Similarly, they completely ignore those areas in the life of people which were not in administrative interest.

The problem is compounded because the masses have generally not left much records of their own. Popular culture is generally preserved through the oral medium and not through written medium. The oral tradition, as Hobsbawm remarks, 'is a remarkably slippery medium for preserving facts. The point is that memory is not so much a recording as a selective mechanism, and the selection is, within limits, constantly changing'. The paucity of written sources left by the ordinary people is a great hindrance in writing about their feelings and ideas. At another level, there are problems related to conceptualisation also. Although all practitioners of History from Below claim to write about people, the term 'people' itself is used with different, sometimes conflicting, meanings. Raphael Samuel states that 'In one version of people's history – radical-democratic or Marxist – the people are constituted by relations of exploitation, in another (that of the folklorists) by cultural antinomies, in a third by political rule'. The problem is further complicated by excluding certain groups from the category of people, while considering some as more people than others. In one version it is the proletariat which constitute the real people, in another it is peasantry. Herder, the German Romantic scholar, did not include the urban masses in the category of 'people'. For him and his followers, the 'people' were the peasants who lived close to nature and were innocent. The term sometimes also adopts racist connotations in which people speaking other languages or following different faiths are not counted among the real people. At the left radical level, the exclusion takes another form. Peter Burke, while praising the histories written by British Marxist historians, points out :

'Edward Thompson's Making of the English Working Class comes quite close to excluding working-class Tories from the people. As for The World Turned Upside Down [by Christopher Hill], it deals alternately with radical ideas and with the ideas of ordinary people, so that an incautious reader may very well be led to equate the two. However, in seventeenth-century England, not all ordinary people were radicals and not all radicals were ordinary people.' The History from Below has also been criticised for not taking theoretical issues into account and for romanticising and idealising the people. Its rank and file approach ignores the fact of institutional influence on industrial relations. Moreover, its neglect of quantitative analysis and overemphasis on narrative has also been criticised.

2.5 INDIAN CONTEXT

The main problem in writing the History from Below in India, apart from the conceptual problems discussed above, is the absence of relevant sources. The records pertaining to the lower classes were almost exclusively produced by those not belonging to that stratum of society. The relevant sources are a big problem even in advanced countries where the working-class literacy was much higher. Even there the sources related to the peasants and other pre-industrial groups come to us through those in authority. In India, most of the members of the subordinate classes, including the industrial working classes, are not literate. Therefore, direct sources coming from them are extremely rare, if not completely absent. Given this scenario, the historians trying to write history from below have to rely on indirect sources. As Sabyasachi Bhattacharya points out, 'Given the low level of literacy we have to depend on inferences from behaviour pattern, reports on opinions and sentiments (often involving a distorting refraction in the medium), on oral testimonies (best when exactly recorded as in trial proceedings) etc.' Oral traditions also have their problems. They cannot be stretched back too far and one has to work within living memory. These problems are outlined by one of the great practitioners of History from Below, Ranajit Guha, the founder of the Subaltern Studies about which we will read more in the next Unit. Guha, in his book, Elementary Aspects of Peasant

Insurgency in Colonial India (1983), talks about the elitist origins of most of the evidences which the historians use for understanding the mentalities behind the peasant rebellions : 'Most, though not all, of this evidence is elitist in origin. This has come down to us in the form of official records of one kind or another – police reports, army despatches, administrative accounts, minutes and resolutions of governmental departments, and so on. Non-official sources of our information on the subject, such as newspapers or the private correspondence between persons of authority, too, speak in the same elitist voice, even if it is that of the indigenous elite or of non-Indians outside officialdom.' To overcome these elitist biases, it is often supposed, folk traditions may be used. But, according to Guha, 'there is not enough to serve for this purpose either in quantity or quality in spite of populist beliefs to the contrary'. Firstly, there are not much of such evidences available. Moreover, 'An equally disappointing aspect of the folklore relating to peasant militancy is that it can be elitist too.' Guha's suggestion for capturing the insurgent's consciousness is to read between the lines, 'to read the presence of a rebel consciousness as a necessary and pervasive element within that body of evidence'. However, Sumit Sarkar finds a much deeper problem which may be the cause of this non-availability of evidences. It is the continued subalternity of the lower classes :

'Above all, "history from below" has to face the problem of the ultimate relative failure of mass initiative in colonial India, if the justly abandoned stereotype of the eternally passive Indian peasant is not to be replaced by an opposite romantic stereotype of perennial rural rebelliousness. For an essential fact surely is that the "subaltern" classes have remained subaltern, often surprisingly dormant despite abject misery and ample provocation, and subordinate in the end to their social "betters" even when they do become politically active.' It is with these constraints that the historians have worked on Indian people's histories.

2.5.1 History of Peasant Movements

A general history of peasant movements by Barrington Moore Jr., Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy (1967), puts the Indian peasant movements in a comparative perspective. In Moore's account, the Indian

peasantry lacked revolutionary potential and were comparatively docile and passive in the face of poverty and oppression. Thus peasant rebellions in India were 'relatively rare and completely ineffective and where modernization impoverished the peasants as least as much as in China and over as long a period of time'. This view of the Indian peasant was challenged by many historians. Kathleen Gough, in her article on 'Indian Peasant Uprising' (1974), counted 77 peasant revolts during the colonial period. Her conclusion is that 'the smallest of which probably engaged several thousand peasants in active support or combat'. And the largest of these 'is the "Indian Mutiny" of 1857-58, in which vast bodies of peasants fought or otherwise worked to destroy British rule over an area of more than 500,000 square miles'. Ranajit Guha, in his book, states that 'there are no fewer than 110 known instances of these even for the somewhat shorter period of 117 years – from the Rangpur dhing to the Birsaite ulgulan'. A.R.Desai is also against this view of the docility of the Indian peasantry and asserts that 'the Indian rural scene during the entire British period and thereafter has been bristling with protests, revolts and even large scale militant struggles involving hundreds of villages and lasting for years'. It is, therefore, clear that, at least during the British period, the quiescence of the Indian peasantry is a myth and a large number of works explode this myth. There are many studies undertaken on Indian peasant movements. Apart from

Kathleen Gough's work, A.R.Desai's (ed.) Peasant Struggles in India (1979) and Agrarian Struggles in India after Independence (1986), Sunil Sen's Peasant Movements in India – Mid-Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries (1982), Ranajit Guha's Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India (1983), Eric Stokes's The Peasants and the Raj : Studies in Agrarian Society and Peasant Rebellion in Colonial India (1978), and D.N.Dhanagare's Peasant Movements in India, 1920-1950 (1983) are some of the all-India studies. On Bengal, Suprakash Roy's pioneering work in Bengali published in 1966, and translated into English as Peasant Revolts and Democratic Struggles in India (1999), looks at these revolts basically in terms of class struggles of peasants against the imperialist and landlords' exploitation and oppression. He also linked these rebellions to the fight for a democratic polity in India.

Muinuddin Ahmed Khan's History of the Faraidi Movement in Bengal (1965) sought to interpret this peasant movement basically as a religious movement against the non-Muslim gentry. However, Narhari Kabiraj, in his A Peasant Uprising in Bengal (1972) and Wahabi and Farazi Rebels of Bengal (1982) refuted this thesis and emphasised on economic factors as the cause of the rebellion. His conclusion was that during this movement the 'agrarian aspect took precedence over the communal one'. Blair King's study of the indigo rebellion in Bengal (The Blue Mutiny : The Indigo Disturbances in Bengal 1859-1962 (1966)) also reaches the conclusion that it was a secular movement which combined all sections on Indian society. However, Ranajit Guha views the Indigo rebellion differently and argues that there were contradictions between various sections of the peasantry. Some of the other important regional studies on peasant movements are : Girish Mishra's study on Champaran movement, Agrarian Problems of Permanent Settlement : A Case Study of Champaran (1979), and Stephen Henningham's Peasant Movements in Colonial India, North Bihar, 1917-1942 (1982); Majid H. Siddiqi's Agrarian Unrest in North India : The United Provinces, 1918-32 (1978), and Kapil Kumar's Peasants in Revolt : Tenants, Lanlords, Congress and the Raj in Oudh (1984) on U.P.; works by Stephen Dale, Robert Hardgrave, Sukhbir Chaudhary and Conrad Wood on the Moplah rebellion in Malabar, Kerala. Apart from these there are also several works on peasant movements in other parts of India.

2.5.2 History of Working-class Movements

Until about twenty-five years ago, the history of Indian labour was almost synonymous with the history of trade unions. Writing in 1982, Sabyasachi Bhattacharya commented that 'Till now in our labour history the Trade Union movement has been the subject of the largest number of published work'. Besides this, the focus was on the worker as an economic being, which did not take into account his/her social and cultural existence. Since the 1980s, however, this situation began to change. Several studies have appeared which view the working class history from a broader perspective. For one thing, the trade unions are no longer considered as synonymous with the working class. It is true that

the trade unions represent a highly organised form of working class activities. However, trade unions are only one of the forms in which the workers organise themselves. Working class movement, on the other hand, is a much broader phenomenon and covers various mobilisations of all kinds of workers. Secondly, the recent studies have pointed out that economic motivation is not the sole determinant of working class action. The making of the working class and its movement derives from various sources in which the cultural, the social and the political are as important as the economic. Thirdly, it is indicated that the industrial workers, whom the trade union studies take as their basic staple, form a rather small part the entire working class which includes within its ambit the rural workers, urban workers in informal sectors, and service sector workers. Moreover, gender questions are also coming to the fore for an understanding of the attitude and behaviour of the workers, the employers, the public activists and government officials. The studies which take into account these aspects of the changing scenario include E.D.Murphy's 'Class and Community in India : The Madras Labour Union, 1918-21' (IESHR, IV, 3, 1977) and Unions in Conflict : A Comparative Study of Four South Indian Textile Centres, 1918-1939 (1981), R.K.Newman's Wokers and Unions in Bombay, 1918-29 : A Study of Organization in the Cotton Mills (1981), S.Bhattacharya's 'Capital and Labour in Bombay City, 1928-29' (EPW, XVI, 1981), Dipesh Chakrabarty's Rethinking Working-Class History : Bengal, 1890-1940 (1989), Rajnarayan Chandavarkar's The Origins of Industrial Capitalism in India : Business Strategies and Working Classes in Bombay, 1900-40 (1994), Janaki Nair's Miners and Millhands : Work, Culture and Politics in Princely Mysore (1998), Samita Sen, Women and Labour in Late Colonial India : The Bengal Jute Industry (1999), and Nandini Gooptu's The Politics of the Urban Poor in the early TwentiethCentury India (2001).

2.5.3 History of Tribal Movements

Several scholars treat tribal movements as part of the peasant movements. It is because over the years the tribal society and economy have started resembling those of the peasants and the agrarian problems

of the tribals are same as those of the peasants. Kathleen Gough, A.R.Desai and Ranajit Guha have dealt with the tribal movements as such. Moreover, many scholars like Ghanshyam Shah, Ashok Upadhyay and Jaganath Pathy have shown the changes in the tribal society and economy which have pushed them in the direction of the non-tribal peasants. However, K.S. Singh, one of the authorities in the field, is of the opinion that such an approach is not justified because it 'tends to gloss over the diversities of tribal social formations of which tribal movements are a part, both being structurally related'. Singh puts more emphasis on social organisation of the tribals than on their economic grievances. He argues that : 'while the peasant movements tend to remain purely agrarian as peasants lived off land, the tribal movements were both agrarian and forest based, because the tribals' dependence on forests was as crucial as their dependence on land.

There was also the ethnic factor. The tribal revolts were directed against zamindars, moneylenders and petty government officials not because they exploited them but also because they were aliens.' In contrast to this view, some scholars have questioned the very category of the tribe itself. For example, Susana Devalle, in Discourses of Ethnicity: Culture and Protest in Jharkhand (1992), argues that the category 'tribe' was constructed by the European scholars in India and the colonial officials in their effort to understand the Indian reality. Andre Beteille also thinks that there are a lot of similarities between the tribals and the peasants and, therefore, it would be a mistake to consider them as two distinct structural types. However, the fact remains that a large part of the tribal societies, particularly until the 20th century, possessed several specific features which put them apart from the mainstream peasant societies. For one, social and economic differentiation within the tribal society was much less than among the peasantry. Secondly, the great dependence of the tribes on the forests also separates them from the peasants whose main source of survival was land. Thirdly, tribal social organisation and the spatial concentration of the tribes in certain areas kept them relatively isolated.

These factors made them particularly sensitive to the changes brought about by the colonial rule and imparted more militancy to their rebellion.

The colonial administrators were the first to write about the tribals. This attention was due to the recurring tribal revolts as a result of colonial intervention. The earliest writings were an attempt to understand the tribal societies for better administration. W.W. Hunter's Annals of Rural Bengal (1868), E.T. Dalton's Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal (1872), and H.H. Risley's Tribes and Castes of Bengal (1891) were some of these early works which described the tribal society. One of the earliest works by an Indian is Kali Kinkar Datta's Santal Insurrection (1940). According to Datta, the main reason for the rebellion was the oppression and exploitation by the outsiders. Three of his students also focused on Chotanagpur region for their initial studies on the tribes. J.C. Jha's The Kol Insurrection of Chotanagpur (1964), S.P. Sinha's Life and Times of Birsa Bhagwan (1964) and K.S. Singh's The Dust Storm and the Hanging Mist : A Study of Birsa Munda and his movement in Chota Nagpur, 1874-1901 (1966) were pioneering efforts on these themes. The three volumes edited by K.S. Singh on Tribal Movements of India (1982, 1983 and 1998) are a big contribution to deal with the subject at the all-India level. John MacDougall's Land or Religion? The Sardar and Kherwar Movements in Bihar, 1858-95 (1985), D.M. Praharaj's Tribal Movement and Political History in India : A Case Study from Orissa, 1803-1949 (1988), David Hardiman's The Coming of the Devi : Adivasi Assertion in Western India (1987), David Arnold's article on Gudem-Rampa uprisings in Andhra Pradesh (in Subaltern Studies, vol. I, 1982), S.R. Bhattarcharjee's Tribal Insurgency in Tripura : A Study in Exploration of Causes (1989) are some of the regional studies.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. What do you know about the Beginning and Growth?

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2. Discuss the Main Trends.

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3. What do you know about the Problems of Writing History from Below?

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4. Discuss the Indian Context.

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2.6   LET US SUM UP

History from Below, as we have discussed in this Unit, is to introduce the perspective of the common people in the process of history-writing. It is against that concept of historiography which believes in Disraeli's dictum that history is the biography of great men. Instead, the History from Below endeavours to take into account the lives and activities of masses who are otherwise ignored by the conventional historians. Moreover, it attempts to take their point of view into account as far as possible. It this venture, the historians face a lot of problems because the sources are biased in favour of the rulers, administrators and the dominant classes in general. In countries like India, this problem becomes even more acute due to low level of literacy among the masses. Despite these constraints, however, the social historians have tried their best to bring the people from the margins to the centre.

Colonialism is a practice of domination, which involves the subjugation of one people to another. One of the difficulties in defining colonialism is that it is hard to distinguish it from imperialism. Frequently the two concepts are treated as synonyms. Like colonialism, imperialism also involves political and economic control over a dependent territory. The etymology of the two terms, however, provides some clues about how they differ. The term colony comes from the Latin word colonus, meaning farmer. This root reminds us that the practice of colonialism

usually involved the transfer of population to a new territory, where the arrivals lived as permanent settlers while maintaining political allegiance to their country of origin. Imperialism, on the other hand, comes from the Latin term imperium, meaning to command. Thus, the term imperialism draws attention to the way that one country exercises power over another, whether through settlement, sovereignty, or indirect mechanisms of control.

The legitimacy of colonialism has been a longstanding concern for political and moral philosophers in the Western tradition. At least since the Crusades and the conquest of the Americas, political theorists have struggled with the difficulty of reconciling ideas about justice and natural law with the practice of European sovereignty over non-Western peoples. In the nineteenth century, the tension between liberal thought and colonial practice became particularly acute, as dominion of Europe over the rest of the world reached its zenith. Ironically, in the same period when most political philosophers began to defend the principles of universalism and equality, the same individuals still defended the legitimacy of colonialism and imperialism. One way of reconciling those apparently opposed principles was the argument known as the "civilizing mission," which suggested that a temporary period of political dependence or tutelage was necessary in order for "uncivilized" societies to advance to the point where they were capable of sustaining liberal institutions and self-government.

The goal of this entry is to analyze the relationship between Western political theory and the project of colonialism. After providing a more thorough discussion of the concept of colonialism, this entry will explain how European thinkers justified, legitimized, and challenged political domination. The third section focuses on liberalism and the fourth section briefly discusses the Marxist tradition, including Marx's own defense of British colonialism in India and Lenin's anti-imperialist writings. The fifth section provides an introduction to contemporary "post-colonial theory." This approach has been particularly influential in literary studies because it draws attention to the diverse ways that postcolonial subjectivities are constituted and resisted through discursive practices. The final section will introduce an Indigenous critique of

settler-colonialism that emerges both as a response to colonial practices of domination and dispossession of land, customs and traditional history and to post-colonial theories of universalism. The goal of the entry is to provide an overview of the vast and complex literature that explores the theoretical issues emerging out of the experience of European colonization.

2.7   KEY WORDS

History: the study of past events, particularly in human affairs.

Colonial Rule: The policy or practice of a wealthy or powerful nation's maintaining or extending its control over other countries, especially in establishing settlements or exploiting resources. A rule by the wealthy or powerful nation over a weaker country is the colonial rule.

2.8   QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1) What is History from Below? Discuss its beginning and growth.
2) Write a note on the History from Below in the context of history-writing on India.
3) Discuss the important trends in the writings of People's history.
4) What are the main problems associated with writing History from Below?

2.9   SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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- Peter Burke, 'People's History or Total History', in Raphael Samuel (ed.), People's History and Socialist Theory (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981).

- Frederick Krantz, History from Below : Studies in Popular Protest and Popular Ideology (Oxford, New York, Basil Blackwell, 1985, 1988).

- Georg G. Iggers, Historiography in the Twentieth Century : From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge (Hanover and London, Wesleyan University Press, 1997).

2.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 2.2
2. See Section 2.3
3. See Section 2.4

UNIT 3: MIGRANT LABOUR: CALCUTTA, BOMBAY, BURMA, FIJI AND TRINIDAD

STRUCTURE

3.0   OBJECTIVES

After this unit, we can able to know:

- To know about the Migrant Labour
- To discuss the Situation of migrant workers : Calcutta, Bombay, Burma, Fiji and Trinidad
- To know about the Women migrant workers
- To discuss about the Migrant education and economics
- To discuss the Migrant workers' rights

3.1   INTRODUCTION

Migration is of immense significance to India. According to the data of Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA), at present there are about fifty lakh overseas Indian workers all over the world. More than 90% of these workers are in the Gulf countries and Southeast Asia. Most of these workers are unskilled or semi-skilled, and a majority is temporary migrants who return to India after the expiry of their contractual

employment. There had been a consistent increase in the number of persons emigrating for employment. The numbers almost doubled from 2004 (4.75 lakh) to 2008 (8.49 lakh). In 2009 the number of emigration clearances granted by the eight offices of the Protector General of Emmigrants was 6.10 lakhs in 2009. Out of this, about 1.30 lakh workers went to UAE, about 2.81 lakh to Saudi Arabia, about 46,000 to Qatar and about 11,000 to Malaysia.

Over the years, Kerala had dominated the scene of temporary job seekers, mainly to the Gulf countries. Recent data suggests that this trend is being changed. In the recent years, Uttar Pradesh (UP) has emerged as the leading migrant sending state of India. According to the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) the number of workers granted emigration clearance/ECNR endorsement from Uttar Pradesh increased from merely 27,428 in 2004 to more than double 66,131 in 2006 and reached 1,39,254 in 2008 making UP the second highest migrant sending state after Kerala. In 2009 the figure reached 1,25,783 making UP the highest migrant sending state that accounted for almost 21 per cent of the total workers who migrated from India in that year

Compelling individual and structural 'push' and 'pull' factors related to labour, conflict, security and disasters underpin Indian citizens' migration overseas. Moreover, there have been labour-market openings over the last decade or so in the western economies; wherein the country prefers Indian workers to take advantage of the opportunities of increased migration from India. Equally compelling concerns draw recruiters to India, including India's strong and stable political economy that stands out in the region. Yet there is a persistence of the fundamental contradiction of globalization whereby capital and goods are exchanged under increasingly borderless conditions, but the mobility of people is increasingly restricted under strict border controls and national security interests.

So far India has no formal policy on international migration. There are only limited schemes and programmes to safeguard the interests of migrant workers. The issue of migrant workers was earlier dealt in the Ministry of Labour and Employment (MOLE). In 2001 the department of Protector of Emigrants was transferred to the Ministry of External

Affairs (MEA) and after a short time it was shifted to the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA). The only law, which is applicable, is the Indian Emigration Act of 1983.

The Act at present regulates migration and in principle certain provisions that ensure rights of workers. Section 22 of the Act states that "No citizen of India shall emigrate unless he obtains under this chapter from the protector of emigrants authorization in the prescribed manner". The Act provides for setting up of the protector general of immigrants for the protection and safety of the migrants from India. The Act also provides for the registration of recruitment agents. Recruiting agents need to obtain license from the protector general of immigrants for recruiting persons for overseas employment.

MOIA argues that the Emigration Act 1983 has severe shortcomings and has to be revamped. The idea is to make emigration an 'orderly economic process', facilitating temporary overseas employment. It also argues that countries of origin and destination must together strive to achieve a 'minimum policy harmonisation' on migration that will 'result in well calibrated migratory flows.' This position is much in line with the changing international discourse on migration from regulating migration and protecting rights of immigrants to 'managing' migration as articulated in the positions of the Mode 4 of WTO and the IOM.

These developments are being carefully monitored by CSOs and migrants rights organization. CSOs have critiqued the Act in the past and raised that there are problems in implementation. Gross violations of rights of migrant workers and mal-practices by the recruiting agencies have been reported. However, currently the Government of India's strategy is to deal with the specific labour shortages of the receiving countries. The GoI rejects migration as a right.

In this context CEC-MFA have taken initiatives in the past to suggest policy recommendations to the government as well as to deliberate on how the emigration law needs to be changed. In 2010 an Emigration Welfare Bill 2011 was prepared in a draft form through a consultative process involving civil society organisations, migrants rights organisations, academics, lawyers and trade union leaders. This project

intends to follow up this process and ensure that civil society concerns get integrated in the new law.

The emphasis during the current phase of intervention is to test the relevance of the Emigrant Welfare Bill 2011 from the perspective of emigrants from UP. This is done in the light of changing patterns of migration from India in the recent past. .

3.2 MIGRANT LABOUR

The growing pace of economic globalization has created more migrant workers than ever before. Unemployment and increasing poverty have prompted many workers in developing countries to seek work elsewhere. It is estimated that 73 per cent of migrants are workers. In industrialized countries, demand for labour, especially unskilled labour, has increased. As a result, millions of workers and their families travel to countries other than their own to find work. Considerable efforts have been made over recent years to obtain reliable and comparable data on labour migration. However, as noted by the ILO and the international community, there remain significant gaps. In response, the ILO has published global and regional estimates of migrant workers. According to these estimates, there are at present approximately 244 million migrants around the world, representing 3.3 per cent of the global population. Women make up almost half of migrants. (Note 1) Migrant workers contribute to the economies of their host countries, and the remittances they send home help to boost the economies of their countries of origin. Yet, migrant workers often benefit from inadequate social protection and are vulnerable to exploitation and human trafficking. Skilled migrant workers are less vulnerable to exploitation, but their departure deprives some developing countries of the valuable labour needed for their own economies. ILO standards on migration provide tools for both countries of origin and of destination to manage migration flows and ensure adequate protection for this vulnerable category of workers.

Relevant ILO instruments

Migration for Employment Convention (Revised), 1949 (No. 97) - Requires ratifying states to facilitate international migration for employment by establishing and maintaining a free assistance and information service for migrant workers and taking measures against misleading propaganda relating to emigration and immigration. Includes provisions on appropriate medical services for migrant workers and the transfer of earnings and savings. States have to apply treatment no less favourable that that which applies to their own nationals in respect to a number of matters, including conditions of employment, freedom of association and social security.

Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143) -

Provides for measures to combat clandestine and illegal migration while at the same time setting forth the general obligation to respect the basic human rights of all migrant workers. It also extends the scope of equality between legally resident migrant workers and national workers beyond the provisions of the 1949 Convention to ensure equality of opportunity and treatment in respect of employment and occupation, social security, trade union and cultural rights, and individual and collective freedoms for persons who as migrant workers or as members of their families are lawfully within a ratifying state's territory. Calls upon ratifying states to facilitate the reunification of families of migrant workers legally residing in their territory.

Definition

There is no internationally accepted statistical definition of labour migration. However, the main actors in labour migration are **migrant workers**, which the International Labour Organization (ILO) defines as:

"… all international migrants who are currently employed or unemployed and seeking employment in their present country of residence." (ILO, 2015).

The United Nations Statistics Division (UN SD) also provides a statistical definition of a **foreign migrant worker**:

"Foreigners admitted by the receiving State for the specific purpose of exercising an economic activity remunerated from within the receiving country. Their length of stay is usually restricted as is the type of employment they can hold. Their dependents, if admitted, are also included in this category." (UN SD, 2017).

While migrant workers are often also international migrants, not all are (see table below). It is important to note the difference between the definition of a **foreign migrant worker** and an international migrant. An **international migrant** is defined as:

"any person who changes his or her country of usual residence" (UN DESA, 1998).

Data on international migrant stocks **are mostly based on country of birth** (if different from country of residence). Where no information on foreign-born is available in censuses, data on international migrant stocks **are based** on country of citizenship (UN DESA, 2016:4, UN SD, 2017). When defining **migrant workers**, **emphasis is placed on a person's citizenship** rather than their country of birth (ILO, 2015).

Source: Adapted from ILO, 2015. *Note: Border workers, consular officials and military personnel are excluded from the definition of an international migrant (UN DESA, 1998: para. 42)		
Type of migrant	**Is a foreign migrant worker?**	**Is an international migrant?**
Citizen of the country of residence who is working and was born in another country	**No,** as did not move in search of work	**Yes**, as the country of birth is different from the country of residence (see definition in international migrant stocks)
Person born in, and working in the country in question, but who does not have citizenship	**Yes**	**No**

Source: Adapted from ILO, 2015. *Note: Border workers, consular officials and military personnel are excluded from the definition of an international migrant (UN DESA, 1998: para. 42)		
Type of migrant	**Is a foreign migrant worker?**	**Is an international migrant?**
Citizen returning to work in the country in question after working abroad	**No**, as holding the citizenship of the country of origin	**Yes,** due to change in country of residence
Border workers (who reside in one country but work in another)*	**Yes**	**No**
Consular official*	**Yes**	**No**
Military personnel*	**Yes**	**No**

Key trends

According to the ILO, there were an estimated **164 million**migrant workers globally in 2017. **Almost half** (46.9%) of all migrant workers were located **in two broad sub-regions**: North America and Northern, Southern and Western Europe, where 55.4 per cent of all female workers and 40.9 per cent of all male workers were located. 40.8 per cent of all migrant workers resided in the Arab States and 1.0 per cent in Southern Asia, making them the regions with the highest and lowest shares of migrant workers respectively (ILO, 2018).

Among all migrant workers worldwide in 2017, **68.1 million**or approximately **41.6 per cent**were female. Male migrant workers made up **95.7 million**or **58.4 per cent**of the total (ibid.) and outnumbered female migrant workers globally, but with significant regional variations. Approximately eight per cent of all migrant workers in 2017 were between 15 and 24 years old (ibid.). Of the estimated 150.3 million migrant workers in 2013, 11.5 million were migrant domestic workers

(ILO, 2015).

Data sources & measurement

Data on labour migration and migrant workers are collected in a number of ways. The five main data sources used to measure the flows and stocks of migrant workers are:

1. Population censuses;
2. Household surveys;
3. Labour force surveys;
4. Administrative sources; and
5. Statistical sources (ILO, 1994/5).

Administrative sources used to measure migrant worker flows include the measurement of new entry or immigration visas, new permissions issued to work in a country, administrative entry registrations at the border and the apprehension of clandestine border crossers (ibid.). The measurement of migrant worker stocks include accumulated entry or immigration visas, accumulated permission to work in the country, and estimated stocks of undocumented foreign citizens.

Other measurements linked to labour migration include recruitment costs and remittances. Aiming to lower recruitment costs can be an indicator of well-governed labour migration, as reflected in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (Ratha, 2014). It is difficult to use remittances as an indicator for labour migration in countries that have a large UN and/or embassy presence or large transnational corporations because their employees' incomes are recorded as remittances, causing a significant increase in remittance figures.

Data collection at the global level

The ILO maintains an online database of labour statistics (ILOSTAT) as well as a collection of labour force surveys. The labour force surveys are standard household-based surveys of work-related statistics.

ILOSTAT covers various subjects relating to labour, including labour migration. Indicators on labour migration are split into three subtopics: International migrant stock, nationals abroad, and international migrant flow.

In addition, the ILO has produced the ILO global estimates on migrant workers for 2015, which provides global estimates, estimates by country income group, and regional estimates of migrant workers.

The UN Statistics Division collects, compiles and disseminates official demographic and social statistics on a number of topics, including employment.

The Database on Immigrants in OECD and non-OECD Countries (DIOC) compiles data based on population censuses of OECD countries, and in collaboration with the World Bank has extended coverage to non-OECD countries. The database includes information on labour market outcomes, such as labour market status, occupations and sectors of activity. The datasets cover the years 2000-2001, 2005-2006 and 2010-2011.

The Integrated Public Use Microdata Series - International (IPUMS-I) - collects and distributes census data from 85 countries. The database includes population questions that address the labour force as well as labour force Surveys.

Data collection at the regional level

Europe

The Eurostat database provides comprehensive, harmonized labour forced data from 28 EU member states and five other countries. Also contains data on residence permits by reason, length of validity and citizenship, including remunerated activities reasons (occupation). One dataset (migr_resocc) disaggregates this by highly skilled workers, researchers, seasonal workers and others.

Africa

In collaboration with the ILO, the African Union released the first edition of the Labour Migration Statistics in Africa study in 2017. The study covers labour migration within Africa in 2015, using mainly population and housing censuses, as well as demographic projections and labour force surveys.

Asia

The International Labour Migration Statistics Database (ILMS) in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) region brings together official government data on international migrant workers' stocks and

flows within the region, as well as information on nationals living or working abroad. Data available vary, but range from 1990 to 2015.

Pacific

International Labour Migration Statistics: A Guide for Policymakers and Statistics Organizations in the Pacific, produced by ILO, the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN ESCAP) and the UN Development Programme (UNDP), provides some data on labour migration in the region. It also provides recommendations on improving international labour migration statistics and how to collect data through census, survey and administrative data sources.

Other

OECD's International Migration database provides annual series on migration flows and stocks in OECD countries. It also provides labour market outcomes of immigrants from 2012 to 2016.

Data strengths & limitations

Data on labour migration are scattered mainly because it is difficult to collect reliable data on migrant workers. According to the Global Migration Group's Handbook for Improving the Production and Use of Migration Data for Development (2017), data collection faces the following gaps and challenges:

- Lack of good quality data, including missing populations of interest, inconsistent periods of data collection, or key characteristics not being collected
- Limited data comparability due to different concepts, definitions and measurement methods
- Lack of infrastructure to process data in national institutions or at border crossing points
- Insufficient expertise among staff collecting or analyzing data
- Lack of infrastructure to publish key characteristics, populations or places of interest
- Insufficient priority given to labour migration in national policy agendas and related budget allocation.

There is an ongoing effort to streamline international standards and common methodologies within the field of labour migration data

collection. Currently, such standards and methodologies vary across countries, making data not comparable or combinable.

ILO's Labour Migration Module provides a useful tool for gathering reliable data on different aspects of labour migration, including a series of migration-related questions that can be added to existing household and labour force surveys.

3.3 SITUATION: CALCUTTA, BOMBAY, BURMA, FIJI AND TRINIDAD

Calcutta

Migration is an integral part of human existence where people move from one politically welldefined area to another. The movement may vary from temporary/circulatory to relatively permanent nature and involves change in residence between two places. Although several propositions have put forward to explain why people move, the 'push-pull' paradigm remains to be dominant. That is migration is primarily from peasant based/economically depressed areas to industrialized zones or from peripheral to core areas. Citing several reasons regarding people's spatial mobility, studies have shown that job opportunities, higher wages, better infrastructural conditions prevalent in the destination, especially cities motivate migration. Upon migrating into cities, the rural/urban poor migrants find a niche in city slums which offers low cost living and working arrangements. Based on primary survey in the slums of Kolkata, the present study reveals that poor migrants are mainly drawn from economically depressed areas of West Bengal and Bihar. The migrants primarily belong to lower strata of the society and are dominantly illiterate or informally educated. Although, these people find work for major part of the year, a large number of them are self-employed. Wherever, they are into regular salaried jobs, the migrants are engaged in petty manufacturing, factory workers, retail trade, hotels and restaurants, transport sector and as domestic maids, all of which promise scant upward mobility. Additionally, working hours are too long – ranging from 8 to 16-17 hours in a day. The workers suffer from various labour market issues like insecurity of jobs, late and non-payment of wages, intermittent availability of work, absence of job

contract and social securities. Additionally, payment in piece-rate basis adds greater flexibility to the employers. Equally miserable is their housing conditions where the migrants reside and work. Besides, being engaged into urban labour market, the poor male migrants maintain circulatory movement to their native places for agricultural and MGNREGA work. Such evidences points towards migrants' anchorage to land as well as diversifying income to mitigate financial crisis. The paper suggests that the poor migrants mostly find employment in the informal sector of the city's economy. Yet, they dispense important functions to the city dwellers in terms of security guards, domestic servants, drivers, barring which a city life is difficult to imagine.

Urbanisation and migration in any particular area are closely related to each other. The contribution of migration in the urbanisation process depends on the nature and pattern of mobility (Bhagat and Mohanty 2009). According to the 2011 Census, percentage of population living in urban areas increased from 28 to 31 percent from 2001 to 2011. While assessing the contribution of net rural-urban migration to the urbanisation process (1991-2001), Kundu (2003)2 estimated its proportion to be 21 percent. More recently, Bhagat and Mohanty (2009), using the actual migration data from Census 2001 and adjusting for the natural increase of intercensal migrant population arrived at the same conclusion. However, according to them, if the unclassified decennial migrant population in urban population is classified as rural-urban migrants then the contribution of migration would increase to 22 percent. Turning our attention to the recent data of 2011, Bhagat (2011) has worked out the component of urbanisation into natural increase, net rural-urban classification and rural-urban migration. He has shown that the component of natural increase of urban population has declined from 62 to 44 percent in 1981- 1991 to 2001-2011; a substantial increase in the urban population thus seems to be due to ruralurban (re)classification and net rural-urban migration (Bhagat 2011). However, Kundu (2011b) attributes this rise in urban population mainly to large increase of new towns rather than ruralurban migration. In the absence of recent migration data from Census 2011, no clear statement can be concluded in this regard. Thus, the present study is based on data findings from latest

round of National Sample Survey Organization, 2007-08. Quite opposed to Census figures, where urban migration rate varies across the years, figures from NSSO suggest a constant increase at all India since 19933. Interestingly, in urban West Bengal where the migration rate was higher than India in the initial year shows decline and in 2007-08, this figure is lower than urban India. Kolkata4 shows lower migration rate as compared to urban west Bengal and India. Studies have pointed out that development of other urban centres like Assansol, Durgapur and Siliguri in the state absorbs large part of local workers. Moreover, the state receives less inter-state urban migrants with the declining importance of Kolkata with simultaneous growth of other mega cities like Delhi and Mumbai in the country (Roy 1994; Kundu and Gupta 2000) (Table 1).

Table 1: Urban Migration Rate in India, West Bengal and Kolkata

NSS Rounds	Urban India			Urban West Bengal			Kolkata		
	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons	Male	Female	Persons
1993 (Jan-Jun)	23.9	38.2	30.7	28.2	40.7	34.0	NA	NA	NA
1999-00 (Jul-Jun)	25.7	41.8	33.4	28.5	47.0	37.4	NA	NA	NA
2007-08 (Jul-Jun)	25.9	45.6	35.4	23.3	48.2	35.3	26.1	36.6	30.9

Source: National Sample Survey Organization, Migration in India, various years

The declining attraction of West Bengal to the migrants is also noticed in terms of accessing economic opportunities. That is in India (2007-08), where 22 percent of the urban migrants move for employment purposes, in West Bengal this figure drops to 18 percent. More explicitly, 56 percent men moved for employment purposes in urban India as contrast to only 48 percent in West Bengal. That is lesser number of male migrants choose West Bengal as an option for livelihood. Figures for Kolkata suggest a completely different picture. About, 49 percent of the total migrants moved for work purposes and for men the figure is a high as 69 percent – suggesting, wide range of economic spectrum offered by the city in providing livelihood opportunities to the migrants. Similarly, work participation rate of migrants in Kolkata (44.5 percent) is much higher than West Bengal (34.7 percent) and in India (37.3 percent). The findings further suggest that the city not only provides greater job opportunities to its migrants, it also assures secured jobs. That is to say the share of regular salaried wage workers among the migrants is highest

in Kolkata as compared to that of urban India and in West Bengal. Highest share of regular salaried workers is noted among women migrants in Kolkata, which calls for further exploration of the data to find out the avenues of employment of these women workers (Figure 1). This higher incidence of work participation rate and engagement into regular salaried jobs in Kolkata becomes clear once we look at the educational attainments of the migrants. The urban areas as a whole and specifically cities offer low job prospectus to illiterate or semi-literate migrants. For example, about 19 and 22 percent of migrant workers in urban India and West Bengal are illiterate as compared to only 17 percent in Kolkata. Further, more than one-fourth and slightly less than one-third of migrant workers in India and West Bengal have educational attainments up to middle standard. Such condition gets aggravated in large cities like Kolkata which require more skill and education. That is to say, large proportions of migrant workers in Kolkata have educational attainment up to middle standard (38 percent) as compared to India and West Bengal. Moreover, given lower level of educational and skill attainments, labour-market entry for illiterate women migrants in the city is particularly difficult. That is, only 12 percent of women workers in Kolkata are illiterate. In contrast, more than one-third of women workers in Kolkata are graduate and above which further entails their large presence in regular salaried jobs (Raju 2010) (Table A1).

Figure 1: Work Status of Migrant Workers, 2007-08
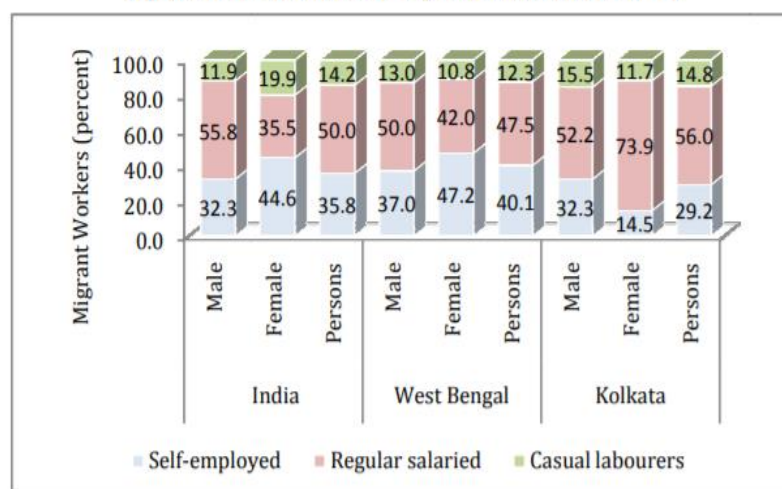
Source: Unit Level data of NSSO, Migration in India, 64th Round (2007-08)

The rural-urban migration of men which is often linked to the strategy of livelihood has gone down systematically over the years. For example, it reduced from 32 percent in 1999-2000 to 31 percent in 2007-2008. Such a trend has been due to the process of urbanisation under globalising processes making the cities less affordable to the poor as well as slum clearances which have made the living of migrants somewhat difficult in the urban areas. At the same time, the capture of land by urban elite, infra-structural development under ongoing urban missions, pricing, and non-affordability of basic amenities by the poor, aspects of elite capture in governance etc. are explanations for this sluggish rural-urban transformation. Even though there exists limited livelihood opportunities in rural areas, for this type of urban development manifests the exclusionary urbanisation in the country, prohibiting or discouraging in-migration of persons from the low social and economic categories from gaining a foothold in the cities and a stifling dynamics of development at the lowest level of urban hierarchy (Kundu 2011a and 2011b; Mahadevia 2011). This suggests that in spite of several investments taking place in urban areas they are gradually becoming places of alienation for the rural poor, although there is an increase in seasonal and circulatory labour mobility (Srivastava and Bhattacharya 2003; Srivastava 2011). That said, urban migration rate of the poorer people is lower at all the levels as compared to the richer classes – which is also well justified in the previous section of the study. However, migration rate of poor men moving towards Kolkata is some what higher than India and in West Bengal. Such findings definitely suggest that Kolkata throws open certain opportunities to the poor people. Within this background, the main question posed is where do these people head towards or where in the city they find shelter and work? Several studies have shown that the slums and pavements give refuge to a large number of poor migrants. For example, in a study of Mumbai slum, Narayanan et. al. (2008) observed that 92 percent of the residents were migrants. In another study of Kolkata slums, Mukhopadhyay (1993) has shown that majority of the households are composed of rural migrants who typically speak Hindi. That is, the city of Kolkata provides living and employment opportunities to the migrants from lower economic rungs of the society. They reside in

slums and are variously engaged in the field of transportation – van, rickshaw pullers, manufacturing – small scale and other services like metal, textile, timber, food and other products and small scale trading of goods. Sometimes there is existence of trading and manufacturing units within the slums5 and even the slum dwellers are employed outside their residential areas as sweepers and in other menial jobs (Roy 1994; Dey and Dasgupta 2010). Against this backdrop, the study tries to analyse how migration and slum development is intricately related in Kolkata. Dated back to more than three hundred years, the city of Kolkata was founded by the British as a port city in 1690 mainly to travel conveniently to their homeland, but also to serve as an easy way to import finished goods and raw materials. In 1772, Kolkata became the capital of British India, and retained the status till 1912 when the British government moved the capital to Delhi.

With the growing importance of the city, communication system was well developed and for further improvement docks were built. It must be noted that up to 1866, the port of Kolkata had a very small hinterland comprising only Howrah, Hooghly, 24 Parganas and small part of eastern Bengal but by 1900, Calcutta's port catered to the needs of entire Bengal, Bihar, Assam and a portion of north western provinces (Bayly 1985; Tan 2007). With the rise in trade, the growth of ports and commerce attracted rural poor to Kolkata in search of jobs. Since the communication system did not allow them to commute daily they had to live in the city itself in unsanitary and sub-human conditions which gave birth to so-called slums. The slum and the city of Kolkata were born as twins. Since the days of company's rule, the city started drawing people from its immediate hinterland. This resulted in building up of degraded human settlements at different locations (Kundu 2007).

Growth of Slums: Past and the Present

Drawing mainly upon the work of Roy (1994), the origin of Kolkata's slums can be classified under two broad categories: slums which developed during the early period of British rule particularly before the industrial development and urbanisation and secondly the slums developed after the process of industrialisation. In the first phase, the

bustee dwellers came to serve the English families. The lavish style of living of the imperial rulers drew large number of villagers to the city. Their dwellings were developed very near to the English quarters as their services were demanded from early morning to late night. Their dwellings could be seen 'within the walking distance of most posh areas' (Roy 19994: 6). The second phase of slums resulted from the industrialization process. The rapid growth of British capital led to the development of jute and engineering industries in and around the city. Moreover, the introduction of railways, postal facilities, banks etc. led to the diffusion of population over forty miles on the banks of river Hooghly. Lying of the tram tract in the city attracted many to migrate to Kolkata and to work in Tram Company. This group of slum dwellers was mostly found in the central part of the city (op.cit.). As a result of industrialisation and rapid urban growth, workers from all over the eastern and northern India, poured into the city in search of employment and income. The workers employed in these sectors were late-comers; they did not get shelter in the central part. Their slums could be seen in Khidderpore dock area of the western fringe, Manicktola and Beliaghata in the eastern fringe and Cossipore on the extreme north. The bustee communities in the city not only maintained their own occupational identity, but also tried to maintain their own residential and linguistic identity along with their occupations. The largest group of bustee dwellers that arrived at the city were from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Consisting of Hindus and Muslims, they spoke Hindi and occupy the bustee areas in northern, eastern and southern reaches. Muslim population especially the lower caste Muslims lived as tenants in the slum districts on the east and north-east (Roy 1994). During 1951-61, as many as 7, 34,000 people had entered the city (Roy 1994). These groups of migrants were from different parts of West Bengal as well as from other parts of the country like Bihar, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Assam and from South India. These groups of migrants were mostly employed in jute and engineering industry. They were unskilled labourers. They all migrated for the purpose of earning and most of them sought shelter in bustee areas of the city. The growth of migration not only had a contribution to the city's population growth; but also had led to the

increase in number of non-bengali population in the city. Although, it is difficult to gauge, the extent of presence of poor migrants in the slums of Kolkata from secondary data, a primary survey has been used. According to Census, 2001 data, average slum population in Kolkata is 32.5 percent, much higher than West Bengal (18.4 percent) and India (14.9 percent). Ward wise in Kolkata, slum population ranges from 5-10 percent to 99-100 percent (Census, 2001). Out of the total 141 wards in Kolkata, a single ward which houses nearly 99 percent of slum dwellers has been taken into consideration, so as to gain larger sample of migrant

Bombay

Homeless migrants expose the paradox of urbanisation through the fragmentation and segregation of city spaces. Though invisible, they constitute a considerable size of the population of Mumbai city. Subject to persistent violence, the homeless existence in the city is a case of minimalist citizenship, bereft of the right to the city. Their mere existence on the pavements and streets (as home) is challenged by the growing assertion for the 'citizen's right' over different public spaces such as walkways, pavements and parks. The study proposes to explore questions such as how do the homeless migrants encounter violence and humiliation on an everyday basis? How do they experience the apathy and hostility of the better off classes? What is the nature of politics being played out in the name of 'local' versus 'migrants' and what kind of insecurity does it create? In addition, the study will analyse the state's policy on the homeless – their shelter and livelihoods. It is proposed to carry out field investigation in a few locations in Mumbai where homeless migrants are known to reside in large numbers. Recording of lived experiences of a cross-section of the homeless migrants – men and women, workers and non-workers, young and old, and their struggle to lay claim over the tiny spaces that they occupy in the mega city of Mumbai in neoliberal times, will be used as the principal methodology.

Who are the Homeless and How They are Treated by the Neoliberal City? Homelessness or Houselessness is a particular type of physical condition; the experiences of people under this condition are different depending on their social (dis)location. In common parlance,

homelessness means person not having a home to stay or the one who spent his/her night on streets. The Census of India defines 'houseless people' – as persons who are not living in 'census houses.' The latter refers to 'a structure with roof.' The United Nations, in 1999, interpreted homeless as including "those sleeping without shelter, in constructions not meant for habitation and in welfare institutions." The majority of homeless in India are found living in places such as roadsides, pavements, drainage pipes, under staircases, or in the open, temple-mandaps, platforms and the like' (Census of India, 1991: 64)1 . Aashray Adhikar Abhiyan defines a homeless person as "a person who has no place to call a home in the city. By home is meant a place which not only provides a shelter but takes care of one's health, social, cultural and economic needs. Home provides a holistic care and security". The most challenging part of being homeless is not just home it is rather not having value of life, loss of dignity and everyday exploitation that they face by general public, police and the laws which make them more vulnerable. Waldron (1991)2 states that the condition of being homeless in entrepreneurial, neoliberal cities in current times is simply a matter of not having any place to call one's own.

The National Campaign for Housing Rights uses a broad, holistic, definition of home as a place where one is "able to live with dignity in social, legal and environmental security and with adequate access to essential housing resources like land, building materials, water, fuel, fodder as well as civic services and finance". According to Speak and Tipple (2006)3 , "While industrialised nations regard inadequate housing as almost synonymous with homelessness, this congruence may be unhelpful in developing countries in which a large proportion of households live in housing which could be defined as inadequate". The Supreme Court in Chameli Singh and Others vs. State of Uttar Pradesh Case (1996) has observed, "Shelter for human being, therefore, is not mere protection of his life and limb. It is however where he has opportunities to grow physically, mentally, intellectually and spiritually. Right to shelter, therefore, include living space, safe and decent structure, clean and decent surrounding, sufficient light, air and water, electricity, sanitation, and other civic amenities like roads etc, so as to have easy

access to his daily avocation. The right to shelter therefore does not mean a mere right to a roof over one's head but right to the entire infrastructure necessary to enable them to live and develop as human being. Right to shelter when used as an essential requisite to the right to live should be deemed to have been guaranteed as a fundamental right..." (Ramanathan, 2008)4 Studies show people (read migrants) come to cities as last resort due to a variety of reasons – poverty, unemployment, destitution, heavy debt, atrocities, communal violence, drought, floods, cyclone, earthquake, displacement due to development projects, etc. Despite the fact that almost every year, millions of migrant workers come to the cities which offer work opportunities in the unorganized sector, the city planning essentially overlooks the question of providing housing to the low income groups or ensuring affordable rental housing in the cities that attract migrant workers. In Mumbai, it is estimated that about 1.5 lakh people are staying as homeless without any recourse to housing. In a society that places value on the concept of home and devotes much attention to ousing, this neglect is startling. One needs to acknowledge and appreciate the fact that the homeless are productive residents who labour for their survival – they are the 'city makers' who play a critical role in sustaining the city (IGSSS 2012). Rather than being recognised for their contribution to the city, the homeless migrants are being treated as the 'other'; the 'criminals'; the 'beggars'; the 'outcast'; the 'unclean' (ibid). Why and when the toiling/labouring migrants become 'other' will be an important exploration. The migrants start and in most situations continue as homeless and live a life of deprivation, dislocation and therefore disentitled and disenfranchised. They are perhaps the most faceless, voiceless and invisible group in a city's populace. Middle class worldviews tend to de-legitimate lifestyles associated with lower class life worlds, rendering "the poor" strange and distant (Veness 1993). The sight of the poor and homeless in contemporary times in a city like Mumbai is no longer seen with sympathy; the uppish middle class population – earlier dwelling on progressive thoughts and carrying apology of denying justice to the poor – have not only become nonchalant enough to shun the homeless but even contribute in making strategies – legal or non-legal – to prove the latter's right over the urban

space as illegal (Bannerjee-Guha)8 . In order to use its 'infrastructural power' (Mann 1993)9 , modern states embrace their 'own' subjects and exclude 'unwanted' others. Parsell (2010)10 discusses an interesting theory about how homeless people are viewed in this society. In his article 'Homeless is what I am, not who I am?' he argues that the past literature on homelessness had been placing too much emphasis on defining the characteristics of people, who are homeless. They are not only defined as the 'other' based on what they lack, but also 'they have become depersonalised.' Contemporary urban landscapes feature the cohabitation of people living in poverty and those situated within more affluent circumstances (WHO 2010). Geographers have emphasised upon the reality of increasing divisions between enfranchised and disenfranchised groups in contemporary urban landscapes (Cumbers, Helms and Swanson 201011). These divisions can be understood and realised within the contexts of rising urbanization, economic and spatial restructuring of cities through heightened investments in infrastructure and reforms in urban services and governance that have substantially altered the prospects of the hitherto excluded groups in accessing the city in India. Besides, these contexts have created several new categories of vulnerable and excluded groups. The urban reform agenda along with other neo-liberal developments has restricted access to services, work spaces, social welfare and participation that can undermine the overall existence and of these groups and their access to cities. Terms used to invoke such heterogeneous groups (who nonetheless defy easy classification) include the "unsavable", "undeserving", "unhomed", "deviant", "disruptive", "poor" or "outcasts" (Mayhew 1861; Shubin 2011; Veness 1993 referred in Hodgetts et al 201212). Whatever might be the classificatory explanation, majority of them belong to migrant population in the city space. An important area of exploration of the field work would be to understand the kind of social relations that are allowed or restricted by current lived spaces of the homeless – relations at the place of living within and outside family in terms of age, sex, and other bio-divisions, at the work place and possibly in the form of connectedness with the origin. These social relations are formed in the process of production and reproduction at three, inter-related levels under

'modern' neo-capitalism: biological reproduction (the family), the reproduction of labour power (the working class per se) and the reproduction of social relations of production (constitutive of capitalism) (Lefebvre, 1991)13. Further exploration is needed to understand the interconnectedness of the three and how that shapes the lived experiences of the homeless migrants in Mumbai.

Burma

According to the latest Myanmar Population Census of 2014, more than two million Myanmar citizens migrated abroad. 70.2% of all migrants were in Thailand, and a smaller number was working in Malaysia, China and Singapore. Other countries of destination include Republic of Korea, Japan, and the GCC countries.

A growing number of migrant workers from Myanmar are attempting to use official channels to migrate, either through licenced overseas employment agencies or in the case of Republic of Korea through a government to government arrangement. However, due to the costs, the time, the lack of assurances of better conditions, the vast majority of migrants from Myanmar continue to migrate irregularly.

Sending a member of the family abroad to work is a necessity for many families not a choice. Thus creating a dependency on brokers and an urgency for the jobs which exposes the migrants to exploitation and extortion. Only when it is a choice will migrants be able to select the safest methods of recruitment and the jobs and destinations which offer true labour protections.

Internal Migration

New patterns of internal migration are also developing in response to new developments in the country. Growth of industries, including manufacturing and construction, draw young people from the rural areas to urban areas. Young women also move to work in domestic work. There is also considerable rural to rural movement especially for seasonal agricultural work and mining. Internal migrants, far from home

and often experiencing a different culture and language, can be vulnerable to exploitation in the migration process and in the workplace. Finding suitable accommodation at an affordable price is also a major challenge. The risks for internal migrants are increased if they don't have full citizenship documents and if they have to pay brokers to migrate. Their risks of being in situations of forced labour increase in work sectors which have few labour protections especially domestic work, fishing, mining and construction.

Fiji

The movement of migrant workers isn't so much a global hot topic as a burning one. At the **LAWASIA** Employment Law Forum, 25-26 January, 2019, the key note presentations aimed to address Migrant Labour Issues: The Rights of Migrant Workers and the Obligations of Employers. An objective of this session was to share among delegates how migrant labour is regulated and what challenges are experienced in various Asia Pacific jurisdictions.

This commercial law update is based on the key note presentation provided to the conference to provide an overview of how migrant labour is regulated in Fiji and the Pacific. Due to time constraints for the key note presentations this update expands on some of the themes discussed during the key note presentation at the conference.

This was a campaign image from part of the Vote Leave campaign Brexit Referendum in June 2016. It was reported to the police prior to the Referendum for inciting racial hatred and it is actually a photo of migrants crossing the Croatia/Slovenia border. Regardless of its aim and inaccuracies images like this used for political end demonstrate the importance of good regulation and transparent information.

Challenges

Fiji and other Pacific Island jurisdictions face various challenges in the regulation of migrant labour, and these challenges are common to other regulatory areas. First, we have the challenge of limited resources, and secondly each Pacific Island is a separate legal jurisdiction with different laws and regulations.

International framework

In terms of migrant labour and the rights and freedoms of migrant workers and their families there is no uniformity of laws across Pacific Island jurisdictions. This is partly due to the fact that no Pacific Island jurisdiction has ratified the International Convention on the Protection of all Migrant Workers and their families (**International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers)** (Convention Text). [Please note, since this commercial update was posted, Fiji's Parliament voted on 16 May 2019 to ratify the Convention].

The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers ("**Convention**") was adopted in 1990, and it entered into force in 2003 when twenty States ratified the Convention meeting the ratifying threshold. At the time of writing, fifty-four States in total have signed the Convention that is a comprehensive treaty protecting human rights and freedoms and setting minimum standards for the protection of migrant workers and their families. This includes respect for human rights, freedom of thought and religion, equality of treatment and commitment to stopping illegal and nefarious activities designed to encourage illegal migration.

The Convention provides that a "migrant" is a person engaged or remunerated in a State where the migrant is not a national, and this may include a foreign worker or an expatriate. Seasonal workers are also defined as a category of migrant workers although foreign investors and those who work for their own States in another jurisdiction are not migrant workers.

The majority of States that have adopted the Convention are those that tend to be the origin State for most migrant workers - i.e. the "giving" rather than the "receiving" jurisdictions for migrant workers. While, no Western States or States that receive the largest number of migrant workers have ratified the Convention, the Convention sets a moral standard that States should consider when looking at their own national employment legislation.

However, for the time being, the majority of migrant workers who travel to and work in jurisdictions that have not ratified the Convention must

rely solely on the national laws of their host State, which may vary dramatically between jurisdictions, including in the Pacific.

Fiji and Pacific context

China employs an estimated 300 million migrant workers. Fiji and the Pacific's relatively small land size and isolation means we do not have those kinds of numbers, but various Pacific Island States are aware that China also supplies migrant workers to the Pacific and this has increased in recent years as the speed of development/investment from China picks up.

While the Pacific has its own history of migration most notably due to colonialism in the 19th Century, which brought more people from various places to the South Pacific, with effects that are still being felt at a political level, the Pacific at the beginning of the 21st century finds it is in a new "geo-political hotspot". This is evidenced by the various efforts of development partners like Australia, New Zealand, China, the UK and the US to assist Fiji and the Pacific with various development projects. In Fiji and elsewhere we are seeing more development or development is speeding up with increased cars, roads, and construction projects being the most obvious indicators.

Further challenges that we are facing include:

- much of the inward migration is handled at a government to government level with Memorandums of Understanding ("**MOUs**") signed between governments that will set the terms and conditions for inward migration of workers but won't necessarily be publicly available; and

- Climate Change - while it is a global issue - for Fiji and the Pacific it is likely to increase pressure for good regulation of migrants due to increased migration within/around the Pacific. Fiji has already publicly stated that it is ready and willing to assist climate change refugees from the Pacific.

Economic effects of migration for Fiji

The United Nations provides good info-graphics and other information relating to the positive economic effects of migration. Below is an example, for more information please see here

This information intends to demonstrate the positive side of labour migration by making the economic argument for migration. The difference from the Vote Leave campaign imagery from the UK is that the UN is trying to appeal to heads rather than emotions. There are reasons why labour migration is good for richer countries as economic opportunities are met, but it is also good for developing economies.

Fiji bears testament to this as personal foreign remittances (mostly money sent back to Fiji from workers overseas) have grown each year to the point where in 2018 - foreign remittances exceeded F$0.5bn for the first time making foreign remittances Fiji's highest foreign exchange earner surpassing even tourism.

Fiji and the Pacific are origin countries for migrant labour

Across the Pacific Island jurisdictions, minimum wages are variable and not particularly high when compared to countries in the developed world. In late 2016, an intern in our firm (Mr. Curtis Fatiaki who is now a law graduate of the University of Canterbury and going through his professional exams in NZ) looked at this issue and produced the following table that provides some information of minimum wages across Pacific Island jurisdictions:

While unemployment and exploring interesting opportunities also explain migration from the Pacific, when the minimum wages are compared with what Pacific Islanders may earn elsewhere, it suggests Pacific wages are likely to be a driver of migration to certain countries.

How is outgoing labour migration regulated under Fiji law?

Turning to Fiji law (apologies as we did not have time to consider all the laws of all Pacific jurisdictions), Fiji wants to regulate its citizens who may travel to work in other jurisdictions. On paper this is a strongly regulated area with section 37 of the Employment Relations Act ("**ERA**") requiring all written contracts for overseas work to be approved by the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Labour.

Further, recruitment agents must be registered in accordance with a process in Employment Agencies Regulations 2008. The recruitment agent must be a natural person and must deposit a $20,000 bond as part

of the registration process. Agents fees may be regulated and approved by the Permanent Secretary.

Section 37(4) of the ERA creates a criminal offence as follows:

37 (4) No person shall enlist or recruit any person for employment under any foreign contract of service unless the person is authorised in writing by the Permanent Secretary.

37 (5) A person who contravenes subsection (4) commits an offence and is liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding $20,000 or to a term of imprisonment not exceeding 4 years or both.

Recently, in Fiji there have been a number of high profile reports regarding recruitment scams with groups appearing to target villagers in more remote areas with promises of jobs overseas. Fortunately, these groups have been reported and anyone interested in employing anyone from Fiji as either a potential employer or agent, should be aware of the offence in section 37 of the ERA.

Fiji's National Employment Centre

Fiji's National Employment Centre ("**NEC**") is set up under the National Employment Act to establish a foreign employment service.

Fiji's National Employment Centre aims to safeguard the interests of seasonal migrant workers from Fiji to other jurisdictions

The NEC mostly facilitates unskilled workers from Fiji to work abroad. While there are some plans to introduce medium skilled programmes, the focus is on unskilled workers because Fiji, in common with other Pacific Island jurisdictions, faces challenges retaining its own skilled essential workers like nurses and teachers.

The NEC works at a government to government level with MOUs signed between Australia and New Zealand (at present) that govern how the seasonal workers programmes are implemented. They also assist with some recruitment around the Pacific including a retired teacher programme.

The NEC does not regulate private recruitment, and section 37 of the ERA (above) applies. The NEC will only work with approved and registered recruitment agents, of which there are currently 3 in Fiji.

In terms of the regulation/due diligence on the Fiji side the NEC, amongst other things:

- conducts pre-departure training with Fiji workers in relation to culture, behaviour and what to expect
- if the worker is from a traditional Fijian village this also involves the Turaga-ni-koro, meaning that any errant behaviour means - you've let down not just yourself - but your whole village!

In terms of regulation/due diligence on the Australia/NZ side - all employers must follow their State's labour law and issues should be followed up and necessary action taken. The Australian/NZ employer provides its stipulations regarding the work and workers that are required and the NEC then looks to meet those needs.

At present, the seasonal work involves fruit picking but we are informed that there could be more interesting prospects in future. After all, workers in Fiji and other parts of the Pacific have much to recommend them, including but not limited to: good standards of education, English speakers, and high levels of natural ability/capability.

How is inward migration regulated under Fiji law?

For inward migration, again section 37 of the ERA applies and amongst other things, requires that the contract must be in writing. With inward migration other government departments will be involved including Immigration.

Depending on the work and scale of the project (is it govt to govt?) Immigration works with other government agencies like Ministry of Foreign Affairs to facilitate government to government MOUs.

Fiji, and Suva in particular, also has a large numbers of big International and Regional Development/International Agencies, DFAT funded projects, and INGOs that generally operate on the basis of MOUs with government and have large numbers of workers who are from outside the Pacific Islands.

The government to government MOUs will set out the terms that are agreed in terms of number of workers that may come to Fiji for the purposes of the work or project. The information regarding numbers of workers in Fiji on this basis does not seem to be currently available (and this may be the same in many jurisdictions).

But the point is, it is difficult to understand how many of these workers from overseas continue to work for their own State in Fiji and are therefore not "migrant workers" under the Convention and may not be subject to the laws of Fiji, and how many are migrant workers subject to Fiji laws and regulation. The designation of the individual worker will also affect his or her immigration status and whether their working status is "exempt" or whether he or she is required to have a work permit.

However, migrant workers employed by a Fiji employer and who are on work permits and their employers are subject to Fiji's laws and jurisdiction, including employment law.

The Employment Relations Tribunal recent decision in **Daniel Sanchez v The Sheraton** (16 January 2019) demonstrates that the employment contract is paramount and that Fiji's law relating to termination of employment will be applied to the employer. In brief, Mr Sanchez was from Mexico and recruited by an agent of the Sheraton resort on Denarau Island to work in a restaurant known as the Flying Fish Restaurant. Mr. Sanchez is a chef and was employed as a chef but then he was terminated from his employment after just one month. The Employment Relations Tribunal awarded Mr. Sanchez $37,760 for 5 months wages and relocation allowance - because the hotel/resort had not followed its own disciplinary procedures in terminating his employment.

The Tribunal provided relevant guidance for international labour contracts and provided useful guidance to employers and employees in this situation who should - before concluding the employment terms and conditions specifically consider the:

- length of the contract that they are entering into (whether or not it is for a fixed term)
- circumstances for how an employment contract can be terminated prematurely
- relocation arrangements (whether this will include insurance and housing allowance)
- an adjustment period for change.

For more information relating to the Sanchez case, please see our earlier commercial law update:

Employment
Relations Tribunal

Decision

Title of Matter:	Daniel Sanchez
	v
	Sheraton Fiji Resorts
Section:	Section 211 (1)(k)*Employment Relations Act 2007*
Subject:	Adjudication of Grievance Arising Out of Dismissal
Matter Number:	ERT Grievance No 165 of 2014
Appearances:	Ms M Muir and Ms A Tuiwawa, for the Grievor
	Ms M Vasiti and Mr R Singh, for the Employer
Date of Hearing:	Thursday 1 November 2018
	Friday 2 November 2018
Before:	Mr Andrew J See, Resident Magistrate
Date of Decision:	16 January 2019

KEYWORDS: Dismissal arising out of employment; Jurisdiction of the Tribunal; Section 211 (2) Employment Relations Act 2007; Probationary Period and unsatisfactory performance.

CASES CONSIDERED
Autar v Dame t/a Dame Consultancy & ors [2013] FJHC 409
Food for Less (Fiji) Ltd v Chand [2016] FJHC 323, ERCA 10.2014(26 April 2016)
Kumar v Nanuku Auberge Resort Fiji [2017] FJET 2; ERT Grievance 122.2016 (10 February 2017)
Loty and Holloway v Australian Workers' Union [1971] AR (NSW) 95
Mishra Prakash & Associates v Credit Corporation (Fiji) Ltd [2005] FJHC 603; HBA 0007.200 (18 August 2005)
Peni Koro Lagi v Calm Fire Professionals [2018] FJET 4; ERT Grievance 183 of 2017 (4 January 2018)
Ram Khelawan v Budh Ram 13 FLR 196 (8 December 1967)

Background

[1]Daniel Sanchez is a citizen of Mexico, who was appointed as the Chef de Cuisine for the Flying Fish restaurant at the Sheraton Fiji Resort, Denarau Island on 17 April 2014. Mr Sanchez claims

Migrant labour and rights/freedoms is ultimately a question of jurisdiction - this makes Pacific Fisheries such a difficult issue

The concept of legal jurisdiction is at the heart of all migrant labour issues. It is jurisdiction that will determine both the rules that apply and how they are enforced (regulation). For migrant workers, they are submitting to be regulated by the jurisdiction in which they work. This is why some migrant labour schemes can run into difficulty.

When something goes wrong - whose jurisdiction's employment laws apply? Generally speaking, it will be the laws of the jurisdiction in which the work is taking place. This is why providing accurate information and stopping the use of inaccurate or misleading information is so vital to protect migrant workers and their families.

In terms of Fiji and the Pacific's fisheries there is a problem of jurisdiction that contributes to denying Pacific Islanders more of a share of the benefits of their fisheries resources that if well managed are renewable and valuable.

It is currently estimated by the Pew Foundation (here) that Pacific tuna is worth US$22.7 billion per annum, with approximately US$12bn paid to fishers globally. The Pacific Island Countries have the exclusive rights, in accordance with the United Nations Convention of the Law of the Sea (LOSC) to harvest tuna (or licence others to harvest tuna) in the large areas of oceans known as Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs).

However, within these large Pacific EEZs, Pacific Islands have sovereign rights but not sovereignty. Therefore, Pacific Islands cannot regulate employment conditions on the boats that harvest the tuna while they are in these areas of ocean, as these conditions are ultimately regulated by the State to which the fishing boat/vessel is registered. Frequently, fishing vessels are registered to States that do not regulate or care about the working conditions on the boats and there is, therefore, no effective jurisdiction. This leaves workers on those boats vulnerable to exploitation, and appears to be an issue that the Convention did not anticipate.

Pacific Island leaders do not want to expose Pacific Islanders to dangerous and harsh working conditions and it therefore denies an employment opportunity and more of a share of the resources.

The onus is on other States in the Asia Pacific region to do more to regulate their fishing vessels and collaborate to lift employment standards for Pacific Islanders.

Conclusions

Migrant workers and their families are vulnerable and Fiji and other Pacific Island Countries may, at some point, be well advised to ratify the Convention in part to provide a message regarding how Pacific Islanders should be treated while working in overseas jurisdictions.

Any foreign employer or agent representing a foreign employer who is interested in recruiting Fijians to work overseas should consider the requirements of the ERA and consult with the Ministry of Labour, and in particular the Permanent Secretary.

Given the lack of consistent employment standards across different legal jurisdictions it is important for all jurisdictions to collaborate and ensure for migrant workers that they are aware of their rights before they arrive in the jurisdiction they want to work in. Ultimately, laws may provide

some protection for migrant workers, but it should also be remembered that enforcing those legal rights can also be difficult. For example, the Sanchez case still took 4 years to reach a final determination.

 With thanks to:

The Fiji Law Society and all the committee members of LAWASIA for arranging the excellent LAWASIA Employment Law Forum, 25-26 January, 2019 in Fiji!

and

Fiji's National Employment Centre for providing the time to meet with them to discuss their work - a friendly and informative meeting indeed - thank you!

For more information on LAWASIA please see

Please note: Fiji's Parliament voted on 16 May 2019 to become the first Pacific Island jurisdiction to ratify the Convention, this is the report from the Fiji Times, 17 May 2019:

DEBATE

Fiji 'First Pacific Country to Accede to Convention'

NEELAM PRASAD
SUVA

Fiji is the first Pacific Island country to accede to the Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families.

Speaking on the convention, Attorney-General and Minister for Economy Aiyaz Sayed-Khaiyum said countries such as the United States, New Zealand and Australia were yet to accede to it.

"The convention is an international human rights treaty adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in 1990," Mr Sayed-Khaiyum said.

"The rights accorded to migrant workers under those articles of the Convention mirrors the rights given to all persons in Fiji under the Fijian Constitution."

The convention was agreed to with support from 25 Members of Parliament, while 22 members were not in agreement and four chose not to vote.

Parliament yesterday also approved Fiji's accession to the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance.

"Accession to the Convention, will promote co-operation and strengthen international relations," Mr Sayed-Khaiyum said.

The convention was agreed to with support from 26 members while 21 members were not in agreement and four chose not to vote. **Edited by Epineri Vula**

This commercial law update is provided for general information purposes only and is not, and should not be relied upon, as legal advice.

Trinidad

Migration has been a significant part of the cultural fabric of the Caribbean islands for centuries. The process began with the discovery and conquest of the islands by European colonials, followed by the

forced migration of African slaves and the importation of indentured labourers from the East. Since the mid twentieth century, however, Caribbeans have been leaving the islands. Recent census data from Trinidad and Tobago show that the out-migration of women to the global North has exceeded that of men. This research examines the migration of women from the twin-island state of Trinidad and Tobago. Drawing upon interviews with 25 female Trinidadian migrants, the study explores migration to Britain and the United States. I initially seek to answer the why question, by analysing the decision-making process in international migration, and then how women migrate and adapt to a new country and culture. Moreover, I compare migration from Trinidad and Tobago to Britain and the United States, highlighting major similarities and differences in terms of education, race, and employment, which led skilled professional women to migrate to Britain legally while domestic workers settled in the United States illegally. Additionally, I challenge the idea of the forgotten child by presenting a more holistic view of the implications of migration for the left-behind family. I propose that we need to think in terms of a reordering of the Caribbean family unit rather than seeing it, as is common, as a disordered, chaotic institution. I found that the main motivation for women to emigrate is 'self-sacrifice' and altruism. Migrant women are disadvantaged and susceptible to various forms of discrimination. Despite this, I argue, women are determined to 'make it' through migration in the interest of their families, and they demonstrate their resilience in enduring difficulties in order to create a better future for themselves and their children.

I first realized that I wanted to study migration whilst reading for my undergraduate degree at the University of the West Indies in Trinidad and Tobago. I found that my passion resided in the study of human geography, population studies and demography. I quickly arranged my courses so that I could gain a deeper understanding of population studies and policy planning. I immediately became fascinated by the movement and settlement of individuals across borders. During my undergraduate studies, I thought about the topic of migration; it was my attempt at merging my personal and academic life. Both my parents1 were born in British Guyana and moved to Trinidad in the early 1980s. My paternal

grandmother migrated to Trinidad in the hope of a better life for her family. She left my father, who was the eldest of her children, to care for his siblings while she worked and later sent for them to live in Trinidad with her. This family history is what first gave me the idea of studying migration from the point of view of women. The experiences women have and the decisions they make during the process of migration are more complicated than they appear; I wanted to explore this topic in more depth. I first came across the term migration as a primary school pupil, while studying Social Studies at the age of ten; at that time I was oblivious to the fact that my entire family was permanently residing outside their country of birth. Migration piqued my interest when, as a child, I observed relatives leaving to take up residence in other countries. Additionally, as a child at school, I recall many friends and other classmates with absent parents who were living with aunts, uncles, grandparents and even older siblings because of migration. This did not mean that the children were in any way neglected, ill treated or forgotten by their parents. I remember they usually received material necessities, which they could not have afforded otherwise. In my opinion, they bore no resemblance to emotionally unstable children and were no different from any other children. Later, I also noted that these children (by that time adults) had migrated to join their parents.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. What is meant by Migrant Labour? Discuss the condition in India.

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2. Discuss the Situation of Migrant Workers in : Calcutta, Bombay, Burma, Fiji and Trinidad

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3.4   WOMEN MIGRANT WORKERS

According to the International Labour Organization, 48 per cent of all international migrants are women and they are increasingly migrating for work purposes. In Europe alone there are 3 million women migrant workers. The 1970s and 1980s have seen an increase in women migrant labourers in France and Belgium. In China, as of 2015 a third of their migrant workers were women who had moved from rural towns to bigger cities in search of employment. Female migrants work in domestic occupations which are considered part of the informal sector and lack a degree of government regulation and protection. Minimum wages and work hour requirements are ignored and piece-rates are sometimes also implemented. Women's wages are kept lower than men's because they are not regarded as the primary source of income in the family.

Migrant agricultural worker's family, California, 1936

Women migrate in search of work for a number of reasons and the most common reasons are economic: the husband's wage is no longer enough to support the family. In some places, like China, for instance, rapid economic growth has led to an imbalance in the modernization of rural and urban environments, leading women to migrate from rural areas into the city to be a part of the push for modernization. Other reasons include familial pressure, on a daughter, for instance, who is seen as a reliable source of income for the family only through remittances. Young girls and women are singled out in families to be migrant workers because they don't have a viable alternative role to fulfil in the local village. If they go to work in the urban centres as domestic workers they can send home money to help provide for their younger siblings. Many of these women come from developing countries, and are low

skilled. Additionally women who are widowed or divorced and have limited economic opportunities in their native country may be forced to leave out of economic necessity. Migration can also substitute for divorce in societies that don't allow or do not condone divorce.

Impact on roles within the family

In terms of migrant labour, many women move from a more oppressive home country to a less oppressive environment where they have actual access to waged work. As such, leaving the home and obtaining increased economic independence and freedom challenges traditional gender roles. This can be seen to strengthen women's position in the family by improving their relative bargaining position. They have more leverage in controlling the household because they have control over a degree of economic assets. However, this can lead to hostility between wives and husbands who feel inadequate or ashamed at their inability to fulfil their traditional role as breadwinner. The hostility and resentment from the husband can also be a source of domestic violence. Studies have also been done which point to changes in family structures as a result of migrant labour. These changes include increased divorce rates and decrease in household stability. Additionally, female migrant labour has been indicated as a source for more egalitarian relationships within the family, decline of extended family patterns, and more nuclear families. There is also a risk for infidelity abroad, which also erodes the family structure.

Researchers identified three groups of women to represent the dimensions of gender roles in Singapore. The first group is made up of expatriate wives who are often reduced to dependent spouse status by immigration laws. The second group are housewives who left work in order to take care of the children at home. Although they are from the Singaporean middle class, they are stuck at almost the same level and share status with the third group, foreign domestic workers. Because of global economic restructuring and global city formation, the mobility of female labours is increasing. However, they are controlled through strict enforcement and they are statistically invisible in migration data. The

female foreign domestic workers are always gender-stereotyped as maids and generalized as low wages workers in society.

Women Migrant Workers: The Informal Sector

The spread of global neoliberalism has contributed to physically displaced people, which translates to displaced workers, worldwide. Due to the national and transnational economic push and pull of migration, growing numbers of women migrant workers find themselves employed in the underground and informal sector. To be clear, these women tended not to be previously employed in the formal sector, if at all. Frequently, the cheap and flexible labor is sought in more developed areas. Also, these women migrant workers are often considered an asset to employers who think of these individuals as docile, compliant, and disposable.

Work found in the informal economy is defined as being outside the legal regulation of the state. This underground sector includes nontraditional types of employment: intimate care,[78] street vending, community gardening, food selling, sewing and tailoring, laundry service, water selling, car cleaning, home cleaning, and various kinds of artisan production. These positions are frequently precarious and lack the social contracts often found between employee and employer in the formal sector. This unofficial economy is often found in locations that are between home and work and combine personal and private spaces. Because migrant women workers often occupy the lowest economic positions, this leaves them especially vulnerable to exploitation and dangerous working conditions. Incidentally, Guy Standing has termed this kind of vulnerable worker, the Precariat.

Women are frequently at the bottom of the economic hierarchy due to various factors, mainly a lack of opportunity to support themselves and their families and in addition, a lack of adequate education. Despite the United Nations' Girls Education Initiative, there remains high rates of illiteracy among women in the Global South. Commonly, the informal sector is the only place where geographically displaced workers are able to insert themselves into the economy. Thus, women migrant workers perform a high percentage of work found in this sector.

Due in part to complex migration issues which include the restructuring of gendered and familiar relations, women migrant workers frequently care for children without a local family network. The informal sector allows for public and private space to be merged and accommodate their care-taking responsibilities. New immigrants are often concerned with leaving children unattended and the informal sector allows for care-taking alongside of economic activities.

It is important to note, through case studies, it has been determined that men and women migrate for similar reasons. Mainly, they leave places in search of better opportunities, most often financial. In addition to the financial push, women also migrate to escape oppressive environments and/or abusive spouses.

Children of female migrant workers

Group of Florida migrants near Shawboro, North Carolina on their way to Cranbury, New Jersey, to pick potatoes

Migrant labour of women also raises special concerns about children. Female migrant workers may not have enough possibilities to care for their own children whilst being abroad. Their children may learn to regard their relatives at home as their parents and may rarely see their mothers. Frequently, children of migrant workers become migrant workers themselves. There is concern that this may have negative psychological effects on the children who are left behind. Although this has not been proven to be entirely true or false, studies have been done which show that many children of migrant workers manage reasonably well. One theory states that remittances to some degree make up for the lack of care by providing more resources for food and clothing.

Additionally, some migrant mothers take great care in attempting to maintain familial relationships while abroad.

3.5 MIGRANT EDUCATION AND ECONOMICS

Children of migrant workers struggle to achieve the same level of educational success as their peers. Relocation, whether it is a singular or regular occurrence, causes discontinuity in education, which causes migrant students to progress slowly through school and drop out at high rates. Additionally, relocation has negative social consequences on students: isolation from peers due to cultural differences and language barriers. Migrant children are also at a disadvantage because the majority live in extreme poverty and must work with their parents to support their families. These barriers to equal educational attainment for children of migrant workers are present in countries all over the world. Although the inequality in education remains pronounced, government policies, non-governmental organizations, non-profits, and social movements are working to reverse its effects.

Migrant labour force in economies

The migrant workforce has historically played a vital role nationally and across local communities in recent times. Economic globalization has created more migrant workers than ever before. While developed countries have increased their demand for labour, especially unskilled labour, workers from developing countries are used. As a result, millions of workers and their families travel to other countries to find work. This influx of migrant workers contributes to growth of slums and urban poverty, according to Mike Davis. Some of these workers, usually from rural areas, cannot afford housing in cities and thus live in slums. Some of these unskilled workers living in slums suffer from unemployment and make a living in the informal sector. According to International Labor Organization, as of 2013 there were approximately 175 million migrants around the world.

The promotion and protection of women migrant workers' rights is critical to the advancement of the human rights agenda. UN Women is

committed to promoting women migrant worker's rights and protecting them against exclusion and exploitation at all stages of migration, and is working on gender-sensitive, human-rights based solutions to improve the status of all migrant women and to ensure that migration enables equitable and inclusive growth and human development for all.

Promoting and Protecting Women Migrant Workers' Labour and Human Rights is a three-year research, capacity building, and advocacy project funded by the European Commission. UN Women would like to express its gratitude to the European Commission for its financial support of more than EUR 1,7 million to this project.

The project engages with national and international human rights mechanisms to enhance their accountability to women migrant workers, whilst strengthening women migrant workers organizations to effectively advocate for their rights.

Working in collaboration with country offices in Mexico, Moldova and the Philippines, the project explores the vulnerabilities and risks faced by women migrant workers and their role as agents of development. In developing transnational and comparative data gathering tools, the project contributes to gender-sensitive research and policy on migration and development, with the ultimate goal of strengthening international human rights mechanisms and advancing dialogue to address the needs of migrant women.

By promoting the implementation of provisions of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) General Recommendation 26, this project advances the promotion and protection of women migrant rights as a key to sustainable and inclusive development.

On this platform you can access the project's knowledge and research products and see how the practical recommendations we have made to the pilot countries on enhancing their national responses to women migrant workers are being implemented. Use this platform to access the tools and resources offered by the project to support efforts to mainstream gender and migration into development planning. Engage with our online discussions and follow us during global events.

MEXICO

The Mexican pilot has achieved significant results in engaging experts from the Committee for the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention on the Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families (CMW) in initiatives that have strengthened the capacity of civil society in holding government to account for the obligations under these Conventions. Having produced a number of knowledge products that are influencing the discourse on labour migration in Mexico, the pilot has integrated this developing knowledge into the capacity building of almost 1000 members of civil society. This knowledge has also been synthesized into infographic form that has supported the government's ability to disseminate information on the situation of women migrant workers, in particular at the borders. Through a focused approach to partnership and collaboration, the Mexican pilot has engaged national and regional civil society organizations networks, academic institutions, United Nations agencies, and governmental institutions, continuously challenging and supporting them to include the concerns of women migrant workers in all their initiatives and actions.

- Key partnership with Instituto para las Mujeres en la Migracion (IMUMI);

- Liaison between government and civil society at "Conference on the situation of human rights of women migrant workers along the southern border";

- CEDAW analysis of Mexican legislation;

- Engagement and dissemination of research and knowledge at the symposium "Feminization of Migration. Knowledge, Public Policy: Gaps and Scope" and in other strategic foras;

- Knowledge products on the situation of migrant women on the southern border of Mexico;

- National campaign to reduce xenophobia and discrimination against migrant workers (Campaign "Soy Migrante") in collaboration with the Mexican Government.

MOLDOVA

In Moldova, the work to build the capacity of the government to develop gender-sensitive, CEDAW based migration and labour policies has been received favorably, with representatives from the government pursuing changes to policy and legislation on this basis. In a context marked by an absence of women migrant organizations, the project has reached out to the Moldovan diaspora, as well as organizations from the other pilot countries, to build momentum towards establishing such organizations within Moldova, an initiative that has attracted support from the Government. By developing knowledge products and pursuing a public advocacy campaign on the value and contributions of women migrant workers, the Moldova pilot is elevating the discourse on women migrant workers with the effect of increasing their rights, dignity and recognition.

Key activities:

- Established strategic partnership and cooperation with key line ministries (e.g. Ministry of Labour, Social Protection and Family) and Governmental structures (e.g Bureau for Diaspora Relations), as well as civil society (e.g Sociopolis);

- The inclusion of public services and information available for migrants in the public services guide;

- Capacity development for local service providers on provision of gender sensitive migration services;

- Package of proposed amendments to align laws on labour, migration and trafficking with CEDAW;

- Knowledge products on the situation of Moldovan women migrant workers and Policy Briefs;

- National public awareness campaign addressing stereotypes, issues and concerns facing women migrants at all stages of migration, see here;

- Women migrants developed a statement of intent on addressing key re-integration issues through entrepreneurship opportunities that was submitted to be embedded in the strategic documents of action of key line ministries, building their ability to engage in national and international human rights mechanisms.

PHILIPPINES

Despite the fact that the Philippines has a long history of sending women migrant workers overseas, little emphasis has been placed on gender-sensitive migration policies and practices. The project has responded by developing strategic and practical recommendations for legislative and policy development, in collaboration with active government partners, with the objective of increasing CEDAW compliance. Building on an established platform of knowledge on the developmental impacts of migration, the project has been able to interrogate migrant remittances and asset building from a gender perspective. This illustrated the multiple contributions of women migrant workers to the Philippines' economy and overall development, including areas for the empowerment of women migrant workers. The Philippines pilot has been the first to model a truly sustainable approach to capacity development on gender, migration and development, modelling a context-specific training of trainers approach. Capacity building efforts targeted key government migration agencies with subsequent plans to institutionalize this through the development of an online course and inclusion in the six-year plan (2016-2022) of those government migration agencies.

3.6 MIGRANT WORKERS' RIGHTS

The "People's Movement for Human Rights Education (PDHRE)" have composed a list of fourteen rights for migrant workers.

Effects on migrant workers' health

Monica Rosales (a professor from Colorado State University) describes work-related injuries in her journal article titled "Life in the field: Migrant farm workers' perceptions of work related injuries". Rosales discusses bone problems, respiratory problems and allergic reactions all in relation to the migrant farm work that immigrants do to make money. Rosales discussed how these working conditions affect the lives of immigrants. Rosales states that, "The average life expectancy of migrant and seasonal farm workers is 49 years of age, in comparison to the U.S. average of 75 years of age". On top of unfair wages, migrant workers often find themselves toiling in dangerous working conditions. The life expectancy compared to average is 26 years less for a migrant worker in the U.S.

A survey by Lien Centre for Social Innovation in Singapore also found that over 60 per cent of lower-skilled South Asian migrant workers who are waiting for salary or injury compensation from employers were predicted to have serious mental illness.

National vs. transnational migrations

Like transnational migration, national (internal) migration plays an important role in poverty reduction and economic development. For some countries, internal migrants outnumber those who migrate internationally. For example, 120 million people were estimated to migrate internally in China compared to 458,000 people who migrated internationally for work. Situations of surplus labour in rural areas because of scarcity of arable land is a common "push factor" in the move of individuals to urban-based industries and service jobs. Environmental factors including drought, waterlogging, and river-bank erosion also contribute to internal migration.

There are four spatial patterns of internal migration:

1. Rural-rural migration: in many poor countries like Senegal, rural-rural migration occurs when labourers from poorer regions travel to agriculturally-rich and irrigated areas which have more work.

2. Rural-urban migration: seen in the urbanizing economies of Asia, migration of poor agricultural workers move to larger cities and manufacturing centers.

3. Urban-rural migration: migration that occurs when individuals retire back to their villages. Often, migrants who return bring back skill sets that benefit their home areas tremendously.

4. Urban-urban migration: as the predominant form of internal migration, this movement takes place from the centre of towns to the outer areas of the town.

Circular migration, the temporary and repetitive movement of a migrant worker between home and host areas, can occur both internally and transnationally.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

3. Write about Women migrant workers

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4. Discuss about Migrant education and economics

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5. What is Migrant workers' right?

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3.7 LET US SUM UP

Shifts in demographic and economic patterns are pushing workers to cross borders for jobs in ever increasing numbers. Migrants often leave their home communities due to extreme poverty and face exploitation as they search for work in unfamiliar terrain. They are commonly subject to

subcontracting schemes and precarious jobs in the informal economy. They make vital economic contributions to both their host countries and countries of origin, but confront a dire lack of workplace protection and social security.

The fear of arrest and deportation prevents many migrant workers from being able to speak out about labor rights abuses because they may be undocumented, or dependent on their employer for documentation that allows them to stay legally. Unions and other rights activists are documenting cases around the globe where employers handle legitimate complaints about working conditions not by sitting down with workers, but calling the police to have them arrested. As the pace of labor movement across borders quickens, we must put in place the safeguards needed to ensure migrant workers are afforded equal treatment under the law and pathways for regularized, non-temporary employment.

ILRF is doing just that, working with grassroots organizations in migrant worker communities to help them provide some level of protection in an unstable environment. We also advocate at the national and international levels for more just, humane immigration practices that take into account the needs of migrant workers and ensure their rights are respected. Finally, we document cases of human trafficking, the dark side of our increasingly fluid movement of labor across borders, and hold multinational companies accountable for profiting from trafficking in their supply chains.

3.8 KEY WORDS

Migrant Worker: A "migrant worker" is a person who either migrates within their home country or outside it to pursue work.

Bonded labour: A system whereby people are required to repay a debt by working for their creditors.

3.9 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss the concept of Migration and its important.

2. Discuss the Migrant's women and children.

3.10 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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3.11 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 3.2
2. See Section 3.3

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 3.4
2. See Section 3.5
3. See Section 3.6

UNIT 4: NATIONALIST APPROACH

STRUCTURE

4.0 Objectives

4.1 Introduction

4.2 Colonial vs. Nationalist Historiography

4.3 Nationalist History of Ancient and Medieval Periods

4.4 Nationalist History of Modern Period

4.5 Let us sum up

4.6 Key Words

4.7 Questions for Review

4.8 Suggested readings and references

4.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

4.0   OBJECTIVES

After this unit, we can able to know:

* To discuss about the Colonial vs. Nationalist Historiography

* To know about the Nationalist History of Ancient and Medieval Periods

* To discuss the Nationalist History of Modern Period

4.1   INTRODUCTION

This is a simple presentation of a very complex problem, especially because historiography is an aspect both of history and persons, and events and intellectual history. It should also be kept in view that when discussing historical approach of a historian, his or her sincerity and honesty is seldom in question. A historian worth discussing does not write to order or to deliberately serve specific interests. Though it is true that a historian's work may reflect the thinking of a class, caste or a social or political group, he basically writes through intellectual conviction or under the impact of ideas and ideologies. This is why often a historian may transcend the class, caste, race, community or nation in which he is born. Thus concrete relationship of a historian to a particular approach to Indian history – for example, colonial, nationalist, or communal approach is evolved not by analyzing or 'discovering his

motives but by seeing the correspondence between his intellectual product and the concrete practice of the colonialists, nationalists or communalists. Quite often a historian – or any intellectual – is affected by contemporary politics and ideologies. Of course, it is an important aspect of intellectual history to study how and why certain ideas, approaches and ideologies are picked up, popularised, debated – supported and opposed—become dominant or lose dominance, or the ideas arising in one milieu are picked up in another milieu.

Nationalism is an ideology and movement that promotes the interests of a particular nation (as in a group of people) especially with the aim of gaining and maintaining the nation's sovereignty (self-governance) over its homeland. Nationalism holds that each nation should govern itself, free from outside interference (self-determination), that a nation is a natural and ideal basis for a polity, and that the nation is the only rightful source of political power (popular sovereignty). It further aims to build and maintain a single national identity—based on shared social characteristics such as culture, language, religion, politics, and belief in a shared singular history—and to promote national unity or solidarity. Nationalism, therefore, seeks to preserve and foster a nation's traditional culture, and cultural revivals have been associated with nationalist movements. It also encourages pride in national achievements, and is closely linked to patriotism. Nationalism is often combined with other ideologies, such as conservatism (national conservatism) or socialism (socialist nationalism) for example.

Throughout history, people have had an attachment to their kin group and traditions, to territorial authorities and to their homeland, but nationalism did not become a widely recognized concept until the 18th century. There are three paradigms for understanding the origins and basis of nationalism. Primordialism (perennialism) proposes that there have always been nations and that nationalism is a natural phenomenon. Ethnosymbolism explains nationalism as a dynamic, evolutionary phenomenon and stresses the importance of symbols, myths and traditions in the development of nations and nationalism. Modernism proposes that nationalism is a recent social

phenomenon that needs the socio-economic structures of modern society to exist.

There are various definitions of a "nation", however, which leads to different strands of nationalism. Ethnic nationalism defines the nation in terms of shared ethnicity, heritage and culture, while civic nationalism defines the nation in terms of shared citizenship, values and institutions, and is linked to constitutional patriotism. The adoption of national identity in terms of historical development has often been a response by influential groups unsatisfied with traditional identities due to mismatch between their defined social order and the experience of that social order by its members, resulting in an anomie that nationalists seek to resolve. This anomie results in a society reinterpreting identity, retaining elements deemed acceptable and removing elements deemed unacceptable, to create a unified community. This development may be the result of internal structural issues or the result of resentment by an existing group or groups towards other communities, especially foreign powers that are (or are deemed to be) controlling them. National symbols and flags, national anthems, national languages, national myths and other symbols of national identity are highly important in nationalism.

In practice, nationalism can be seen as positive or negative depending on context and individual outlook. Nationalism has been an important driver in independence movements, such as the Greek Revolution, the Irish Revolution, the Zionist movement that created modern Israel, and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. Conversely, radical nationalism combined with racial hatred was also a key factor in the Holocaust perpetrated by Nazi Germany. More recently, nationalism was an important driver of the controversial annexation of Crimea by Russia.

4.2 COLONIAL VS. NATIONALIST HISTORIOGRAPHY

Nationalist approach to Indian history may be described as one which tends to contribute to the growth of nationalist feeling and to unify people in the face of religious, caste, or linguistic differences or class

differentiation. This may, as pointed out earlier, sometimes be irrespective of the intentions of the author. Initially, in the 19th century, Indian historians followed in the footsteps of colonial historiography, considering history as scientific based on fact-finding, with emphasis on political history and that too of ruling dynasties. Colonial writers and historians, who began to write the history of India from late 18th and early 19th century, in a way created all India history, just as they were creating an all-India empire.

Simultaneously, just as the colonial rulers followed a political policy of divide and rule on the basis of region and religion, so did colonial historians stress division of Indians on the basis of region and religion throughout much of Indian history. Nationalist historians too wrote history as either of India as a whole or of rulers, who ruled different parts of India, with emphasis on their religion or caste or linguistic affiliation. But as colonial historical narrative became negative or took a negative view of India's political and social development, and, in contrast, a justificatory view of colonialism, a nationalist reaction by Indian historians came. Colonial historians now increasingly, day by day, threw colonial stereotypes at Indians. Basic texts in this respect were James Mill's work on Ancient India and Elliot and Dawson's work on Medieval India. Indian nationalist historians set out to create counter-stereotypes, often explicitly designed to oppose colonial stereotypes thrown at them day after day. Just as the Indian nationalist movement developed to oppose colonialism, so did nationalist historiography develop as a response to and in confrontation with colonial historiography and as an effort to build national self-respect in the face of colonial denigration of Indian people and their historical record. Both sides appealed to history in their every day speech and writing.

Even when dealing with most obtuse or obscure historical subjects, Indians often relied in their reply on earlier European interpretations. For example, many colonial writers and administrators asserted that historical experience of Indian people made them unfit for self-government and democracy, or national unity and nation-formation or modern economic development, or even defence against invasion by outsiders. Colonial rule would gradually prepare them – and was doing so – far all these

tasks. Moreover, in the second half ot he 19th century, the need for permanent presence of colonial rulers and colonial administration for the development of India on modern lines was sometimes implied and sometimes explicitly asserted. While the utilitarians and missionaries condemned Indian culture, the Orientalists emphasised the character of India as a nation of philosophers and spiritual people. While this characterisation bore the marks of praise, the accompanying corollary was that Indians had historically lacked political, administrative and economic acumen or capacity. Indians should, therefore, have full freedom to develop and practice their spiritualism and influence the world in that respect, the British should manage the political, administrative, and economic affairs and territorial defence of India against foreign aggression, which had succeeded whenever India had an Indian ruler. In fact, in the absence of foreign rule, India had tended to suffer from political and administrative anarchy. For example, it was the British who saved India from anarchy during the 18th and 19th centuries. The colonial writers and administrators also maintained that, because of their religious and social organisation, Indians also lacked moral character. (This view was often the result of the fact that British administration came into social contact only with their cooks, syces and other servants or with compradors who were out to make money through their relations with the Sahibs). Also, some of the European writers praised Indian spiritualism, because of their own reaction against the evils of the emerging industrialism and commercialism in their own countries. Many colonial historians also held that it was in the very nature of India, like other countries of the East, to be ruled by despots or at least by autocratic rulers. This was the reason why British rule in India was and had to be autocratic. This view came to be widely known as the theory of Oriental Despotism. Furthermore, these writers argued that the notion that the aim of any ruler being the welfare of the ruled was absent in India. In fact, the traditional political regimes in India were 'monstrously cruel' by nature. In contrast, the British, even through autocratic, were just and benevolent and worked for the welfare of the people. In contrast with the cruel Oriental Despotism of the past, British rule was benevolent though autocratic. The colonial writers also held that

Indians had, in contrast to Europeans, always lacked a feeling of nationality and therefore of national unity, – Indians had always been divided. Indians, they said, had also lacked a democratic tradition. While Europeans had enjoyed the democratic heritage of ancient Greece and Rome, the heritage of Indians – in fact of all people of the Orient or East – was that of despotism.

Indians also lacked the quality of innovation and creativity. Consequently most good things—institutions, customs, arts and crafts, etc. – had come from outside. For example, it was colonial rule which had brought to India law and order, equality before law, economic development, and modernization of society based on the ideas of social equality. All these colonial notions not only hurt the pride of Indian historians and other intellectuals but also implied that the growing demand of the Indian intellectuals for self-government, democracy, legislative reform, etc., was unrealistic precisely because of Indians' past history. After all, democracy was alien to their historical character and therefore not suitable to them.

The terminological use of 'nations', 'sovereignty' and associated concepts was significantly refined with the writing by Hugo Grotius of De Jure Belli ac Pacis in the early 17th century. Living in the times of the Eighty Years' War between Spain and the Netherlands and the Thirty Years' War between Catholic and Protestant European nations (Catholic France being in the otherwise Protestant camp), it is not surprising that Grotius was deeply concerned with matters of conflicts between nations in the context of oppositions stemming from religious differences. The word nation was also usefully applied before 1800 in Europe to refer to the inhabitants of a country as well as to collective identities that could include shared history, law, language, political rights, religion and traditions, in a sense more akin to the modern conception.

Nationalism as derived from the noun designating 'nations' is a newer word; in English the term dates from 1844, although the concept is older. It became important in the 19th century. The term increasingly became negative in its connotations after 1914. Glenda Sluga notes that "The twentieth century, a time of profound disillusionment with nationalism, was also the great age of globalism.

4.3 NATIONALIST HISTORY OF ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL PERIODS

Many Indians, affected by nationalism, and some Europeans, took up an examination of colonial stereotypes virtually as a challenge from the second half of the 19th century. They did so on the basis of detailed and meticulous research, which has created excellent traditions of devotion to facts and details and of reliance on primary sources in Indian historical discipline. Indian historians tried to prove the falsity of colonial historical narrative on the basis of analysis of existing historical sources, as also the hunt for fresh sources. Of course, they also were moved by a feeling of hurt national pride. For decades, their work was confined to ancient and medieval periods. The professional historians did not take up the modern period though, as we shall see, the economists did, basically because of two reasons:

(a) most of them were working in government or government-controlled schools and colleges, there was fear that any critique of colonialism would affect their careers;

(b) they accepted the contemporary British historical view that scientific history must not deal with recent or contemporary period.

The Indian historians proclaimed the colonial notion of India's tradition of spirituality as a mark of distinction and of India's greatness and superiority over the West, especially in terms of 'moral values' as compared to the essentially 'materialistic' character of Western civilisation. (Paradoxically, this formulation made an appeal to the Indians of middle classes who belonged to moneylending and trading families who daily struggled for acquisition of material goods). At the same time, they denied the Indians' exclusive devotion to spirituality and stressed their prowess in administration and statecraft, empire building, diplomacy, taxation structure, and military organisation, warfare, agrarian, industrial and commercial development. Many historians discovered in India's past diplomatic and political institutions analogous to those of contemporary Europe. They vehemently denied the notion of

ancient Indian being inefficient in running a state. They hailed the discovery in the beginning of the 20th century of Arthashastra by Kautilya and said that it proved that Indians were equally interested and proficient in administration, diplomacy and economic management by the state. Many glorified Kautilya and compared him with Machiavelli and Bismarck. Many also denied the dominant influence of religion on the state and asserted the latter's secular character. They also contradicted the view that ancient Indian state was autocratic and despotic. The Kings in ancient India dispensed justice to all, they said.

Others refuted the view that Indian rulers did not keep in mind the aim of the welfare of the people. Some even asserted the strong presence of the popular element in the state and went even so far as to say that in many cases the political structure approached that of modern democracies. In any case, all of them argued that government was not irresponsible and capricious. There were many limits on autocracy or the power of the rulers. There were many channels through which public opinion became effective. Some even argued that Indian monarchies were limited and often approached constitutional monarchy. For example, the Mantri Parishad described by Kautilya was compared with the Privy Council of Britain. Above all, very often the existence of local self-governments was asserted and the example of democratically elected village panchayats was cited. A few writers went so fare as to talk of the existence of assemblies and parliaments and of the cabinet system, as under Chandra Gupta, Akbar and Shivaji. Quite often, the wide observance by the rulers of international law, especially in the case of war, was also pointed out. They denied the charge that Indian rulers took recourse to arbitrary taxation and argued that a taxation system virtually analogous to that of a modern system of taxation prevailed. K.P. Jayaswal, a celebrated historian of the first quarter of the 20th century, took this entire approach to the extreme. In his Hindu Polity, published in 1915, he argued that the ancient Indian political system was either republican or that of constitutional monarchy. He concluded: 'The constitutional progress made by the Hindus has probably not been equalled, much less surpassed, by any polity of antiquity.' (This was to counter the European view that Greece was the home of democracy).

Basically, the nationalist approach was to assert that anything that was politically positive in the West had already existed in India.

Thus R. C. Majumdar wrote in his Corporate Life in Ancient India that institutions 'which we are accustomed to look upon as of western growth had also flourished in India long ago.' Thus, interestingly, the value structure of the west was accepted. It is not ancient Indian political institutions which were declared to be, on the whole, greater, but western institutions which were accepted as greater and then found to have existed in ancient India. Colonial historians stressed that Indians were always divided by religion, region, language, and caste, that it was colonialism alone which unified them, and that their unity would disappear if colonial rule disappeared. This also meant that Indians lacked a sense of patriotism and national unity. Nationalist historians countered the colonial view by claiming that cultural, economic and political unity and a sense of Indian nationhood had prevailed in pre-colonial India. Kautilya, for example, they said, had advocated in the Arthashastra the need for a national king. This need to assert the unity of India in the past explains, in part, why Indian historians tended to see Indian history as a history of Indian empires and their break up and why they treated the period of empires as period of national greatness. In their view Chandragupta Maurya, Asoka, Chandragupta Vikramditya and Akbar were great because they built great empires. Interestingly, this led to a contradiction in the nationalist approach during the Gandhian era. On the one hand India was praised as the land of non-violence and, on the other hand, the military power of the empire-builders was praised. One curious result was that Asoka was praised for his commitment to nonviolence by some historians, others condemned him for the same as it weakened the empire against foreign invaders. The nationalists wrote approvingly of India's culture and social structure. In the bargain they underplayed caste oppression, social and economic denigration of the lower castes, and male domination. Moreover, while rightly emphasising India's contribution to the development of civilisation in the world, they tended to underplay the impact of other cultures and civilisations on India's development. Furthermore, as in the case of political institutions,

often the worth of social values and institutions was accepted and then found to have existed in ancient India.

Apart from its historical veracity, which cannot be discussed here, the nationalist historians' approach towards ancient India had a few highly negative consequences.

(i)   Nearly all achievements of the Indian people in different areas of human endeavour were associated with the ancient period,

(ii)   It was Hindu culture and social structure in its Sanskritic and Brahmanical form that was emphasised.

(iii)   Glorification of the past tended to merge with communalism and, later, with regionalism. In any case the high water-mark of the Indian historical writing on the ancient period of Indian history was reached around early 1930s.

Later, it became more and more a caricature of the writings of the earlier period. Nationalist historiography of medieval India developed mostly during the 1920s and after, often to dispute the colonial and communal approaches. Nationalists historians of medieval India repeated more or less the entire nationalist approach towards ancient Indian history. In particular, they emphasised the development of a composite culture in Northern India as a result of interaction among Hindus and Muslims both at the level of the common people and the elite. They also denied the colonial-communal assertion that Muslim rulers remained foreigners even after settling down in the country or that they were inherently oppressive or more so than their predecessors or counterparts in the rest of the world. Above all, they denied that Hindus and Muslims lived in a conflictual situation, ever at each other's throats.

Despite their tendency to glorify India's past and to defend Indian culture against colonial denigeration, many of the nationalists historians also looked for an answer to the question: how could a small trading company, backed by a small country thousands of miles away, conquer such a large country as India with its hoary past and great civilisations. This indicated the beginnings of a critique of Indian culture and social structure, which, in turn, led to initial steps being taken towards the study of social history, especially pertaining to the caste system and the position of women. The contemporary nationalist critique of colonialism

also led to first steps being taken towards the economic history of pre-colonial India. Also as the national movement developed as a mass movement, attention turned in the 1930s towards a study of the role of the common people in history. This trend fructified, however, only after the 1950s. It may also be kept in view that the historians we are discussing were handicapped by the limitation of their sources. They had to rely mostly on written sources, though epigraphy and numismatics were beginning to make a major contribution. Archaeology was still in its infancy, while the use of anthropology and sociology was negligible. Economics too was seen as a preserve only of the economists.

The term "nationalism" is generally used to describe two phenomena: (1) the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity, and (2) the actions that the members of a nation take when seeking to achieve (or sustain) self-determination. (1) raises questions about the concept of a nation (or national identity), which is often defined in terms of common origin, ethnicity, or cultural ties, and specifically about whether an individual's membership in a nation should be regarded as non-voluntary or voluntary. (2) raises questions about whether self-determination must be understood as involving having full statehood with complete authority over domestic and international affairs, or whether something less is required.

It is traditional, therefore, to distinguish nations from states — whereas a nation often consists of an ethnic or cultural community, a state is a political entity with a high degree of sovereignty. While many states are nations in some sense, there are many nations which are not fully sovereign states. As an example, the Native American Iroquois constitute a nation but not a state, since they do not possess the requisite political authority over their internal or external affairs. If the members of the Iroquois nation were to strive to form a sovereign state in the effort to preserve their identity as a people, they would be exhibiting a state-focused nationalism.

Nationalism has long been ignored as a topic in political philosophy, written off as a relic from bygone times. It came into the focus of philosophical debate two decades ago, in the nineties, partly in consequence of rather spectacular and troubling nationalist clashes such

as those in Rwanda, the former Yugoslavia and the former Soviet republics. Surges of nationalism tend to present a morally ambiguous, and for this reason often fascinating, picture. "National awakening" and struggles for political independence are often both heroic and cruel; the formation of a recognizably national state often responds to deep popular sentiment but sometimes yields inhuman consequences, from violent expulsion and "cleansing" of non-nationals to organized mass murder. The moral debate on nationalism reflects a deep moral tension between solidarity with oppressed national groups on the one hand and repulsion in the face of crimes perpetrated in the name of nationalism on the other. Moreover, the issue of nationalism points to a wider domain of problems related to the treatment of ethnic and cultural differences within democratic polity, arguably among the most pressing problems of contemporary political theory.

In the last decade the focus of the debate about nationalism has shifted towards issues in international justice, probably in response to changes on the international scene: bloody nationalist wars such as those in the former Yugoslavia have become less conspicuous, whereas the issues of terrorism, of the "clash of civilizations" and of hegemony in the international order have come to occupy public attention. One important link with earlier debates is provided by the contrast between views of international justice based on the predominance of sovereign nation-states and more cosmopolitan views that insist upon limiting national sovereignty or even envisage its disappearance. Another new focus for philosophers is provided by issues of territory and territorial rights, which connect the topic of nation-states (or, "the nation state") with questions about boundaries, migration, resource rights and vital ecological matters.

The Basic Concept of Nationalism

Although the term "nationalism" has a variety of meanings, it centrally encompasses the two phenomena noted at the outset: (1) the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their identity as members of that nation and (2) the actions that the members of a nation take in seeking to achieve (or sustain) some form of political sovereignty

(see for example, Nielsen 1998–9, 9). Each of these aspects requires elaboration. (1) raises questions about the concept of a nation or national identity, about what it is to belong to a nation, and about how much one ought to care about one's nation. Nations and national identity may be defined in terms of common origin, ethnicity, or cultural ties, and while an individual's membership in the nation is often regarded as involuntary, it is sometimes regarded as voluntary. The degree of care for one's nation that nationalists require is often, but not always, taken to be very high: according to such views, the claims of one's nation take precedence over rival contenders for authority and loyalty (see Berlin 1979, Smith 1991, Levy 2000, and the discussion in Gans 2003; for a more extreme characterization see the opening pages of Crosby 2005, and for a recent rich and interesting discussions of nationalist attitudes see Yack 2012).

(2) raises questions about whether sovereignty requires the acquisition of full statehood with complete authority over domestic and international affairs, or whether something less than statehood suffices. Although sovereignty is often taken to mean full statehood (Gellner 1983, ch. 1; for discussion of Gellner's views see Meadwell 2012, 2014, and papers in Malesevic and Hugarard 2007), possible exceptions have been recognized (Miller 1992 (87), and Miller 2000). Some authors even defend an anarchist version of patriotism-moderate nationalism foreshadowed by Bakunin (see Robert Sparrow, "For the Union Makes Us Strong: Anarchism and Patriotism", in Primoratz and Pavkovic 2007). Despite these definitional worries, there is a fair amount of agreement about the historically paradigmatic form of nationalism. It typically features the supremacy of the nation's claims over other claims to individual allegiance and full sovereignty as the persistent aim of its political program. Territorial sovereignty has traditionally been seen as a defining element of state power and essential for nationhood. It was extolled in classic modern works by Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau and is returning to center stage in the debate, though philosophers are now more skeptical (see below). Issues surrounding the control of the movement of money and people (in particular immigration) and the resource rights implied in territorial sovereignty make the topic politically center in the

age of globalization and philosophically interesting for nationalists and anti-nationalists alike.

The territorial state as political unit is seen by nationalists as centrally 'belonging' to one ethnic-cultural group and as actively charged with protecting and promulgating its traditions. This view is exemplified by the classical, "revivalist" nationalism that was most prominent in the 19th century in Europe and Latin America. This classical nationalism later spread across the world and still marks many contemporary nationalisms.

The Concept of a Nation

In its general form the issue of nationalism concerns the mapping between the ethno-cultural domain (featuring ethno-cultural groups or "nations") and the domain of political organization. In breaking down the issue, we have mentioned the importance of the attitude that the members of a nation have when they care about their national identity. This point raises two sorts of questions. First, the descriptive ones:

(1a)   What is a nation and what is national identity?

(1b)   What is it to belong to a nation?

(1c)   What is the nature of pro-national attitude?

(1d)   Is membership in a nation voluntary or involuntary?

Second, the normative ones:

(1e)   Is the attitude of caring about national identity always appropriate?

(1f)   How much should one care?

This section discusses the descriptive questions, starting with (1a) and (1b). (The normative questions are addressed in Section 3 on the moral debate.) If one wants to enjoin people to struggle for their national interests, one must have some idea about what a nation is and what it is to belong to a nation. So, in order to formulate and ground their evaluations, claims, and directives for action, pro-nationalist thinkers have expounded theories of ethnicity, culture, nation and state. Their opponents have in turn challenged these elaborations. Now, some

presuppositions about ethnic groups and nations are essential for the nationalist, while others are theoretical elaborations designed to support the essential ones. The definition and status of the social group that benefits from the nationalist program, variously called the "nation", "ethno-nation" or "ethnic group", is essential. Since nationalism is particularly prominent with groups that do not yet have a state, a definition of nation and nationalism purely in terms of belonging to a state is a non-starter.

Indeed, purely "civic" loyalties are often categorized separately under the title "patriotism", or "constitutional patriotism" (Habermas 1996; see the discussion in Markell 2000; for a wider understanding of patriotism see Primoratz and Pavkovic 2007). This leaves two extreme options and a number of intermediates. The first extreme option has been put forward by a small but distinguished band of theorists, including Renan 1882 and Weber 1970; for a recent defense, see Brubaker 2004 and for a comparison with religion, Brubaker 2013. According to their purely voluntaristic definition, a nation is any group of people aspiring to a common political state-like organization. If such a group of people succeeds in forming a state, the loyalties of the group members become "civic" (as opposed to "ethnic") in nature. At the other extreme, and more typically, nationalist claims are focused upon the non-voluntary community of common origin, language, tradition and culture: the classic ethno-nation is a community of origin and culture, including prominently a language and customs. The distinction is related (although not identical) to that drawn by older schools of social and political science between "civic" and "ethnic" nationalism, the former being allegedly Western European and the latter more Central and Eastern European, originating in Germany (a very prominent proponent of the distinction is Hans Kohn 1965). Philosophical discussions centered around nationalism tend to concern the ethnic-cultural variants only, and this habit will be followed here. A group aspiring to nationhood on this basis will be called here an 'ethno-nation' to underscore its ethno-cultural rather than purely civic underpinnings. For the ethno-(cultural) nationalist it is one's ethnic-cultural background that determines one's membership in the community. One cannot chose to be a member; instead, membership depends on the

accident of origin and early socialization. However, commonality of origin has become mythical for most contemporary candidate groups: ethnic groups have been mixing for millennia.

Sophisticated pro-nationalists therefore tend to stress cultural membership only and speak of "nationality", omitting the "ethno-" part (Miller 1992, 2000; Tamir 1993 and 2013; Gans 2003). Michel Seymour's proposal of a "socio-cultural definition" adds a political dimension to the purely cultural one: a nation is a cultural group, possibly but not necessarily united by a common descent, endowed with civic ties (Seymour 2000). This is the kind of definition that would be accepted by most parties in the debate today. So defined, the nation is a somewhat mixed category, both ethno-cultural and civic, but still closer to the purely ethno-cultural than to the purely civic extreme.

The wider descriptive underpinnings of nationalist claims have varied over the last two centuries. The early German elaborations talk about "the spirit of a people", while somewhat later ones, mainly of French extraction, talk about "collective mentality", to which specific and significant causal powers are ascribed. A later descendent of this notion is the idea of a "national character" peculiar to each nation, which partly survives today under the guise of national "forms of life" and of feeling (Margalit 1997, see below). For almost a century, up to the end of the Second World War, it was customary to link nationalist views to organic metaphors for society. Isaiah Berlin, writing as late as the early seventies, proposed to define nationalism partly as consisting of the conviction that people belong to a particular human group, and that "…the characters of the individuals who compose the group are shaped by, and cannot be understood apart from, those of the group …" (first published in 1972, reprinted in Berlin, 1979: 341). The nationalist claims, according to Berlin, that "the pattern of life in a society is similar to that of a biological organism" (ibid.), and that the needs of this 'organism' determine the supreme goal for all of its members. Most contemporary defenders of nationalism, especially philosophers, avoid such language. The organic metaphor and talk about character have been replaced by one master metaphor: that of national identity. It is centered upon cultural membership, and used both for the identity of a group and for the

socially based identity of its members, e.g., the national identity of George insofar as he is English or British. Various authors unpack the metaphor in various ways: some stress involuntary membership in the community, others the strength with which one identifies with the community, and yet others link it to the personal identity of each member of the community. Addressing these issues, nationalist philosophers such as Alisdair MacIntyre (1994), Charles Taylor (1989), and M. Seymour have significantly contributed to introducing and maintaining important topics such as community, membership, tradition and social identity into contemporary philosophical debate.

Let us now turn to the issue of the origin and "authenticity" of ethno-cultural groups or ethno-nations. In social and political science one usually distinguishes two kinds of views. The first can be called "primordialist" views. According to them, actual ethno-cultural nations have either existed "since time immemorial" (an extreme, somewhat caricatured version, corresponding to nineteenth century nationalist rhetoric), or at least for a long time during the pre-modern period (Hastings 1997, see the discussion of his views in Nations and Nationalism, Volume 9, 2003). Anthony Smith champions a very popular moderate version of this view (1991, 2001, 2008 and the book 2009 and paper 2011) under the name "ethnosymbolism." For a fine development of this line see also the works of John Hutchinson (most recently his 2005 book) and of Roshwald (2006, debated in Nations and Nationalism 2008, Volumes 1 and 4 respectively). A volume dedicated to A. Smith debates his ethnno-nationalism (Leouss and Grosby, eds., 2007); recently a historical defense has been offered by Azar Gat and Alexander Yakobson (2013). According to this approach, nations are like artichokes, in that they have many "unimportant leaves" that can be chewed up one by one, but also have a heart, which remains after the leaves have been eaten (the metaphor is due to Stanley Hoffmann; for details and sources see the debate between Smith 2003 and Özkirimli 2003. For interesting historical details see a recent collection by Derks & Roymans 2009). The second are the modernist views, placing the origin of nations in modern times. They can be further classified according to their answer to an additional question: how real is the ethno-cultural

nation? The modernist realist view is that nations are real but distinctly modern creations, instrumental in the genesis of capitalism (Gellner 1983, Hobsbawn 1990, and Breuilly 2001 and 2011). The realist view contrasts with more radical antirealism. According to one such view, nations are merely "imagined" but somehow still powerful entities; what is meant is that belief in them holds sway over the believers (Anderson 1965). The extreme anti-realist view claims that nations are pure "constructions" (see Walker 2001 for an overview and literature and, more recently, Malesevic 2011). These divergent views seem to support rather divergent moral claims about nations: see for instance the collections edited by Breen and O'Neill (2010) and by Lecours and Moreno (2010). For an overview of nationalism in political theory see Vincent 2001 and the encyclopedic volume edited by Delanty and Kumar (2006). For a more recent account combining political theory, history and quantitative research see (Wimmer 2013); other relevant books are De Lange 2010 and Bechhofer & McCrone 2009.

Indeed, older authors — from great thinkers like Herder and Otto Bauer to the propagandists who followed their footsteps — took great pains to ground normative claims upon firm ontological realism about nations: nations are real, bona fide entities. However, the contemporary moral debate has tried to diminish the importance of the imagined/real divide. Prominent contemporary philosophers have claimed that normative-evaluative nationalist claims are compatible with the "imagined" nature of a nation. (See, for instance, MacCormick 1982; Miller 1992, 2000; Tamir 1993, Gans 2003, Moore 2009, 2010, Dagger 2009 and, for an interesting discussion, Frost 2006.) They point out that common imaginings can tie people together, and that actual interaction resulting from togetherness can engender important moral obligations.

Let us now turn to question (1c) about the nature of pro-national attitudes. The explanatory issue that has interested political and social scientists concerns ethno-nationalist sentiment, the paradigm case of a pro-national attitude. Is it as irrational, romantic and indifferent to self-interest as it might seem on the surface? The issue has divided authors who see nationalism as basically irrational and those who try to explain it as being in some sense rational. Authors who see it as irrational propose

various explanations of why people assent to irrational views. Some say, critically, that nationalism is based on "false consciousness". But where does such false consciousness come from? The most simplistic view is that it is a result of direct manipulation of "masses" by "elites". On the opposite side, the famous critic of nationalism Elie Kedourie (1960) thinks this irrationality is spontaneous. A decade ago Liah Greenfeld went as far as linking nationalism to mental illness in her provocative (2005) article; see also her (2006) book. On the opposite side, Michael Walzer has offered a sympathetic account of nationalist passion in his (2002). Authors relying upon the Marxist tradition offer various deeper explanations. To mention one, the French structuralist Étienne Balibar sees it as a result of the "production" of ideology effectuated by mechanisms which have nothing to do with spontaneous credulity of individuals, but with impersonal, structural social factors (Balibar and Wallerstein, 1992). (For an overview of Marxist approaches see Glenn 1997). Now we turn to those who see nationalist sentiments as being rational, at least in a very wide sense. Some authors claim that it is often rational for individuals to become nationalists (Hardin 1985). Consider the two sides of the nationalist coin. On the first side, identification and cohesion within an ethno-national group relates to inter-group cooperation, and cooperation is easier for those who are part of the same ethno-national group. To take an example of ethnic ties in a multiethnic state, a Vietnamese newcomer to the United States will do well to rely on his co-nationals: common language, customs and expectations might help him a lot in finding his way in new surroundings. Once the ties are established and he has become part of a network, it is rational to go on cooperating, and ethnic sentiment secures the trust and the firm bond needed for smooth cooperation. A further issue is when it is rational to switch sides; to stay with our example, when does it become profitable for our Vietnamese to develop an all-American patriotism? This has received a detailed elaboration in David Laitin (1998, summarized in 2001; applied to language rights in Laitin and Reich 2004; see also Laitin 2007), who uses material from the former Soviet Union. On the other side of the nationalist coin, non-cooperation with outsiders can lead to sometimes extreme conflict between various ethno-nations. Can one

rationally explain the extremes of ethno-national conflict? Authors like Russell Hardin propose to do so in terms of a general view of when hostile behavior is rational: most typically, if an individual has no reason to trust someone, it is reasonable for that individual to take precautions against the other. If both sides take precautions, however, each will tend to see the other as increasingly inimical. It then becomes rational to start treating the other as an enemy. Mere suspicion can thus lead by small, individually rational steps to a situation of conflict. (Such negative development is often presented as a variant of the Prisoner's Dilemma; see the entry on prisoner's dilemma). It is relatively easy to spot the circumstances in which this general pattern applies to national solidarities and conflicts (see also Wimmer 2013). The line of thought just sketched is often called the "rational choice approach". It has enabled the application of conceptual tools from game-theoretic and economic analyses of cooperative and non-cooperative behavior to the explanation of ethno-nationalism.

It is worth mentioning, however, that the individualist rational-choice approach, centered upon personal rationality, has serious competitors. A tradition in social psychology, initiated by Henri Tajfel (1981), shows that individuals may identify with a randomly selected group even when membership in the group brings no tangible rewards. Does rationality of any kind underlie this tendency to identification? Some authors (Sober & Wilson 1998) answer in the affirmative. They propose a non-personal, evolutionary sort of rationality: individuals who develop a sentiment of identification and sense of belonging end up better off in the evolutionary race; hence we have inherited such propensities. Initially, sentiments were reserved for kin, supporting the spreading of one's own genes. But cultural evolution has taken over the mechanisms of identification that initially developed within biological evolution. As a result, we project the sentiment originally reserved for kinship onto our cultural group. More detailed explanations from socio-biological perspectives differ greatly among themselves and constitute a wide and rather promising research program (see an overview in Goetze 2001). There is a growing literature connecting these issues with cognitive science, from Searle-White 2001 to Hogan 2009 and Yack 2012.

Finally, as for question (1d), the nation is typically seen as an essentially non-voluntary community to which one belongs by birth and early nurture and such that the belonging is enhanced and made more complete by one's additional conscious endorsement. Avishai Margalit and Joseph Raz express a common view when they write about belonging to a nation: "Qualification for membership is usually determined by non-voluntary criteria. One cannot choose to belong. One belongs because of who one is" (Margalit and Raz, 1990, 447). Belonging brings crucial benefits: "Belonging to a national form of life means being within a frame that offers meaning to people's choice between alternatives, thus enabling them to acquire an identity" (Margalit 1997, 83). Why is national belonging taken to be involuntary? It is often attributed to the involuntary nature of linguistic belonging: a child does not decide which language will become her or his mother tongue, and one's mother tongue is often regarded as the most important depository of concepts, knowledge, social and cultural significance. All these are embedded in the language, and do not exist without it. Early socialization is seen as socialization into a specific culture, and very often that culture is just assumed to be a national one. "There are people who express themselves 'Frenchly', while others have forms of life that are expressed 'Koreanly' or 'Icelandicly'," writes Margalit (1997, 80). The resulting belonging is then to a large extent non-voluntary. (There are exceptions to this basically non-voluntaristic view: for instance, theoretical nationalists who accept voluntary changes of nationality. (See also Ernst Renan's 1882 (19) famous definition of a nation as constituted by 'everyday plebiscite'.)

4.4   NATIONALIST HISTORY OF MODERN PERIOD

Nationalist historiography flourished mainly in dealing with the ancient and medieval periods. It hardly existed for the modern period and came into being mainly after 1947, no school of nationalist historians of modern India having existed before 1947. This was in part because, in the era of nationalism, to be a nationalist was also to be anti-imperialist,

which meant confrontation with the ruling, colonial authorities. And that was not possible for academics because of colonial control over the educational system. It became safe to be anti-imperialist only after 1947. Consequently, a history of the national movement or of colonial economy did not exist. This is, of course, not a complete explanation of the absence of nationalist historiography before 1947. After all, Indian economists did develop a sharp and brilliant critique of the colonial economy of India and its impact on the people. A detailed and scientific critique of colonialism was developed in the last quarter of the 19th century by non-academic, nationalist economists such as Dadabhai Naoroji, Justice Ranade, G. V. Joshi, R. C. Dutt, K. T. Telang, G. K. Gokhale and D. E. Wacha. Several academic economists such as K. T. Shah, V. C. Kale, C. N. Vakil, D. R. Gadgil, Gyan Chand, V.K.R.V. Rao and Wadia and Merchant followed in their footsteps in the first half of the 20th century. Their critique did not find any reflection in history books of the period. That was to happen only after 1947, and that too in the 1960s and after. This critique, however, formed the core of nationalist agitation in the era of mass movements after 1920. Tilak, Gandhiji, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel and Subhash Bose, for example, relied heavily upon it. A few historians who referred in passing to the national movement and nationalist historians after 1947 did not see it as an anti-imperialist movement. Similarly, the only history of the national movement that was written was by nationalist leaders such as R.G. Pradhan, A.C. Mazumdar, Jawaharlal Nehru and Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Post1947 historians accepted the legitimacy of nationalism and the Indian national movement but seldom dealt with its foundation in the economic critique of the colonialism. They also tended to underplay, when not ignoring completely, other streams of the nationalist struggle.

Modern historians have also been divided between those, such as Tara Chand, who held that India has been a nation-in-the-making since the 19th century and those who argue that India has been a nation since the ancient times. At the same time, to their credit, all of them accept India's diversity, i.e., its multi-lingual, multi-religious, multi-ethnic, and therefore multi-cultural character. Nationalist historians also have ignored or severely underplayed inner contradictions of Indian society

based on class and caste or the oppression of and discrimination against women and tribes. They have also ignored the movements against class and caste oppressions. They have seldom made an in-depth analysis of the national movement, and often indulged in its blind glorification. While adopting a secular position and condemning communalism, they do not make a serious analysis of its character or elements, causation, and development. Quite often, it is seen merely as an outcome of the British policy of 'divide and rule'. They give due space to the social reform movements but do not take a critical look at them, and often ignore the movements of the tribal people and the lower castes for their emancipation. As a whole, historians neglected economic, social and cultural history and at the most attached a chapter or two on these without integrating them into the main narrative.

We may make a few additional remarks regarding nationalist historians as a whole. They tended to ignore inner contradictions within Indian society. They suffered from an upper caste and male chauvinist cultural and social bias. Above all they tended to accept the theory of Indian exceptionalism that Indian historical development was entirely different from that of the rest of the world. They missed a historical evaluation of Indian social institutions in an effort to prove India's superiority in historical development. Especially negative and harmful both to the study of India's history and the political development of modern India was their acceptance of James Mill's periodisation of Indian history into Hindu and Muslim periods.

In the immense field of scholarly work regarding defining nationhood, a raging debate exists between the conservative view of the nation and the constructivist view. A clear and definitive change in the conception of the 'realness' of the nation can be seen throughout the historiographical study of nationalism. The conception of the nation has shifted dramatically, from the proto-jingoist conservatism of the 'primordial nation' of Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Johann Gottfried Herder and the German nationalist school of thought they represent to the constructivist 'imagined community' of Benedict Anderson and the 'congruence principle' of Ernest Gellner to the militant anti-nationalism of Thongchai Winichakul's notion of the artificed 'geo-body' and the Marxist 'bottom-

up' nation of Eric Hobsbawm. This essay will attempt to explain the underlying philosophies that exist within the post-primordial and anti-essentialist school of liberal thought and chart the contributions made to the constructivist perception of the nation by focusing on Anderson, Gellner, Winichakul, and Hobsbawm as well as provide appropriate historical background to place these views of the nation in social and intellectual context.

Benedict Anderson, one of the foremost proponents of the constructivist view of nationalism, defines the nation as a fabrication, a bond between people that did not actually exist prior to its own recognition. He states that, "It is an imagined community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign"[1]. Anderson believes that the nation is imagined because members of this nation don't know most of their compatriots but still have a communal image; it is built based on recognition of commonality, not the commonality itself.

"It is an imagined community—and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign"

The conception of the nation is inherently limited and, in many ways, defined by this limit because all nations, even ones with large populations, still have finite demarcations beyond which other nations can be found. These nations and imagined communities are sovereign because the concept was born when Enlightenment destroyed thoughts of divinely-ordained legitimacy and hierarchy.[2] These nations are defined as a community because the nation is conceived as a deep fraternity between people and the nation is based on this fraternity, not the shared characteristics that may have created this fraternity in the first place.

Benedict Anderson believes that both primordialist thinking and Marxist constructivist philosophy cannot endure in the face of the fundamental paradoxes of defining the nation, which he believes to be the objectivity of historical treatment versus subjective antiquity for nationalists and jingoists, the existence of formal universality among all nations versus the uniqueness of each nation's manifestation, and the political power of a nation versus its philosophical poverty.[3] For Anderson, primordialist

thinking regarding the nation fails to stand up to the objectivity of historical treatment while Marxist thinking regarding the conception of the nation doesn't take into account the philosophical poverty of the nation.

Anderson theorised within the context of a dominant constructivist narrative on the topic of nationalism and with an academic focus on Southeast Asia and Indonesia in particular. This colors his observations because the formation of southeast asian nations was, in large part, independent of racial or ethnic homogeneousness. Industry and print language played an important role, which would make it easy for Anderson to fall into the trap of his own paradox of national definition, the existence of formal universality among all nations versus the uniqueness of each nation's manifestation. His opinion is influenced by his chosen specialty and case study as well as by the existing constructivist sentiments at the time.

Ernest Gellner put forth the idea that the nation is only a socially conceived "construct," an artificially created entity with the possibility of continued existence contingent upon the continuation of the perpetuation of the concept by the nation's elites.4 He believes that nations and nationalism are not somehow revealed by historical events, but rather that they are fabricated concepts. He states that,

"A mere category of persons (say, occupants of a given territory, or speakers of a given language, for example) becomes a nation if and when the members of the category firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it. It is their recognition of each other as fellows of this kind which turns them into a nation, and not the other shared attributes, whatever they might be, which separate that category from non- members." 5

To Gellner, nationalism comes from the fabrication of recognition, not any shared pre-existing characteristics.This is in direct conflict with the pre-constructivist idea that nations already existed before their more tangible manifestation. Gellner is a postmodern thinker, preferring an explanation that is a result of self-determination, as opposed to a set and unchanging identity. While Gellner is at odds with the idea of the pre-existing nations of the primordial school of thought, his theories are in no

way wholly agreeable to traditional constructivist thought regarding nationalism.

His skepticism of the realness of the nation does not undermine the validity of or need for the nation as a construct. Gellner stipulates that nationalism is a completely necessary mechanism in the process of modernization because he believes that industrialism requires that social and political boundaries become congruent. The nation is not natural or pre-existing, but it is necessary for uniting state with culture. Gellner also states that nations are not formed through ideology or proto-jingoism, but through its necessity for the existence of a modern and industrialized society.

While Gellner attempts to disabuse people of the notion of a "perennial" or mythologized nation, he also holds with the atypical (for a national constructivist) idea that the nation is necessary and legitimate.6 He believes that nations are conceived and perpetuated in large part by societal elites, but does not agree with the widespread constructivist notion that nations are deliberately created to empower the self-serving elites. To Gellner, homogenization of culture is a societal necessity, not a calculated power grab. The creation of a modern civil society and the transition from an agrarian lifestyle to an industrial one requires cultural standardization that can only be achieved by fabricating a nation. This conflicts with the traditional constructivist view that civil societies can exist outside the bounds of a nation.

Ernest Gellner's conception of the nation through a semi-constructivist lens was in large part due to the historical and social context in which he wrote. A part of the massive Western constructivist machine that was building momentum during the decades in which Gellner first published, he was disabused of any primordialist sentiments he may have felt towards his home country of Czechoslovakia by the violent and anti-Semitic takeover of communism. He was heavily influenced by the social constructivist movement during the spread of socialism and its subsequent collapse and his work must be viewed in this political context. His views are also influenced by his personal experiences; as a migrant, he has an outsider's perspective on nationalism.

Thongchai Winichakul subscribes to the constructivist philosophy of the nation set forth by Anderson and Gellner, that there is nothing inherent or pre-existing about the nation. He agrees with the idea of the nation as an imagined community, one defined by its recognition of itself and not any tangible bond.7 Thongchai's contribution to the field of nationalism academia lies in his interpretation of the nation through what he terms the "geo-body," the delineation and formation of a nation's territory.8 Thongchai states that nationalism is dependent on the finite nature of a nation demarcated by its borders. These borders define what is of the nation and what is not and identifies the outermost limits of national identity. The study of nationhood through the lens of territory is vital in explaining the formation of the nation through political geography as the concept of nation cannot be separated from that of sovereignty and the value of territory. Territoriality is a vital component in the creation of the collective 'self' of the nation and the geo-body is, in and of itself, just another construct artificially created through cartography and discourses of geographical representation.9

Thongchai's discourse on the falseness of both the nation and its territory exists in a blatantly anti-nationalist and anti-jingoist historical context. As a student, Thongchai was imprisoned by Thai nationalist forces in a paramilitary assault on a student protest.10 His conception of the nation as a result is actually more anti-primordialist than traditional constructivism as it has the added element of an artificed an unreal territory and geography. His interpretation of nationalism is affected by the Thai history of nationalism and his experiences as a dissenter.

Eric Hobsbawm was a proponent of a distinctly Marxist, anti-primordial view of the nation. He wrote that "any sufficiently large body of people whose members regard themselves as members of a 'nation', will be treated as such." 11 This is a deeply constructivist view of nationalism and puts forth the idea that pre-existing and homogenous characteristics of a people group in no way define a nation; rather, it is the recognition of a bond, a fabrication and an artificed entity, that legitimizes the nation. He rejects the idea that nations exist because of any existing bond between peoples. He states that,

"Nations as a natural, God-given way of classifying men, as an inherent ... political destiny, are a myth; nationalism, which sometimes takes preexisting cultures and turns them into nations, sometimes invents them, and often obliterates pre-existing cultures: that is a reality." 12

The primordial conception of a mythologized nation as something inherent in a people group is absurd. Hobsbawm believes that, nations are fundamentally "situated at the point of intersection of politics, technology and social transformation." 13 They only exist within the context of social and economic development and evolve because of this development and the mass standardization of practices, nations are not a pre-existing bond between a people group. Hobsbawm states that, in order to understand the nation, it must be analyzed from a bottom-up perspective.

This perspective reveals that national ideology at the top is not reflective of national ideology of the working class, that national identity can be secondary to other forms of self-identification, and that the conception of a nation can and does change, sometimes quite rapidly. Hobsbawm's special brand of Marxist-constructivist thought precludes the existence of objective nationalism or a nationalist historian, as nationalist thought is fundamentally unsound. For Hobsbawm, the idea of a pre-existing nation is a myth and those who subscribe to that school of thought are unfit for scholarly activities. His Marxist bottom-up view of the nation portrays the nation and nationalism as lacking uniformity in society and being susceptible to change.

In political context, Hobsbawm formulated his theories directly before and during the Cold War and was a part of the liberal and constructivist wave of thought regarding nations. His Marxist philosophies colored his perception of the working class as having an agency of identity independent from the power of the elites. Hobsbawm worked under the cloud of "a lesser McCarthyism" existing in the United Kingdom during the Cold War and his Marxist theories were considered radical enough to preclude him from receiving offers of university positions.14

These four scholars and contributors to the constructivist school of thought on the conception of the nation were influenced by a number of social, political, and historiographical factors that affected their

respective contributions to the academic field. The dominance of the modern constructivist school resulted in an importance academic liberal bias against the primordialist notion of the nation and nationhood. The specificity of the case studies used to generate theories of nationalism also served as a bias, due to the difficulty inherent in a universal theory of defining the nation derived from unique and specific cases.

Outsider perspectives of migrant and transnational scholars also influenced their work. Personal experiences with nationalist and primordialist forces served to further push scholars to the constructivist camp. Additionally, nationalist and anti-nationalist political climates in the scholars' home countries influenced their level of antagonism towards the mythologizing of the nation and the conservative primordialist school of thought.

The constructivist school of thought is in no way a uniform reaction to the jingoist nationalism of primordialist thinkers. Constructivism is a blanketed philosophy encompassing all scholarly thought on nationalism derived from the premise that the nation is not mythical nor is it a pre-existing, God-given bond between men. It is a construct, a fabricated entity whose existence is a result of its own recognition and not any ethnic, racial, or ideological commonality existing in a people group. It is a shifting phenomenon and the result of social thought.

Benedict Anderson changed the way the debate between primordialism and constructivism was framed by introducing his three paradoxes of nation defining and then navigating those paradoxes with his notion of an imagined, limited, and sovereign community. Gellner introduced a new type of constructivist theory by upholding the inherently artificial nature of the nation and the creation of the nation by recognition and not existing commonality, while still asserting the legitimacy and even necessity of the nation in the modern industrial world. Thongchai expanded the idea of artificiality as a component of the nation by applying it to what is arguably the most tangible aspect of the nation, its borders and territory, driving the debate even further away from the conservative primordial explanation. Hobsbawm attempted to rework methodological practices of constructivist academics by viewing nationhood from the bottom-up and redefining the nation as a concept

lacking in uniformity throughout the classes. These academics have helped to grow the constructivist school of thought from blanketed liberal reactionism in response to rationalized jingoism to an expansion on the thinking surrounding what constitutes a nation, how a nation is formed, and what that means in the context of modern nation-states.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. Discuss about the Colonial vs. Nationalist Historiography

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2. What do you know about the Nationalist History of Ancient and Medieval Periods?

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3. Discuss the Nationalist History of Modern Period.

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4.5 LET US SUM UP

Nationalist historians did, however, set up high tradition of scholarship. They based their writings on hard research and commitment to truth as they saw it. They carefully and meticulously footnoted all their statements. Consequently, their writing was very often empirically sound. Their research advanced our understanding and interpretation of the past. They also contributed to the cultural defence against colonisation of our culture. Simultaneously, most of them contributed to the positive aspects of the modernisation of our society. Many of them also uncovered new sources and developed new frameworks for the interpretation of existing sources. They raised many new questions,

produced controversies and initiated active debates. They also inculcated the notion that historical research and writing should have relevance for the present. Even when not going far in their own research, they accepted and promoted the notion that the role that the common people play in history should be a major component of history writing.

Above all, nationalist historical writing contributed to the self-confidence, self-assertion and a certain national pride which enabled Indian people to struggle against colonialism especially in the face of denigration of India's past and the consequent inferiority complex promoted by colonial writers. Nilkanth Shastri and other historians also helped overcome the regional bias – the bias of treating India as coterminous with the Indo-Gangetic plane. In this respect, as in many others, nationalist historical writing in India became a major unifying factor so far as the literate Indians were concerned.

4.6 KEY WORDS

Historiography: Historiography is the study of the methods of historians in developing history as an academic discipline, and by extension is anybody of historical work on a particular subject.

Nationalist: a person who strongly identifies with their own nation and vigorously supports its interests, especially to the exclusion or detriment of the interests of other nations.

4.7 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1) Discuss the differences between the colonial and nationalist historiography.
2) What are the specific features of nationalist historiography concerning ancient India?
3) Write a note on the issues discussed by nationalist historians writing on the modern period.

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4.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 4.2
2. See Section 4.3
3. See Section 4.4

UNIT 5: TRIBES AND OTHER COMMUNITIES

STRUCTURE

5.0   OBJECTIVES

After reading this unit, you will be able

- To discuss the contacts of the tribal populations with non-tribal social groups
- To describe the nature of the British Policy towards the tribals

- To give examples of specific tribal groups for showing different levels of modernisation among them
- To identify some aspects of modernisation in relation to the tribal societies in India.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

After discussing social structure and religion of the tribal societies in India, we now examine the impact of the process of modernisation on them. Before proceeding to discuss the tribal societies of India in relation to modernisation process a point of caution needs to be inserted here. Tribes in India are characterised by extreme heterogeneity, being placed at different levels of social and economic development. Each one has reacted differently to the forces of modernisation. Some have become devastated as they came into contact with highly developed societies. In contrast, there are some who have richly benefited from the gains of modernisation. Because of differential impact the tribals have received, it is hazardous to generalise, although some of the basic trends of modernisation and change may be conveniently outlined. To give an idea of differing impacts of modernisation, we shall first describe the heterogeneous character of the tribal societies and see how in anthropology a tribe is conceptualised in relation to its contacts with other tribal and non-tribal groups. Secondly, we will give some case studies to show the nature of modernisation in the tribal groups from different parts of India. Then we will discuss different aspects of modernisation in relation to the tribal societies.

5.2 SCHEDULED TRIBES IN INDIA

Scheduled Tribes in India constitute, according to 1981 Census, 8 per cent of the total population, divided into 427 communities, and inhabiting almost all the regions and parts of India. By 1991 they were 8.10 per cent of the total population (Census of India, 1991) with 533 communities of which 75 were said to be primitive tribes. They widely differ in their demographic and cultural characteristics. The Great Andamanese number only in two digits the Toda are in three digits; Hill

Miri (Arunachal Pradesh) are in four digits; there are Chenchu in five digits; Saora constitute a population of six digits; the Gond are more than 4 million, and so are the Santal and Bhil. Santal, Gond, Bhil and Munda are plough-cultivators; Rabari (Gujarat) are pastoralists; Chenchu are hunters and food-gatherers; Maler (Rajmahal Hills) are shifting cultivators like some of the tribes of the North-East. The large, plough-cultivating tribes are not different from the peasants (Beteille 1974: 58-74). They are politically conscious, aware of their rights, and their level of modernisation and development is relatively high. They have come to be known as haldar (owner of the plough), Kisan (peasant), Kashtkar (tiller of the land) in different areas. They have also responded to modern education. In independent India, they have started taking advantage of the policy of reservation. Similarly, the tribes of the North-East have modernised by seeking advantages of the educational institutions. But such is not the situation with a large number of other tribes especially what are called 'minor' ones. Some of them, especially the tribes of Andaman Islands (Jarawa, Onge, Great Andamanese, Shompen, and Sentinel) and Toda, are facing the problem of declining numbers and extinction. During the Fifth Five-Year Plan, it was felt that the benefits of state-sponsored modernisation and development activities were being chiefly monopolised by the big tribes, thus the gulf between them and the other smaller tribes was widening. The need was to have special schemes for them. From the list of Scheduled Tribes, the communities which were educationally and socially backward and nearly isolated, surviving at a preagricultural level, and had a declining or near-constant population, were separately placed in a list of Primitive Tribes. There were 72 such communities in India in 1981. In the year 2003, 75 communities were termed as primitive. The degree of modernisation amongst them is low. As their number has been less, with people living in dispersed villages, most of these tribes have not been able to form 'associations' that could exercise pressure on the state or central government. Some of them have 'associations' but they are concerned with social reforms rather than acting as effective pressure groups.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

i) Give examples of the Indian Tribes, which follow the following types of occupation;

(a) Hunting and food gathering,

(b) Cattle rearing,

(c) Shifting cultivation, and

1. Plough cultivation. Use two lines for your answer.

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2. Name, in two lines, at least six of the tribes called minor.

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3. How many 'Primitive Tribes' are there in India in 2003? Use one line for your answer

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5.2.1 Contacts of the Tribal Societies with Other Tribal and Non-tribal Social

Groups

In anthropology, a tribe was conceptualised as a relatively isolated or semi-isolated community. Such a community had its own cultural system being defined by selfsufficiency, political autonomy, a well-demarcated territory, a common dialect, folklore and deities. It had a sense of belongingness to the same group. The geographic and cultural isolation of a tribe, thus defined, had implications for methodology. A tribe could be studied in itself without necessarily referring to other exterior social units. If a tribe was 'whole society' the peasant constituted 'part-society' with 'part-culture'. Such a neat formulation of 'tribe' as juxtaposed to 'peasant' was an ideal representation, far from both historical and contemporary reality. A large number of examples were offered to show

that a tribe was never completely isolated. It entered into a set of relationship with its neighbouring communities, tribals as well as non-tribals (Bose 1971: 4; Dube 1977: 2). The relationship in some cases was of intense hostility, punctuated with cases of periodic raids (as was the case with the tribes of Naga Hills). Or some economic exchanges obtained between independent tribes, a classical example of which was described by Mandelbaum (1955: 223-254; 1972: 600-1) from the tribes of Nilgiri Hills. Notwithstanding these relations between independent tribes, each one of them was a cultural whole, if not a cultural isolate. And moreover, the inter-tribal relations did not contribute to vast magnitudes of acculturative changes. In spite of sharing the same geographic and ecological zones, each tribe maintained its own identity and cultural patterns. For example, in several tribal villages of Ranchi, Oraon and Munda live together. They may have faith in the local holy men. For instance, the holy man (Baba) of Kamre village (Ranchi district) was 'worshipped' by both Oraon and Munda. But the historic facts of living together and several cross-cutting ties did not mitigate the inter-tribal cultural and linguistic differences: Oraon speak Kurukh which is Dravidian while Munda belong to the Austro-Asiatic branch of linguistic groups in India. Besides the inter-tribal relations, the tribal settlements close to caste Hindu villages had exchange relations on the pattern of jajmani with other patron and occupational castes (Dumont 1962: 120-2; Sinha 1965: 57-83). As a result, some of the tribal communities came to call themselves Adivasi jati. Once they entered into service relations with other jati, they also started incorporating certain Hindu deities and the elements of Hindu cosmology. Gradually, the little tradition of the tribals became a part of the great tradition of the Hindus. But such absorption of the tribals in the caste system, as Bose (1971) has described it, did not signal the beginning of their modernisation, which actually began when they came in contact with the wider world? the world that had already undergone qualitative changes because of the colonial rule.

5.2.2 The Tribals and the British Policy

The British policy towards the tribals had two major elements. Firstly, it favoured isolation of the tribal areas from the mainstream (Bhowmick 1980; Chaudhuri 1982). Thus was given the concept of 'excluded' and/or 'partially excluded areas'. Because the British tribal policy was political and colonial, the British administrators feared, that if these tribals (bow-and-arrow armed tribals were often labelled as militant, unruly and junglee) were to have contact with the mainstream of Indian society, the freedom movements would gain further strength. In this background it seemed logical to them to isolate, administratively and politically, the regions that had predominantly tribal populations. Secondly, at the level of reform, the British administration was interested in 'civilising' these people. In an ethno-centric assessment, the tribals were viewed at par with stage of bestiality. The classical theory of evolution, which had gripped academic attention in late nineties and early twenties, had treated the 'contemporary primitives' as the remnants or survivals of the early stages of humanity, savagery and barbarism. In the words of Sir E.B. Tylor, these people inhabiting the hilly or forested terrain with sparse population and difficult communication were 'social fossils'; a study or whom would illuminate the prehistoric phases of human existence. The intellectual climate about the historical and evolutionary place of these 'primitives' considerably influenced the political action. Missionaries were sent to some of the difficult areas inhabited by these people. Animism, as the tribal religion was often characterised, was replaced by one or the other denomination of Christianity. Schools were opened up, and obviously English was opted as the main language of instruction. Along with came the Western medical system, which slowly started exorcising the traditional practices of cure. Styles of life and ways of behaviour began changing. And they became very conspicuous in dress patterns, especially of men. The Westernisation of tribals had begun. Here, two things need to be mentioned. Not all tribes were subjected to the efforts of modernisation. There were many which continued to survive in their traditional modes till India's Independence. Secondly, the decision of the Administration to admit missionaries in some areas to open schools there was conditioned by strategic factors. Chotanagpur plateau and the North-Eastern India were the main candidates for the

mission activities and concomitant modernisation. In these cases, as well as in others, Christianity was the sole vehicle of modernisation. The neo-converts not only became a part of the Great Tradition of Christianity, but were also linked to the Great Tradition of the Western culture, English language, Western dress, mannerism and medicines, being ineluctable components of the rulers, culture, flourished as far superior and 'advanced' to the local culture. The fate of traditional material culture and styles of living was decided: they were to be 'preserved' as museum specimens. And this evaluation – the tribal culture must be 'museumified' lest it disappear with the onslaught of modernity – promoted the classical ethnographic studies. In them, the way they were changing was not attended to. The attempt was to record as meticulously as possible the tradition, or betters the dying tradition of the people. These studies served another purpose. They provided the administrators with the cultural background of the people they were going to rule. Detailed accounts of the local customary laws were written so that the administration of people and arbitration of their inter-personal conflicts could be done very much in terms of their laws and rules of conflict settlement. Along with this, attempts were made to synthesise the customary and the modern laws. In all these efforts, the focus was on modernising the tribals. But the colonial experience elsewhere had taught the protagonists that were the people to be detached from their tradition almost completely; there would be a backlash of modernisation and breakdown of its agencies. In the next section we discuss actual cases of the impact of modernisation on selected tribal groups of India.

Check Your Progress 2

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1.   Is it possible, in your view, for a tribe to be completely isolated? Give your answer in three lines.

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2.   Do inter tribal relations affect cultural and linguistic identities of the tribes? Use three lines for your answer.

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3.   Do the contacts of a tribe with its Hindu neighbours signal the beginning of its modernisation? Use two lines for your answer.

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4.   Give, in two lines, the two elements of British policy towards the tribal populations.

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5.   Which were the two main areas for the Christian mission activities and corresponding modernisation? Use one line for your answer

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6.   What is the main approach of classical ethnographic studies of Indian tribes? Use two lines for your answer

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5.3   CASE-STUDIES TO EXAMINE THE IMPACT OF MODERNISATION

Modernisation is a process of spreading the values, institutions and technical aspects of 'modern society'. To highlight different responses to the forces of modernisation we give you five case studies of the tribal groups from different parts of India.

5.3.1 The Baiga Tribe of Madhya Pradesh

The Baiga tribe of Madhya Pradesh is famous in anthropological literature because it was in its context that Elwin (1938: 511-521) suggested one of the first, most controversial approaches to the tribal problem. According to him, since the genesis of tribal problem lay in their contact with the non-tribal exploiters, the tribes (and in this case, the Baiga) should be isolated in a 'tribal reserve area', where the entry of non-tribals, missionaries, landlords and other exploiting elements should be completely prohibited. Though Elwin later withdrew his advice of isolating the tribals, the positive consequences of isolation, fostered by geographical factors and strongly supported by the Administration, have been noticed in some hill tribes, the most outstanding being the Apa Tani of Arunachal Pradesh, a case we shall discuss after that of the Baiga. Having a population of 1,76,934 individuals (according to Census 1971), the Baiga, one of the six Primitive Tribes of Madhya Pradesh, are mainly concentrated in the districts of Mandla, Shahdol, Sidhi, Balaghat, Bilaspur and Surguja. According to a Tribal Research Institute (Bhopal) Report (1986: 5) they are 'one of the most backward tribes of the state', with the percentage of literacy among them being 4.51. The Baiga used to practice shifting cultivation (bewar) till quite recently. They have now been advised (or 'forced') to give it up. Only inside the Baiga-Chak reservation, which has fifty-two villages, in Mandla district, that they are permitted to pursue bewar-cultivation in a restricted manner. Though mentally adjusting to the new requirements of plough cultivation now, they are nostalgic about their past when they used to grow twelve varieties of grain through bewar. The Baiga term Bewar refers to tilling of the land by the axe. Their cultural system has not undergone any perceptible changes. Traditionally, the males used to keep tangled hair, almost resembling a bun, on the occiput region of their head. Now, except for a couple of educated people, this cultural trait is still valued. Similarly, the women were tattooed on every part of the body, including forehead. Even now this custom prevails. The Baiga had been famous as shaman (gunia). The shamanistic lore has not weakened over time. Marriage rules are strictly adhered to. The inter-personal conflicts are resolved in the villageby the intervention of their council. As a matter of fact, the details of their culture as documented by Elwin in his field work

from 1932 till 1939 are not very different from the facts collected by a contemporary ethnographer. The headquarters of Baiga Chak is called Charha. There is a dispensary having a resident doctor, a pharmacist and a nurse. Only a negligible number of the Baiga attend the dispensary when they are ill. Their faith in shamanistic healing (gunia) is unshakable. It has primary, middle and secondary schools. But there are very few Baiga children attending the schools as compared to the Gond. As one moves to higher classes, the number of the Baiga further declines. Drop-out rate amongst them is much higher than among other communities. There are only two Baiga teachers in the whole region. The following photograph, taken by Dr. Surinder Nath, is from Baiga Chak, Mandla District, Madhya Pradesh. Hero two Baiga teachers, in shirt and trousers, are convincing an illiterate Baiga about the importance of modern education inspiring him to send his children to the school. A couple of changes may be noticed in their economic life. As said earlier, the plough-hating Baiga (for them, ploughing amounted to 'tearing the mother earth's breasts') have taken up settled cultivation. Some of them work as agricultural labourers with the Gond. They also work on the jobs provided by the forest department like, wage labourers for making the forest wall, working in the ropemaking factory, in jobs of plantation, etc. In spite of all this, they have maintained aloofness in behaviour, mixing less with the Gond and other communities. Even today, it is not uncommon to see the Baiga running away to seek shelter in dense forests when they encounter non-tribal cosmopolitan people coming to their hamlets.

5.3.2 Apa Tani and Other Tribes of the North-East

Apa Tani, numbering about 15000, live in the high lands of Subansiri district of Arunachal Pradesh. For a very long time, they maintained a self-contained social order, which was uninfluenced by outside power. Though they had developed an efficient system of rice cultivation, they did not have the knowledge of plough and wheel, and their cattle were not used for traction, carriage, or milking (FurerHaimendorf 1947; 1980). They used to produce a surplus of grain for barter with neighbouring tribes. Their economy was non-monetised. Besides speaking their own

language and a few languages of their neighbours, they did not know any other national language or any other language of wider communication. Knowledge of Assamese could have helped them in communicating with the wider world. In view of the Apa Tani's geographical and cultural isolation, it may be assumed that they would have greater obstacles in the path of their development and modernisation compared to the tribes of Central India, like the Gond, who have been in touch with advanced and modern societies (Furer-Haimendorf 1948; 1982; 1983: 1-25). But this has not been so. Apa Tani have made tremendous progress in the direction of modernisation. Despite the literacy rate of 14.04 per cent in Arunachal Pradesh (Census 1981), they have done extremely well in seeking modern education. By the beginning of 1980, there were forty-five Apa Tani with university degrees. Many of them were studying in the universities of Guwahati, Dibrugarh, Shillong and even Delhi. Most of these University graduates had entered government employment, out of which in 1978, there were no less than fifteen serving in gazetted and 342 in non-gazetted posts.

Furer-Haimendorf (1982: 296-297), who had been studying these people from 1944, in his field work in the early 1980s, found some fully qualified doctors and a pilot officer in the Indian Air Force amongst them. The gains of this development are cumulative? over generations even more Apa Tani will take advantage of modern education, entering bureaucratic jobs. With these changes, however, the Apa Tani have been able to keep their cultural identity intact. There have been negligible changes in their religious and ritual life. FurerHaimendorf (1982: 299) says that in traditional ritual practices, "even the most educated participate with undiminished dedication". Similarly, their marriage rules and family life have undergone fewer changes. For Furer-Haimendorf, this has been a case of rapid modernisation in material, technological and social life, without the loss of distinct ethnic identity. In their modernisation, geographic isolation protected by the governmental measures of not allowing the outsiders to take advantages of the local resources and opportunities, has been the crucial factor. Furer-Haimendorf writes, "One of the causes of the rapid economic and educational development of the Apa Tani is their freedom from

oppression and exploitation by more advanced communities." The North-East India, beyond the present-day Assam, was always protected from the entry of the outsiders by the Inner Line Policy. Even today, Indians from other states have to seek Inner Line permit to enter certain states of the North-East like Nagaland, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh etc. The outsiders are not permitted to establish their own business enterprises. In the model of indigenous development, only the locals are eligible for obtaining contracts of developmental works and business. Thus, the North-East was saved from the uneven, even devastating, influences of cultural contact as in Central India, where the outsiders played havoc with the local resources. They usurped the land of the tribals, the proud owners who were reduced to the state of serfdom (Furer-Haimendorf 1983: 5-7). In addition to the Inner Line Policy, Christian missions played a responsible role in modernising the people, especially in Nagaland and Mizo hills, Khasi and Jaintia hills, and NEFA (Sema 1986). Modern educational institutions were introduced. English became the language of instruction. Western dress and culture came along (Fürer Haimendorf 1976). But these missions did not uproot the people from their traditional moorings. The local tribal languages were not replaced by English. They were treated with respect. Each one came to have its own script, with Roman alphabet along with accent marks. For facilitating an exogenous religion, Christianity in this context, to reach grass-root levels, the religious scriptures and holy books, regulating the daily life of the people, were translated (and subsequently published) in local languages. Dictionaries of the local languages were compiled (for example, the English-Khasi Dictionary by V. Nissor Singh was published in 1906). Gradually, the local people were trained to take up the role of religious functionaries. With this, the effects of modernisation were visible in all aspects of the society. We saw in the case of the Apa Tani that in spite of developments and modernisation, they have been able to retain their distinct cultural identity. And such can be said about other tribes of the North-East. The Naga, for example, are one of the modernised tribes of India. But this exterior facade of modem values, dress and mannerism has not mitigated their sentiments of belonging to the same society, the Naga (Horam 1977: 94-108). In these cases, one

may notice continuity in change; modernisation has not diluted the traditional bonds of social cohesion.

Check Your Progress 3

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1.   Name, in one line, the districts of Madhya Pradesh, where the Baiga tribe is mainly found.

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2.   Has the cultural system of the Baiga undergone visible changes? Use three lines for your answer.

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3.   Has geographical and cultural isolation of the Apa Tani of Arunachal Pradesh posed any obstacle in the path of its modernisation? Use two lines for your answer.

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4.   Did the Christian missions in the North-East try to uproot the tribal groups from their traditional culture?

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5.3.3 Rabari

The Rabari are a lesser studied community, spreading from Western Rajasthan to the Kutch region of Gujarat. Their settlements (locally called dhani) are also found in some villages of Haryana, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh. Numbering more than 400,000 members, these people have been differently designated in the states of their predominance for the grant of preferential treatment, in Gujarat, they are one of the

Scheduled Tribes while in Rajasthan they are included in the lists of other Backward Classes (OBCs) and the Semi-nomadic Tribes. Some confusion also entails from their nomenclature: in Gujarat, they call themselves Rabari (or Rahbari) while in Rajasthan, the term used is Raika. The Rabari are pastoralists. They domesticate camels, sheep, cows, buffaloes and goats. As the grazing areas have drastically reduced, and the areas they have been traditionally inhabiting have a harsh climate with a measely rainfall, these people are constrained to migrate with their flocks to other regions rich in fodder (Saizman 1986: 49-61). They have permanent villages, which for the most part of the year are inhabited by the women, old, and infirm people, as the men are away with their cattle. At one time, the Rabari of Western Raiasthan were patronised by the princely lineages. They looked after the imperial camels, took them out for grazing, looked after their diseases, trained them for various tasks, and more important, these camel-riding Rabari were entrusted with the job of carrying confidential mail from one part to the other. Once these imperial lineages declined, and the importance of camel reduced, there was a subsequent decline in the position of the Rabari.

Actually, the term Raika used for the Rabari was an occupational one: it designated a 'camel riding messenger' (Westphal-Hellbusch 1975:126). Living in hamlets which were outside the main boundary of the village and leading an isolated existence, the Rabari were less affected by the development plans (Srivastava 1987: 317-334). Only in recent years, they have started taking advantage of modern education. Some of the Rabari have taken up teaching profession. The other educated people are working in government offices, police, camel and sheep breeding farms, and private and public sector. And the Raika teachers and other professionals are making every effort to inspire the new generation to take education as an important source of mobility. The Rabari of Gujarat have changed much more than their counterparts in Rajasthan. In Gujarat, they identified themselves with the dominant pastoral caste, the Bharawad, and were able to enter milk-cooperatives as dairymen, thus their economic status improved (Salzman 1987: 44-50). There was a Rajya Sabha M.P. from the Rabari of Gujarat. For taking up the issues of their community, the Rabari have founded an Association, and it

publishes some periodicals titled Gopalbandhu (from Gujarat) and Raika Jagriti (from Haryana). They provide a forum where the problems of their community are identified and the efforts to modernise it are discussed.

5.3.4 Toda

The Toda are well known in anthropological literature for having been pastoralists with a 'sacred complex of buffalos'; for paractising fraternal polyandry where the fatherhood of a child was established through a ritual ceremony called 'bow-andarrow'; and for participating in a complex network of economic, social and ritual relationships with three other groups of Nilgiri Hills, Kota, Badaga and Kurumba (Mandelbaum 1970). Though the Toda society is still rooted in tradition, it "at the same time is branching out into modernity" (Walker 1986: 286). The symbiotic relations between the Toda and other Nilgiri communities were initially based on an exchange of services. Now each economy has replaced barter exchanges. The network of relations among the Toda has become open. They now have social and business relations with other immigrants from surrounding plains and beyond. Their contacts with a great many government agencies like Nilgiri Collectorate, Agricultural Department, Veterinary, Health and Medical Offices, Police Department etc, have increased. Further the Toda hamlets-especially those close to Ootacamund-attract tourists and travellers from various parts of the world. These contacts along with a number of others that the Toda have with other communities and immigrants have influenced the spread of modernity among them. One of the changes that modernisation has brought in small communities, which at one time were relatively isolated, pertains to the domain of religion. Once their isolation was broken, they developed contact with communities that preserved the great tradition of a religion. The Toda, as an example of this process of change, have become oriented to South Indian Hinduism. In the markets of Ootacamund, which they frequent quite regularly, they hear of the religious merit of pilgrimages to the Hindu shrines in the Nilgiris and far beyond. Pictorial representations of Hindu gods and goddesses have found an honourable place in many Toda households. This fact of their

drawing closer to popular Hinduism has not shown a decline in their indigenous rituals. The modern Toda, Walker (1986: 288) writes, has accepted the "efficacy of two parallel ritual systems: his own and that of popular South Indian Hinduism". Education has been, as is the case with other tribal societies, another factor of change. But compared to market and temple, the schools took longer time to bring about desired effects. In the Indian context, modernisation, has reinforced both English and the regional language. In Kohima district, for example, both English and Angami are equally strong; in Meghalaya, both English and Khasi have been developed, similarly among the Toda, Tamil and English have been equally accepted. Having been educated in Tamil and English, some of the Toda have taken up white-collar occupation, unheard of by their ancestors.

Check Your Progress 4

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1.   Name, in one line, the animals the Rabari tribals domesticate.

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2.   Indicate how education has become a source of mobility for the Rabari. Use two lines for your answer.

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3.   Name in two lines the agencies, which have spread modernity among the Toda.

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4.   Has coming closer to South Indian Hinduism meant a decline in the practice of Toda rituals? Use two lines for your answer.

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5.3.5 Santal Tribe in Transition

Through the Santal case, we would try to explicitly show various steps in the process of modernisation of a tribe. A summary of this case may be presented at the outset.

i)   The first exposure of the Santal to exogenously introduced changes was when the outsiders? money lenders, zamindars, missionaries? started encroaching upon their area. Their land was forcibly annexed by some of them, and the Santal were subjugated to the state of serfdom.

ii)   Against such an exploitative and oppressive state, the Santal Uprising (also called Santal Rebellion) 1855-1857 took place, and was brutally crushed.

iii)   The building of steel mill and company city at Jamshedpur had an important bearing on the Santal, where both the educated and illiterate could find suitable work.

iv)   Having close interaction with caste Hindus, the Santal, especially of upper classes, imbibed Hindu religion, caste practices, and claimed the status of Kshatriya.

v)   As a result of the revival movement, mainly to save the Santal from a steady loss of land, exploitative and oppressive interests of the outsiders, the Santal leaders rejected the Hindu model.

vi)   With Jharkhanda Party, the Santal acquired an important political organ for mobilising their interests.

vii)   Industrialisation especially in Jamshedpur had important consequences: the Santal became aware of new sources of upward mobility; importance of education was realised, and the political path of raising one's status became clear to them. In other words, industrialisation and education were crucial to the modernisation of the Santal. Here we will examine under the

following six sub-headings various changes in the life of the Santal tribals.

i) Rejection of Hinduism and the Reference Groups of Upper Castes All this is rooted in the revivalistic movement, which began in mid-nineteenth century. Despite little political cohesion among the Santal. There is considerable cultural similarity, thanks to the revivalistic movement, and a strong feeling that the Santal are different from the Hindus. The Sanskritic values emulated by the Santal, when they were attracted to Kshatriya or Brahmin model, are being given up under the tremendous impact of the cultural identity movement. Jharkhanda movement's role has been crucial in this regard. Martin Orans' (1965: 108) observation is worth quoting here: "Once I saw a young party activist who had grown up in the Jharkhanda movement persuading an older Santal with a few years of education that he must take up beef-eating again if he wished to preserve the Santal caste". The rejection of Hinduism or Hindu identity and the most sacred Hindu element (sacredness of cow being one) is not only for returning to the chaste Santal identity, it is also because their exploiters? money lenders, land lords, etc. who were all Hindus.

ii) Santal Uprising: 1855-1857 The first event to take the Santal on the inroads of a conscious cultural identity was their uprising of 1855-1857. On 30th June 1855, a massive rally of Santal, over ten thousand, protested against their exploitation and oppression. The rally, led by Sidho and Kano, took an oath to end the oppressive rule of the British, Zamindars, and money lenders, and it decided to set up an independent Santali Raj. The money lenders and zamindars had flocked into the Santali areas, the legal procedures and financial institutions they imposed were patronised by the colonial government. The crops of the Santal were forcibly seized, the interest charged on loans varied from fifty to five hundred per cent.

Once the complaints of people fell on deaf ear, they decided to rise in arms. It is estimated that fifteen to twenty-five thousand Santal were killed in this uprising. The courage of the Santal against the oppressive rule is still commemorated in the local folk songs and traditions. There have also been other revolts in which the cultural identity of the Santal was reasserted. In 1917, the Santal of Mayurbhanj revolted against their recruitment to serve in Egypt during the First World War (Mahapatra 1986: 16).

iii) Influence of Christianity For a very long time, the Santal had been living with the non-tribals. The latter became prosperous by fleecing the Santal of their land and property. Those of the upper classes took over to Sanskritic practices? like worship of Hindu deities, abstaining from eating beef, offering liquor on festive occasion, observance of the norms of purity and pollution? so that they could be identified with higher varna categories. But the Hindu model was essentially traditionalistic. Sanskritisation offered ritual mobility in the caste system. It did not provide them an opportunity to modernise. Christianity was a prime mover initiating modern changes among the Santal. In their area, Scandinavian and American Missions made efforts to convert the local people. These missionaries as elsewhere in India opened educational institutions preparing people to enter new occupations. Christianity gave the people a readymade great tradition. The institutions like hospital and school that came with the missions introduced them to the wider world, beyond the interaction they had within themselves and with other non-tribals. Notwithstanding the introduction of the Santal to modernity through the missions their identity was eroded because of Christianity. If their immediate exploiters were Hindus, those who patronised these cases of exploitation were Christians. Thus, any movement for a reassertion of the cultural identity required a rejection of both Hindu and Christian models of change.

iv) Impact of Industrialisation The installation of industries in Santal dominated areas was another very important factor of change and modernisation. These industries provided jobs to both educated and illiterate and offered a new source of mobility. Moreover, these industries were free from one or another religious domination. They promoted caste-free and class-free occupation. A large number of Santal found jobs in them. These industries, having recruited local tribals, provided an opportunity to the people to further cement their traditional linkages: in fact, these industries were the 'world of kinsmen'. Santal identity was further strengthened by the tribal-workers.

v) Cultural Identity Movement The educated Santal played a central role in the cultural identity movement. As said earlier, for launching any kind of political pressure, the cultural identity needs to be revitalised and preserved. The educated Santal worked in this direction. Protest was launched against the enumeration of Santal as Hindu in pre-1951 census. A cult was founded, in which the traditional concept of sarna was given a pivotal place. It was called Sarna Dharm Samelet, Sacred Grove Religious Organisation. Santali script (Ol Chiki) was devised. A long epic heroic play was written, having maxims and precepts for the Santal. The new ritual complex emphasised worship of traditional tribal deities in the sacred grove, with the offerings of liquor, sacrifice of cow, and dancing was promoted on all religious occasions. The underlying theme in all of them was rejection of Hinduism, and also to show that the Santal were not pre-literate as were made out to be. They had their own script, epic, a whole set of rituals, and cosmology, which were lost somewhere, and needed to be discovered. Mahapatra (1986: 24) writes, "The Santal identity is thus part of the process of Santalisation, a cultural phenomenon which is demonstrated through marriage, ritual, food habit, occupation and belief, value-system and ideals".

vi) Cultural Identity and Political Action The articulation of cultural identity into political term was facilitated once the Jharkhanda Party was founded. This Party demanded creation of a tribal state. For the Santal in the industrial belt, most of the traditional customs and practices have been weakened, but the tribal identity is reinforced through Jharkhanda movement remains primary. The Santal in the city are akin to other city dwellers. They too have individualism and aspirations of social mobility. The ethnic ties as expressed politically continue to exist. With modernisation, they are not weakening. Every Santal feels attached to Ol Chiki, the Sarna Dharm, the parables of mythological origin, and to Jharkhanda Party. At the same time, he aspires to take up modern education, a good job which opens avenues for upward mobility. Having discussed the Santal tribe in transition, let us now also review, in general, different aspects of modernisation in relation to the tribal societies in India.

Activity 1

Read sub-section 28.3.5 once more and write a short note of 300 words on changes in Santal social life.

5.4 DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF MODERNISATION IN RELATION TO THE TRIBAL SOCIETIES

The cases, discussed in section 28.3, are chosen from different parts of India. They amply demonstrate that modernisation in the tribes can be traced back to their contact with the agencies spreading the values of modernity like opennetworks, achievement, competition, equality, caste- and class-free occupations, etc. The entry of missionaries in some areas (as in the North-East) initiated modernisation. Incorporation of a community into milk-cooperatives (as in Gujarat) created situations bringing the local people in contact with developed sections of the society. Encroachment of commercial frontiers and modern markets has contributed a lot to the modernisation of tribals. In some parts of India, especially, the central, installation of heavy industries and creation of

urban centres were instrumental in spreading modernity. Let us examine the two factors of change, namely, industrialisation and education.

5.4.1 Industrialisation

During the last four decades and particularly during the Plan periods, there has been an acceleration of mining and manufacturing industries. Forest resources have been gradually exploited, leading eventually to deforestation, in the hilly and forested belts of tribal India. Most of these industries came to be established in or around tribal areas because they were rich in mineral and other resources. Close to these industries grew small towns housing mainly the industrial workers.

As the exploitation of mineral and forest resources was chiefly confined to Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, there was a rapid increase of urban population in these states. Demographer Bose (1962: 26) writes that with a concentration of industries in these states, there was a relative shift of urban population from IndoGangetic plain to the hilly and plateau areas which offered new industrial and natural resources. It was not only industrialisation that was responsible for the migration ? promoted by 'pull', 'push', or 'forced' factors ? of tribals from their homesteads but also other economic institutions. In certain states like Assam and of South India, tea, coffee and rubber estates were formed. The tribals were dispossessed of their land, and were made to work as plantation labourers (Jain 1988). Out-migration from Chotanagpur plateau and other neighbouring regions occurred phenomenally to these estates. The tribes were forcibly migrated to other countries, like the Kol who were sent to Mauritius as labourers. Kondha of Orissa were taken to Mesopotamia to serve in World War I. A large number of Bhil were recruited for military service (Pathy 1986: 74). Industrialisation in the tribal areas offered new jobs. But the tribals, unskilled in initial stages, could only get the jobs at the lower rungs. At one time owners of land were now depressed into the class of industrial proletariat. This happened because of a number of factors. Firstly, their land had been usurped by the nontribal Zamindars in many areas, and they were looking for some alternatives. Secondly, installation of big industrial and developmental projects in tribal zones required the displacement of the native population, often to unknown

areas (Vidyarthi 1968: 13-29, Fernandes 1998). In these cases of uprooting local tribals and non-tribals were equally affected, but as the tribals outnumbered the nontribals in these areas, they suffered the maximum. Finally, as a result of overexploitation of forest resources by the outsiders, the tribal economics, which is to a large extent were forest-based, dwindled. Thus, a combination of local impoverishment and availability of new opportunities sent these tribals to seek jobs in heavy industries, tea plantations, construction sites, etc. These tribals now-turned labourers have changed a lot. The traditional dresses have been replaced by those that came with modernity. Their occupational structure has changed, and it has important implications. A sense of mobility is gradually instilled in the community. Mobility becomes inter-generational as the children of tribal workers aspire to do better in life than their parents, by taking hold of opportunities offered by modernity. In this process, some of the traditional institutions weaken. For example, in his study of tribals working in Bokaro Steel Plant, Vidyarthi (1968: 21), says that their village institutions like the 'jajmani system', the cycle of festivals and rituals, the caste-affiliations etc., have completely been disintegrated, and all round depression and despair seems to have affected the life of the uprooted villages. This, however, does not mean that there is also a subsequent decline in the feeling of oneness amongst the tribals in a new set-up. Industrialisation has fostered a new sense of solidarity between the co-workers. Once there already exist ethnic and social ties between the tribals, the relations in the industry cement them further. Trade unions on the lines of tribal-workers crystallise (Bhowmik 1982: 461-473). The feeling of ethnicity becomes strong and they begin exerting pressure on the state and the centre.

5.4.2 Education

Having been exposed to industrialisation for almost four decades, having migrated to various industrial towns, and having imbibed the spirit of upward mobility, the tribals have realised the importance of modern education. The missionaries have played an outstanding role in spreading Western education. The Government is also committed to the idea that one of the avenues to speedy development is education. For diversifying

the tribals to different occupations, they must be educationally equipped to face the challenges. Besides the fact that education promotes social mobility and enhances the ability of the people to think about their amelioration, it can save them from being exploited by money lenders who have been taking advantage of the illiterate tribals by forging and tempering with the promissory notes. According to Census 1981, literacy rate in India was 36.23 per cent; among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, it was 21.38 and 16.33 per cent respectively. The North-Eastern states had done exceptionally well: the highest literacy is in Mizoram (59.63 per cent), followed by Nagaland (40.31 per cent), Manipur (39.74 per cent), and Meghalaya (31.55 per cent). The literacy rates in India in 1991 and 2001 were 52.21 and 63.38 percent respectively. As per the 1991 Census the literacy rates of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were 37.41 and 29.60 percent respectively. The literacy rate of the tribals in 1991 was 23.63 per cent. This is lower than not only of the general population figures but also of the SC population figures. The litracy rate of the rural tribal women was recorded in 1991 to be 12.74, which was the lowest of all social groups in India. Literacy rate for STs was lowest in Andhra Pradesh (17.16 percent) and highest was in Mizoram (82 percent). Ashram schools, especially meant for tribal children living in remote and isolated villages, have been opened up. While a separate school for each tribal hamlet is not feasible, the nearest regular school? for all children with no specification? is too far away, for them to attend it and return home the same day. That is why the Ashram schools are residential, providing free board and lodging to the pupils. In terms of their curriculum, they are supposed to impart craft-based education, thus linking learning with productive activities. Once the students finish the school, they are sufficiently prepared to take up any of the craft-based occupations. In this way, diversification of tribals in different jobs is expected to result. But the evaluative studies of these schools speak otherwise. The curriculum is more tilted towards literacy-based education. Half-hearted attempts are made to impart craft-oriented education. And the specific character of Ashram schools is relegated to the background. They start resembling the regular schools. A study of the patterns of tribal education

in India raises two important issues. The dropout rate of the tribal children is very high, and as one moves to secondary and higher levels, this rate increases exponentially. According to Census 1981, the dropout rate in primary, middle and secondary stages was 75 per cent (boys 71.57, girls 78.43), 84.99 per cent and 91.65 per cent respectively. Secondly, the number of tribal students reaching professional and university courses is very low. Writing about the Gond of Andhra Pradesh, Furer-Haimendorf (1982: 130) concludes that, "in thirty-six years of tribal education only five Gond and two Pradhan have been awarded university degrees". The representation of tribals in professional courses, according to the figures of 1978-79, given in the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1986-88 (Twentyeighth Report: 522-523) it is clear that very few tribal students reach post-graduate courses in professional disciplines. Therefore, their distribution in higher professional positions is almost negligible. This Report shows also that the Scheduled Tribes have done well as compared to the Scheduled Castes. But, the figures from North-Eastern Hill University (NEHU), Shillong, a central university, have in fact tilted the graph in favour of the Scheduled Tribes. In this University, there are five Professors, nine Readers, forty-six Lecturers, and five Research Associates from various tribal communities. Thus all the five Professors and all the nine readers in central universities are from NEHU. Out of a total of 50 Scheduled Tribe Lecturers, 46 are from this university. When we take the figures from NEHU, thinking that Meghalaya is predominantly a tribal state with Khasi and Garo having a long tradition of education, we find that in none of the teaching and research positions does the percentage of Scheduled Tribes reach fifty. There are only 10.20 per cent Professors, 10.71 per cent Readers, 31.72 per cent Lecturers and 45.45 per cent Research Associates from tribal communities in NEHU. In other words, even in tribal states the non-tribals are holding a majority of the higher positions. Some tribes like Meena of Rajasthan have been quite successful. A large number of them have taken up jobs in administration (Civil Services), private sector, financial institutions and colleges. Certainly there has been an increase in tribal literacy. But the number of students continuing to stay in schools till higher classes and

then entering the portals of college is very low. Dropout rate, as said earlier, is very high, and for girls, it is much higher. In mixed areas, where small tribes live with larger ones, the dropout rate among the former is higher. In the schools of Baiga Chak, we saw that the Baiga students generally failed to stay in schools after the primary, while the Gond continued to study till higher classes. Education is one of the crucial factors of modernisation, but when the tribals fail to seek its advantages, the degree of modernity, mobility and diversification of occupations among them is sharply reduced. There are several reasons accounting for high dropout rate. The curriculum in most cases is not relevant to the conditions in which the tribals live. They find education a kind of onerous burden. Low standard of teaching and facilities in tribal schools is another factor. It has also been found that teachers in these schools are generally from non-tribal communities and they take posting in tribal areas as a kind of punishment. Thus, they are able to evince little interest. Domestic duties of the tribal children, especially the girls, are another factor. From young age, they are entrusted with household chores, fetching water to looking after the younger brothers and sisters. Absence of feedback from the family, inspiring the children to take their study seriously, is an important factor. The economic status of tribal households, in most cases, cannot afford to keep the children as consuming, rather than producing members for a long time. Table 28.1 gives percentage distribution of persons aged seven years and above at different levels of education by social group for 1999-2000.

Table 5.1: Percentage Distribution of Persons Aged 7 Years and Above At Varying Levels of Education by Social Group: 1999-2000

Social Group	Rural India			Urban India		
	Note Literate	Upto Middle Level Schooling	Educated Persons	Not Literate	Upto Middle Level Schooling	Educated Persons
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Scheduled Castes	53.4	40.3	6.3	33.8	50.4	15.8
Scheduled Tribes	57.8	37.0	5.2	30.0	47.5	22.5
OBCs	45.2	45.1	9.7	24.7	51.0	24.3
Others	32.2	50.8	17.0	13.5	44.3	42.2
All Groups	44.0	45.2	10.8	20.2	47.3	32.5

Source: NSS Report No. 473 (55/1.0/11), September 2001, pp. 20.24.

In some cases, the medium of instruction poses grave problems. If the Kond are taught in Oriya instead of their own dialect, they may find learning an uphill task (Mahapatra, 1984: 376). Moreover, the objectives of educational departments in imparting teaching to students are not clear. Their chief interest lies in raising literacy, rather than making education a productive activity, guaranteeing social mobility and ameliorating the local people in their traditional milieu.

Check Your Progress 5

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. Read the following statements and write T against True and F against False statements:

a) The relations in industry affect negatively the ethnic and social ties among the tribals.

b) Industrialisation in tribal areas offered new job opportunities.

c) The process of industrialisation weakens traditional institutions.

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2. Who has played an outstanding role in spreading education among the tribal groups of India? Use three lines for your answer.

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3. What is the literacy rate among the Scheduled Tribes? Use one line for your answer.

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4. Give, in five lines, the reasons for high dropout rate among tribal students.

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5.4.3 Adverse Effects of Modernity

The aim of modernisation is to bring the society on the path of progress, to diversify its occupational structure, to provide the people with efficient technology which vouchsafes higher production, to give them avenues of social mobility and to bring them on par with other developed sections of the society. But the results are not encouraging in all cases. With an introduction of development plans, some societies have found themselves disintegrated. Modernity has given rise to adverse effects. Take the case of industrialisation. As we saw earlier, the establishment of heavy industries, construction of dams and launching of development plans in tribal zones has necessitated displacement of the local population. Thousands of tribal families were displaced from their traditional habitats. Compensation was supposed to be provided to them in terms of money and alternative land, but not all of them got an alternative place to live. The report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for 1962-1963 informed that in Ranchi district of Bihar, 14,461 tribal families were displaced from an area of 62,494 acres, and only 3,479 of them were allotted alternative land. The compensation provided to them in cash was recklessly spent. The tribals not fully conversant with cash economy squandered the money on various attractions that were available in nearby industrial towns. Soon their funds had depleted. With their land gone for developmental activities and left with no training, equipment or aptitude for skilled or semi-skilled jobs, they had no option but to enter the town as unskilled labourers, taking up various 'marginal jobs' of domestic servants, rickshaw pullers, vendors, hawkers, etc. They could enter the industrial sector at the lowest level, and their chances of moving up were meagre as they remained untrained for industrial jobs requiring technical know-how. Eventually they were proletarianised. Furer-Haimendorf (1982: 321) writes, "....in the streets of Ranchi one can still see Munda and Oraon rickshaw-pullers who not long ago were independent cultivators tilling their own land". Contact situations with the outsiders have been equally detrimental. Destruction of the forests as a consequence of felling of trees for industrial purposes has threatened the small communities of hunters and food-gatherers. Modern diseases unknown to tribals have been

introduced with the entry of outsiders in tribal areas. The tribal population in Andaman Islands has greatly declined because of high mortality rate. Measles and influenza, the killer diseases for those who had not developed any resistance to them, played havoc with the Andaman tribals. Similarly, at the time of Independence, the Toda population had fallen to under 500. The chief cause of their decline was the prevalence of venereal diseases (Walker 1986: 283). In most cases, depopulation of a tribe was mainly because of rapid ecological changes that created imbalances in their habitats. For new schemes, either of medical treatment or development, the people were not fully prepared to accept them. Hence, they reacted in a lukewarm manner to all those institutions that could have changed and modernised them. Modernisation created economic disparities in various sections of the society. Those who could take advantages of new economic and educational frontiers were able to better their lot, while a large sections of the tribals, not adequately prepared to deal with new challenges, gradually depressed into poorer sections of the society. Against economic and social disparities, they have raised a collective voice. Modernisation, in other words, has given rise to a new consciousness amongst the people. The already existing solidarity between them has become strengthened.

Activity 2

On the basis of sub-section 28.4.3, try to work out adverse effects of modernity on your own community and write a note of 250 words on Negative Impact of Modernity on My Community.

5.4.4 Tribal Movements

In the latter half of the last century, the tribals, especially in central India, had reacted against their exploiters. These movements were directed towards freeing their land from all those who exploited them economically and culturally. At the same time, each of these movements put emphasis on revitalisation of their culture, their traditional culture which was swayed under the impact of the outsiders. The Tana Bhagat movement, for example, derived its name from the ritual of 'expelling

from the Oraon land foreign spirits, nefarious powers and ghosts', borrowed from the Munda. Along with this, they also sought to drive away the 'evil powers of modern innovations' like steam boat, motor car, bicycle, etc. These modern innovations that were being introduced into their land were seen as the means of exploitation. Exorcising the 'ghost of modernity', they desired to revert to their original religion, the Kurukh Dharma (Roy 1915). The charismatic leaders of Oraon, Santal and Munda were believed to free the people not only from the webs of evil supernatural powers, but also from the 'iron clutches' of the nontribal exploiters and oppressors (Roy 1915; 1928; Singh 1983). Another such movement occurred in 1922 among the tribals of South Gujarat where under supernatural command of the female goddess, Devi, they stopped consuming liquor, and later on it took nationalist turn (Hardiman 1987). The rebellion of 1855-1857 was a great event in history of the Santal. This event is still remembered in their folk songs and talks. It was an attempt to recover the tribal land, which was steadily lost to the outsiders, and to wipe out the nontribals from their territory (Mahapatra 1986: 8-29). In the Santal myths of the nineteenth century, there was a description of the ancient days of independence and glory, and all this was swept away once the outsiders with modern weaponry started infiltrating into their areas. Martin Orans (1965: 35) writes, "The Santal are thus pictured as independent, powerful and constituted exactly in the image of an ideal Hindu Kingdom". The movement had the aim of reverting to their traditional religion Sarna Dharam, and social structure. As a response to modernity, and the fact that traditional institutions of the people disintegrate under its impact, there have been conscious attempts to revive traditional ways of living. Cultural identity is cemented, because it can be instrumental in achieving political goals. Consciously the tribals have tried to introspect into their cultures to single out and eradicate their 'evil customs and practices'. For regulating the behaviour of people, so that the feeling of collectivity remains intact, rules have been collectively arrived at. Nonconformity to any one of them may call for an imposition of fine. Modernity has made people conscious of their culture. For example, the Sahariya of Morena district (Madhya Pradesh) have founded their association called Adivasi Jati Sudhar Sangha. For

'purifying' their people, it has identified twelve principles like regular bath, education for the children, abstaining from eating 'dirty' animals (like swine, sambur, etc.), respect for the educated people, etc. (Joshi 1987: 308-317). Similarly, the Rabari have formed Akhil Bhartiya Rawari Rayaka Samaj Mahasabha, where measures for uplifting the community and eradicating its evils have been collectively arrived at. In the same way, one of the major aims of the Toda Uplift Society is "to strive for the eradication of bad habits", and by 'bad habits' they mean "polyandry, wife-capture, drunkenness and the excessive sacrifice of buffaloes at funeral ceremonies" (Walker 1986: 289). These tribal associations serve two purposes. They endeavour their best to keep the whole group united. For such a unity, the traditional styles of living, except those, which are 'bad' cannot be given up. They must be revived. Such a unity is needed for demanding better deal from the government. The ethnic interests of the tribals, thus, merge with political demands for separate states and are voiced and sustained. One of the best studied cases is of Jharkhanda movement. The Jharkhanda Party, founded by Jai Pal Singh, an Oxford educated Christian of the Munda tribe, demanded carving out of a new state, spreading from Palamau in Bihar to Keonjhar in Orissa and from Surguja in Madhya Pradesh to Midnapur in West Bengal, of the Indian union of which tribal people would be numerically dominant. The basic issues behind this movement were land and forest alienation, training and job deprivation due to influx of the outsiders, cultural submergence, and imbalanced development (Munda 1988: 31). As you already know, Jharkhand has now achieved the status of a state. Coming to the North-East, the Bodo and the Naga movements are good examples of how ethnic identity takes up political route for realising their interests. Uneven development and modernisation, concentration of gains in some areas and their non-dispersal to the others, and urban-oriented models of growth are the chief causes in all these separatist movements.

Check Your Progress 6

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. What were the tribal movements in Central India? Use two lines for your answer.

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2. What was the main aim of the Santal movement of 1855-57? Use one line for your answer.

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3. What purposes are served by tribal associations, such as, Adivasi Jati Sudhar Sangha of the Sahariya of Morena, Madhya Pradesh, Akhil Bharatiya Rawari Rayaka Samaj Mahasabha of the Rabari and the Toda Uplift Society? Use four lines for your answer.

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5.5 LET US SUM UP

To summarise, modernisation is a process of spreading the values, institutions and technical aspects of 'modern society'. The tribals, living mostly in hilly terrains and forested belts, and having autonomy in every sphere of their social existence, remained by and large untouched by modern developments till their territories were opened up for strategic reasons. These reasons involved exploitation of forest and mineral resources. At the same time the need for manual labour was also important. Once these tribals were exposed to the wider world, they underwent traumatic experiences of losing their rights and land, and being incorporated into a system that they knew little about. The impact of modernisation of tribals is varied. Some tribals (like of the NorthEast) have benefited a lot from modernisation, while others (like those of Central India) have been losers. Further, modernisation does not lead to a total change in the society. Certain aspects of culture, especially pertaining to economic and technical domain, change at a faster pace. Social institutions do not show such a qualitative change. Religious and

ritual life may continue to survive essentially in a traditional mould. Modernisation reinforces traditional links and bonds. Thus, the consciousness of belonging to a tribe, or tribalism, is accentuated, and this may transform a tribe into a strong ethnic and pressure group. The separatist movements coming to settle in some large tribes may be curbed if the benefits of modernisation and development are equally distributed. The effects of modernisation should be visible in all institutions of society. Since the historical experiences of a society shape the incoming modernity, the concepts derived from the experiences of other society, particularly western, are not applicable for a complete understanding of modernity in the tribal societies of India.

5.6 KEY WORDS

Bewar: The Baiga term, referring to the type of tillage in which the axe and not the plough is the primary instrument.

Cosmology: is the science of universe

Ethno-centric: This is used to describe the attitude that one's group is superior.

Exogenous This adjective is used to describe that which originates from external causes.

Fossil remnant; preserved in strata of earth; recognisable as remains or impressions of past; belonging to the past

Occiput The back part of the head or skull

Reference group Those groups of people whose attitudes, beliefs and actions are taken as appropriate. People do not have to be members of the groups to which they refer. Also, attitudes can be formed by both a positive identification with a reference group and negative comparisons or rejections of it.

Shaman refers to a priest who uses magic for curing the sick, divining the invisible and controlling events.

Symbiotic It is used to describe living together of two dissimilar elements in a mutually advantageous relationship.

5.7   QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss the Scheduled Tribes in India
2. Discuss the Case-studies to Examine the Impact of Modernisation
3. What are different Aspects of Modernisation in Relation to the Tribal Societies?

5.8   SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

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5.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. Example a) The Chenchu are the hunters and food gatherers,

b) The Rabari are pastoralists,

c) The Maler are shifting cultivators,

d) Santal, Gond, Bhil and Munda are plough cultivators.

2. The tribes of Andaman Islands, namely, Jarwa, Onge, Great Andamanese, Shopmen, Sentinel and Toda of South India are called 'minor' tribes.

3. In 2001 there are seventy five 'Primitive Tribes' in India.

Check Your Progress 2

1. It is not possible for a tribe to be completely isolated. Some or the other type of relationship always exists between a tribe and its neighbouring communities. Such communities may be other tribal groups or non-tribal groups. The relationship may be of friendly exchanges of economic goods or of hostility, involving even warfare.

2. The fact of inter-tribal relations does not substantially affect the ethnic and cultural identity of a tribe. For example, the Oraon and the Munda have lived side by side and interacted socially in many areas of life, yet both the groups have maintained their separate cultural and ethnic identities.

3. Coming into contact with the neighbouring Hindus did not mark the beginning of tribal groups' modernisation. This process, in fact, began when these groups came in contact with the wider world which itself had experienced many changes because of the colonial rule.

4. The two elements of the British policy towards the tribals were that (i) it favoured isolation of the tribal areas from the mainstream and (ii) at the level of reform, the British administration was interested in 'civilising' the tribals.

5. Chotanagpur plateau and the North-Eastern India were the main areas for the Christian mission activities and corresponding modernisation.

6. The classical ethnographic studies of the tribal societies in India recorded as meticulously as possible the traditions of the people and provided the administration with the cultural background of the people they were to rule.

Check Your Progress 3

i)   The Baiga tribe is mainly found in the districts of Mandla, Shahdol, Sidhi, Balaghat, Bilaspur and Surguja.

ii) The cultural system of the Baiga has not undergone any appreciable changes. The details of their culture as recorded in 1932-39 are not very different from what is found today.

iii) Geographical and cultural isolation of the Apa Tani of Arunachal Pradesh has not posed any obstacle in the tribe's modernisation. Rapid modernisation in material, technological and social life has not however meant the loss of the tribe's distinct ethnic identity.

iv) The Christian missions have played a responsible role in modernising the tribals. They did not uproot the people from their culture. The local tribal languages were treated with respect and not replaced by English. This helped the people to retain their culture.

Check Your Progress 4

i)   The Rabari tribals domesticated camels, sheep, cows, buffaloes and goats.

ii) In recent years taking advantages of modern education, some of the Rabari have become teachers. Other educated Rabari work in government offices, camel and sheep breeding farms, and private

and public sectors. They make efforts to also inspire the younger generation to take education as a means or raising their social status.

iii) The contacts with goverment agencies like Nilgiri Collectorate, Agricultural Department, Veterinary, Health and Medical Offices, Police Department etc. have helped the spread of modernity among the Toda.

iv) The Toda came into contact with South Indian Hinduism. As a result, they have begun to worship Hindu gods and goddesses. But this does not mean that they have any less respect for their traditional rituals, they simply accept and practice both.

Check Your Progress 5

1. a) False b) True c) True

2. The Christian missionaries have played an outstanding role in spreading education among the tribals of India. The government is also committed to provide education to these groups.

3. Literacy rate among the Scheduled Tribes, according to Census 1991, is 23.63 per cent.

4. The high dropout rate among the tribal students can be related to the following factors: a) the curriculum is often not relevant to the tribal society, b) low standard of teaching and lack of facilities in tribal schools, c) domestic duties of tribal children, d) absence of encouragement to students from the family to take their studies seriously, e) medium of instruction, f) education is often aimed to raise literacy rather than to promote social mobility.

Check Your Progress 6

1. The tribal movements in central India were mainly against the exploiters of the tribals.

2.   The Santal movement of 1855-57 was aimed at reverting to the Santal religion.

3.   Tribal associations, named here, serve two purposes? a) they try to keep the group united and b) they form an interest group to demand better deal from the government. For the first purpose, they ask their people to preserve the traditional

UNIT 6: GENDER AND ENVIRONMENT

STRUCTURE

6.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit, we can able to know:

1. To discuss about the Gender
2. To discuss about Industrialism: Environmental Discourse
3. To discuss about the Colonialism: Environmental Discourse

6.1 INTRODUCTION

When modern anthropological and historical writings on Indian society began, the close relationship between caste, tribe and gender became evident. Colonial historians and anthropologists saw that the peculiarity of Indian society lay in caste. They also saw that there was a section in Indian society, namely the aboriginal tribes, which had not been brought into caste society. The constitution of caste society differed from tribal society in many respects. Gender was one important respect in which the organisation of a tribe differed from that of a caste. It is not merely that the tribal economy differed from that of castes. It is also true that the marriage systems differed radically in the two types of society. Outwardly, it was the sexual organisation of society which made it easy to set caste apart from tribe. The polarity of purity and pollution, which

characterised caste society, was absent among the tribes. The tribes were no part of ritual hierarchy. And in a related way, the gender system of the tribes also differed from the marriage structure of caste society. In fact, a unique organisation of gender lay at the heart of the caste system. In general, it may be said that there is a hidden connection between gender, caste and tribe which must be kept in view when studying Indian's society and history.

In the history and the historiography of modern India, science, technology and environment are closely related subjects. Massive demographic change, aided by science and technology, has changed the landscape beyond recognition. Neither Babar nor Warren Hastings would be able to tolerate the present aspect of the country. The transformation has recently attracted the attention of historians of India. It is not that technology, science and ecology as fundamental factors in Indian history escaped the notice of the past generations of historians. Nevertheless, it is only in the 1990s that a fair number of historians in India took these themes up as independent topics of research. However, there is no agreement among them about the impact of science and technology on the welfare of the population and the climate of the country. Their disagreements reflect deep divisions within public opinion, and in the government and politics of the country. There is science lobby, an economics and planning lobby, and an environment lobby. There are cries of coming disaster, and hot denials that there is cause for alarm. It is said that because of greenhouse effect of global industrialisation, the glaciers from which our rivers descend are receding fast. Historians have been sensitised to the problems of science and environment by these public debates. From the 1990s, independent historical monographs on these subjects have begun to appear. Even before that, however, certain historical questions had figured in their discussions as regards science and technology: was modern science and technology distorted by the phenomenon of colonial rule? What were the state of the sciences and the level of technology before the establishment of British supremacy? Such questions have been renewed recently.

Colonialism is generally considered an environmental turning-point in the history of India. An era of unprecedented resource exploitation

begins and natural resources get geared to the requirements of the nascent English industries. The commercial interests come centre-stage and a large chunk of communities dependent on various resources-use practices for their subsistence are marginalised. The twin-processes of industrialisation and colonisation operate in tandem and bring in environmental impoverishment for India. The colonial power, in this process, is guided by its own understanding of the environment of the colony and the policy of resource use unfolds and becomes operational in consonance with this understanding. In the details that follow we attempt a portrayal of this perception. In this task, we are not helped much by evidence that is direct and in any sense prolific. The description is therefore not very elaborate, yet it is informative.

6.2 GENDER

During the colonial period, two controversial works focused international attention upon the women's question in India. Highly critical of the condition of the Indian women, these two works were: Pandita Ramabai, The High Caste Hindu Woman (1887) and Katherine Mayo, Mother India (1927). At an early date serious historical interest on the subject of women in Indian civilisation was indicated by B.C. Law, Women in Buddhist Literature (1927); I.B. Horner, Women under Primitive Buddhism (1930); and A.S. Altekar, The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization from the Prehistoric Times to the Present (1938). The feminist movement and the International Women's year, 1975, set off a wave of women's studies, beginning with such works as B.R. Nanda (ed.), Indian Women: from Purdah to Modernity (New Delhi, 1976). Soon however, women's history broadened out and assumed the more complex shape of gender history. Instead of studying women as such, gender historian studied the problem in terms of the power relations between the sexes in society. An influential work edited by Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid, entitled Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History (New Delhi, 1989) indicated the transition to gender history. This was followed by more collections of articles that exhibited the new sophistication of gender history: J. Krishnamurty (ed.), Women in Colonial India: Essays on Survival, Work and the State (New Delhi,

1989); Bharati Ray (ed.), From the Seams of History: Essays on Indian Women (New Delhi, 1995); and Aparna Basu and Arup Taneja (eds.), Breaking out of Invisibility: Women in Indian History (New Delhi, 2002). The voices of women through the ages were collected together in the important anthology edited by Susie Tharu and K. Lalita and entitled Women Writing in India 600 B.C. to the Present (2 vols., New Delhi, 1991-1993). Two authoritative, male produced texts for the guidance of Hindu and Muslim women respectively were critically examined in Julia Leslie, The Perfect Wife: the Orthodox Hindu Woman according to the Stridharmapaddhati of Tryambakayajvan (1989), and Barbara Metcalf, Perfecting Women, Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanawi's Bihishti Zewar (1990). Bengal took the lead in the women's movement. Not surprisingly, a large number of works relate to the gender relations in colonial Bengal. These works include: Usha Chakraborty, Condition of Bengali Women around the Second half of the Nineteenth Century (Calcutta, 1963); Ghulam Murshid, Reluctant Debutant: Response of Bengali Women to Modernization 1949-1905 (Princeton, 1984); Malavika Karlekar, Voices from within (Delhi, 1991); Barbara Southard, The Women's Movement and Colonial Politics in Bengal : The Quest for Political Right, Education and Social Reform Legislation (1921-36) (Delhi, 1996); and Sonia Nishat Amin, The World of Muslim Women in Colonial Bengal 1876-1939(Leiden, 1996). Other provinces of India have been covered more recently. For instance, Prem Chowdhury, The Veiled Woman: Shifting Gender Equations in Rural Haryana 1880-1990 (Delhi, 1994); Sita Anantharaman, Getting Girls to School: Social Reform in the Tamil Districts 1870-1930 (1996); and Gail Minault, Scheduled Scholars: Women's Education and Muslim Social Reform in Colonial India (Delhi, 1998), which covers North India. There is also a general study of Indian women in the modern period in The New Cambridge History of India series: Geraldine Forbes, Women in Modern India (Cambridge, 1996). More recently, gender history has broadened out and taken up the study, not merely of femininity, but also of masculinity. An example is Mrinalini Sinha, Colonial Masculinity: the "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the late Nineteenth Century (Manchester, 1995). Gender history now pays attention to race,

community, caste and tribe. An inter-related field of social studies has emerged, and has enriched history writing.

The relationship of colonialism and gender is complex and mutually impactful. Colonial texts and histories show us how gender redefined the boundaries and structures of imperial rule and how in turn colonialism and globalization reshaped notions of femininity and masculinity. The structures and institutions of empire were influenced, upheld, and organized through gender relations and representations. Reading colonialism through the lens of gendered difference reveals the complexity of these terms and the highlights the boundaries and vulnerabilities of colonial order. This entry considers the textual, material, and theoretical aspects of colonialism and gender, and traces key critical texts that have helped to shape our understanding of the dynamics of this relationship.

For the ethnographer, as well as the museum collector, the question of what properly constitutes a colonial object is both alive and crucial to the course of research, especially during times when repatriation debates have heightened. With a few exceptions, however, contemporary debates about colonial objects have tended to neglect considerations of gender. [1] There are at least two ways of correcting this relative neglect. One would be to pay closer attention to the way gender relations have punctuated the history of the production, possession, and display of colonial objects. Another way would be to consider how the category of gender itself might intersect with the history of colonialism. In other words, one might raise the question of how the category of gender itself might be understood, at least partially, as a colonial object.

To appreciate the extent to which gender can be construed as a colonial object, it's necessary to first understand just what a colonial object is. I understand colonial objects neither as 'artifacts produced by indigenous peoples,' nor as 'artifacts that get taken up as emblematic of a particular (foreign, fetishized) way of life.' Rather, by colonial objects I understand objects that are imbedded, (re-) produced, and circulated within a concrete colonial practice . Such a practice envelops well enough the military, political, and socio-economic aspects of European power in Africa, Asia and the Americas, but it also involves the irreducible

cultural and subjective elements involved in these European world empires.

I want to begin by focusing on what Argentine philosopher Lugones has called "the coloniality of gender," which is the idea that the dominant gender system of today was in fact native mostly to Europe and was only imposed upon the rest of the world through the process of European colonization of the same.

Lugones' most direct influence is the work of Anibal Quijano. Quijano invokes the idea of capitalism as a world-system to argue that it was the imperative of capitalist expansion that drove Europeans to settle the rich lands across the Atlantic. So far this sounds uncontroversial. What was crucial for Quijano, however, was the idea that the scientific concept of race arose precisely at the moment when Europeans came into contact with the originary peoples of the Americas. His argument, in short, is that the formalization of racial categories was a process parallel to the work of settling the Americas and extracting and exploiting its natural resources for the world market. It was the imperative of capitalizing on the conquest that led the Spanish empire to develop complex, hierarchical systems or racial categorization in order to facilitate the division of labor and rule in the new colonies.

Lugones endorses this idea, but she critiques Quijano's failure to address gender within these hierarchical systems he identified. Her original contribution is, in essence, to deepen and correct for Quijano's omission, by doing for gender what he had done for race. Namely, Lugones claims that "As Eurocentered, global capitalism was constituted through colonization, gender differentials were introduced where there were none." Or, more generally, that "the imposition of this gender system was as constitutive of the coloniality of power as the coloniality of power was constitutive of it." In other words, European colonization included the extension of the European gender system upon the cultures that were colonized. Lugones claims that there was a distinctive and radical qualitative transformation in how these nations related to notions of gender. Lugones' argument is motivated by feminist critiques of the constraining binary, cis-heterosexist gender system dominant in most contemporary societies. What is distinctive about Lugones' critique,

however, is her attempt to provide a firmly rooted historical account of how our hegemonic gender norms became hegemonic in the first place. Simultaneously, Lugones seeks to identify the rich variety of gender norms that came to be displaced by our current conceptions of gender. Moreover, she underscores a notable parallel between cutting edge emancipatory discourses and many pre-colonial gender systems. Moving backward to trace the history of the gender system and then forward to connect pre-colonial gender systems with contemporary notions of feminist, queer, and trans emancipation and resistance, Lugones emphasizes the historical specificity of the binary, cis-heterosexist gender system, thereby challenging its inevitability. Thus, to Quijano's Coloniality of Power, Lugones adds "modern colonial gender system."

In the coming section, I consider a few varieties of studies examining the specific ways which European gender norms differed from 'indigenous' gender norms in West Africa and Persia, and how it was that those older gender norms came to be displaced through the process of European colonization.

The first of these case studies is one on which Lugones' conceptual account relies heavily: Oyèrónkẹ́ Oyěwùmí's account of the colonization of the land of the Yoruba, found between the Niger and the Volta, in what today has become Nigeria, Togo, and Benin. Colonial exploitation was never a purely extractive business; it required the re-fashioning of important aspects of economic and political life in order to succeed. In Yorubaland, this was especially true of gender relations.

In fact, Oyěwùmí's primary claim is that "gender was not an organizing principle in Yoruba society prior to colonization by the West," but that the systematic institutionalization of gender was itself a colonial development. There are two aspects of Oyěwùmí's approach that serve Lugones especially well, and which illustrate my own claim about considering gender itself as a colonial object. The first is the pre-colonial Yoruba gender system, and the second is the juridical and political changes introduced by the colonists during their 'settlement' of the region.

Oyěwùmí paints a picture of gender relations before colonization. Foremost among the differences were that gender categories were

diverse, not necessarily tied to anatomy, and generally much more porous than the binary European system. And, importantly, the boundaries between these positions were porous, so that people could at times move beyond them or occupy intermediary spaces. It is in this context that categories such as "Women" were relatively meaningless for the Yoruba.

In other words, unlike in Europe, Yoruba society did not feature hierarchical orderings according to gender identity. From the gender of their pantheon to the laws concerning ownership of land and its inheritance, Yoruba society was distinguished from European society in its lack of exclusion of women from participation in the public, religious, and economic spheres.

All of this was dramatically altered only upon the arrival of British colonialism and, by extension, European conceptions of gender. Oyěwùmí explains how this process unfolded on several fronts simultaneously. The Yoruba pantheon, which was traditionally non-gendered, increasingly became so, with the most traditional Western associations about power and wickedness being dragged into the picture.

At the same time, even as the Yoruba as a whole were subordinated to the British, the British saw it fit to allow for a degree of participation in the affairs of public life (in the form of State minor posts or charges) for Yoruba men, but not for women. This was reflected also in juridical reforms concerning private property. Property that was typically held communally according to lineage was suddenly placed in the trust of men, effectively dispossessing those who had, up to that moment, held equal claim to the use of that land. Marriage law was modified to agree with the European Christian model, in effect annulling local traditions of polygamy and other arrangements. "In other words," writes Oyěwùmí, "regardless of qualifications, merit, or seniority, women were to be subordinated to men in all situations."

Oyěwùmí's full account of these transformations is rich, beyond what I can convey here. There is, however, much more to any gender system than gender identity (i.e. more to it than who gets placed in which category); there are also norms governing the performance of gender, as there are also norms governing attraction between different kinds of

subjects. One could analyze the development of gender practices along many vectors, including things like orientation (as in Butler's heterosexual matrix), or cis-ness (as Oyěwùmí notes by the observation that the boundaries between genders were themselves porous prior to colonization). It would be especially interesting to pursue the kinds of questions posed by Oyěwùmí and Lugones in the context not just of gender identity, but also in terms of these varieties within the gender system, including categories governing things like beauty and sexual orientation.

Afsaneh Najmabadi's work on the 'modernization' of gender and sexuality in 19th century Persia accomplishes this in a couple of ways.[2] Najmabadi aims to focus on much more subtle phenomena, such as changes in attitudes toward beauty – she calls it the 'feminization' of beauty – as well as changes in the acceptability of homoerotic love that was once prevalent and normalized. While Najmabadi makes it clear that these changes were brought about by what some like to call 'soft power', or dominating cultural influence rather than explicit military or economic power, she also chronicles the specific ways in which British cultural and commercial influence to a large degree produced crucial changes in Persian cultural attitudes towards sexuality (toward heteronormativity).

Yet another fruitful place to explore such intersections of gender and colonization are the Americas. Works by Paula Gunn Allen and Michael J. Horswell catalogue the variety of possibilities for gender identity and social gender roles throughout a large number of originary peoples both in North and South America. Perhaps most prominent among these variations is the recurrent 'third gender' space. The idea here was that, in addition to two binary gender/sex poles, many Native American cultures featured an intermediary gender that broke up the binary, not by presenting a gender/sex triad, but by having this third gender express the spectrum of mediate positions between the two 'poles'. This is the sort of arrangement that Lugones calls "gynecratic egalitarianism."

An approach that keeps firmly in mind the changes effected in gendered life through the process of colonization can thus come to a fuller understanding of what colonization was, and of how its effects continue to reverberate.

ven in places where we see this intersection explicitly treated, however, as is the case with Londa Schiebinger's work, the notion that gender itself might be approached as a colonial object fails to arise. In other words, up to this point, scholars like Schiebinger have not sought to account for how the category of gender itself, and certainly its contents, is consistently susceptible to colonialist processes. In order to facilitate this kind of connection, it's necessary to make a conceptual case for the place of gender as a plausible object of study for scholars of colonial objects.

Considering the evidence cited in the sections above, and brought to our attention by Oyěwùmí, Najmabadi, and others, it seems fair to conclude that gender itself might be understood as a colonial object inasmuch as colonial gender norms were often vastly different before and after the colonial encounter, and differed as a result of the 'encounter' between the colonizers' gender system and whichever gender system existed in that culture previous to colonization.

There are two comments I'd like to make before concluding. The first aim in this paper is to open a space for connecting the colonial objects field to developments in kindred fields, hopefully to the benefit of both. My second aim is to point out some issues worth considering when approaching gender itself as a colonial object.

Firstly, deepening the connection made by Quijano, Lugones, and many others between colonialism and expansionist capitalism, it's useful to connect the imposition of colonial gender systems to the need for reproductive labor under capitalist systems. In other words, the reification of two fixed gender categories, the framing of these categories along teleological reproductive timelines, the exclusion of women from public life, serve specific purposes within a capitalist system: the division of labor into productive and reproductive. If capitalism is a driver of colonization, and if colonization transforms gender systems, it's worth investigating how capitalism and gender might relate. Oyěwùmí is keenly aware of this connection, exploring how the subordination of newly discovered women coincided with the expropriation of communal land and installation of slavery and wage labor in Yorubaland. This process not only recalls parallel developments in European history, but

also appears to have wider purchase and strikes me as a necessary development, at least conceptually speaking.

Secondly, I express a misgiving. Lugones' account of gender colonialism is motivated by a practical desire to find alternatives to the constricting gender norms currently hegemonic in the West. She follows a conventional method for critique: historicizing the system under scrutiny to limit it in time and locate possible historical alternatives. There is a risk when we read pre-colonial gender systems through a 21st century queer lens. Leaning on such an analogy would defeat the purpose of historicizing colonialist gender norms and could lead to altogether new sorts of erasures.

When we make the claim that gender is colonial, we don't mean to say that gender was altogether absent prior colonization (although Oyĕwùmí does want to make such a claim with regard to the Yoruba), but rather that the gender systems were also an object of colonization, and that colonization as a historical process also involved the modification of the specific indigenous gender arrangements of the regions it affected. Consequently, I suggest that a greater emphasis on the gendered implications of specific object transfers and non-transfers would be of benefit to the field. More radically, it might be said that our understanding of colonial history and the history of gender is not complete until the colonial histories of gender, and, on the other hand, the gendered history of colonialism are properly coupled.

A relatively recent upstart in the field of imperial history, the subspecialty of gender and colonialism has enlarged studies of European imperialisms and colonialisms by producing a large body of scholarship on women (European and non-European) and gender. Once associated with the narrow definition of white women in the colonies, gender and colonialism now encompasses a much wider framework, concerned with the ways in which colonialism restructured gender dynamics of both colonizing and colonized societies. These contributions have engaged with well-established historiographies in social reform movements, colonial governance, and national cultures by integrating concerns of race, class, religion, and sexuality. Indeed, one might argue that few topics in the presumptive category of the 'old imperial history' have been

left untouched by historians of gender and colonialism. Many do not adhere to disciplinary boundaries, drawing from a range of academic disciplines, including (but not limited to) post-colonial literary criticism, anthropology, art history, women's and gender studies, geography, and sociology. While much of the scholarship of the 1980s and early 1990s on gender and colonialism emerged out of British imperial histories of Asia and Africa in the long nineteenth century, scholarship dating from 1995 onward includes French, German, Dutch, Belgian, and American colonialisms. A sign of the growing importance of colonial histories to women's and gender history was demonstrated at the most recent Berkshire Conference on the History of Women in the United States (which draws from histories of all regions of the world and all time periods) in which there was a 50 per cent increase in the number of panels that included empire, colonialism, or imperialism in their title.1 Alongside panels on British colonialism in Canada and the Caribbean were studies on the empires of Rome and Russia. In the past several years, articles and book prizes of the Berkshire Conference have been given to works on gender and colonialism. These trends are perhaps one sign of the globalization (and feminization) of imperial history and the unsettling of national histories as the central way of organizing historical work.3 As the field of gender and colonialism has developed and expanded, it has been faced with two significant challenges. One is whether the concerns of gender and colonial history have affected the concerns of older fields in history, such as economic, political, labour, and military histories. Another challenge is how to define and study gender and colonialism so that it does not replicate the inequalities and hierarchies of colonialism.

When the field of gender and colonialism was in its infancy almost two decades ago, it was synonymous with studies of European women in the colonies. The often-cited, groundbreaking volume of essays, Western women and imperialism4 brought attention to the contradictions faced by European women in the colonies. Seen to be in diminished capacity because they were members of the 'weaker sex', white women benefited from being members of the ' superior races', and were charged with the responsibilities of upholding the cultural and moral values of empire. In

challenging Kipling's image of the vain, shallow, and inconsequential memsahib, the essays in this volume showed that historical narratives of white women in the empire had been too narrow: white women were travellers, missionaries, nurses, journalists, teachers, as well as wives and companions. Several of the most influential essays in this volume showed that European women did not always hold feminist aspirations or interests, particularly when it came to their Asian or African counterparts.

6.3 INDUSTRIALISM: ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE

Industrial Revolution was a momentous occurrence. It signaled a brake for the biological regimes and initiated a process of industrialisation that was impregnated with enormous new possibilities of the use of natural resources. Industrialisation was accompanied by technological advances of far reaching impacts and they together unleashed processes that altered completely the prevailing picture of the natural world. Fernand Braudel had said: "In fact, until the eighteenth century, a Jungle Book could have been written about almost any part of the globe" (The Structures of Everyday Life, tr. Sian Reynolds, Harper and Row, 1985, p.69). Within a century since then, however, echoes of wailing voices could be heard saying How Green Was My Valley? England was a pioneer in industrialisation. It was a special circumstance that had given England a position of eminence. Industrialisation was a complex process that had got initiated there due to a peculiar combination of factors. The major areas that had come under the splurge of industrialisation were agriculture, demography, inland transport, technology, trade and industry. In fact there was no sector of private or public life in England that was actually immune from industrialisation. An understanding of industrialisation and its working in England is therefore of help to us in gaining insights into the formulation of environmental perceptions of English colonisers. Agriculture provided the necessary backdrop against which the industrial changes unfolded. Experiments with soil usage and the introduction of a variety of crops was perhaps the first stage where notable changes became evident. The fertilising properties of soil were

enhanced by liming and marling the soil (adjusting the right mix of clay and lime in the soil) and a pattern of crop rotation experimented for rejuvenating the different layers of soil. It is an interesting fact that industrial and mechanised equipment in agriculture were introduced only around midnineteenth century. Braudel notes that changes in agriculture "come not so much from machines or wonder crops as from new methods of land use; new timetables for ploughing; new forms of crop rotation which eliminated fallow and encouraged grazing, a useful source of fertiliser and therefore a remedy for soil exhaustion; attention to new strains of crops; selective breeding of sheep and cattle; specialised farming for higher yields – all with results which varied according to region, to natural conditions and to the constraints of the market which were never the same in two places. The resulting system was what would in the nineteenth century be called high farming…" (The Perspectives of the World, tr. Sian Reynolds, Harper and Row, 1984, p.559). One of the early changes in the industrial sector was the introduction of coke as a fuel replacing charcoal. The most noticeable use of coke was in blast-furnaces for making pig-iron. In "about 1760, the cost price of charcoal-fired smelting was about £ 2 per ton greater than that of iron produced by the rival method" the coke fired blast furnaces (Braudel, op. cit. p.569). The other significant change was in the cotton sector where a production boom began to show by the close of the eighteenth century. Here India was directly involved. To quote Braudel again whose succinct remarks are of high value in our discussion: "The cotton revolution, first in England, but very soon all over Europe, began by imitating Indian industry, went on to take revenge by catching up with it, and finally outstripped it. The aim was to produce fabrics of comparable quality at cheaper prices. The only way to do so was to introduce machines – which alone could effectively compete with Indian textile workers. But success did not come immediately. That had to wait for Arkwright's water-frame (1769) and Crompton's mule (1775-8) which made it possible to produce yarn as fine and strong as the Indian product, one that could be used for weaving fabric entirely out of cotton. From now on, the market for Indian cottons would be challenged by the developing English industry – and it was a very large market indeed, covering

England and the British Isles, Europe (where various continental cotton industries were however soon putting up their own competition), the coast of Africa, where black slaves were exchanged for lengths of cotton, and the huge market of colonial America, not to mention Turkey and the Levant – or India itself. Cotton was always produced primarily for export: in 1800 it represented a quarter of all British exports; by 1850 this had risen to fifty per cent" (Braudel, op. cit., p.572). An extraordinary expansion of English trade was one more feature of industrialisation. After 1760 the English overseas trade continuously increased. The centre of gravity of this trade moved towards American colonies and India. Significantly this success, in most cases, was achieved by force. Along side this, came improvements in inland transport. The Canal fever - as the development of navigable waterways is generally known as - began in 1775 and by 1830s wide and narrow canals had crisscrossed the entire country. The main intent was to facilitate haulage of resources on a bulk scale so that growth of English industries would not be stifled for want of natural resources in the proximity of the sites of the industries. These details point towards two conclusions. In the first place industrialisation resulted into a good deal of destruction, adaptation and restructuring. The traditional structures of agriculture were impaired and the land use patterns changed significantly. For instance, animal farming became more profitable than arable making farmers to shift to forage crops. Since forage crops do best on light and sandy soils, these became the most productive land in England. Heavy clayey soils by contrast, previously regarded as the richest for cereal growing, and unsuitable for forage crops, were hit by the low prices created by higher yields in rival regions (Cf. Braudel, op. cit., p.560). Secondly, industrialism i.e. the adaptation of an industrial mode of life, became the dominant social norm. In other words, this meant a transition from a predominantly agricultural society to one in which manufacture dominated. The central discourse under industrialisation was about the revolution in the mode of resource use – transforming resources from one form to another and making it possible for resources to be transported over large distances, away from the places of their origin. Evidently the environmental perception or understanding

of the English colonisers was mediated by this discourse. In the English understanding of environmental conditions in India in the eighteenth century but especially since the battle of Plassey the following features were quite dominant:

- The natural resources of India needed to be elevated to the level of commercial use in place of the prevalent general practice of use for subsistence purposes;

- The resource-use practices needed to become free of any restraints so as to enable resource exploitation;

- In this process, community control over resources required to be unshackled even through legal mechanisms if needed; and

- A conflict in the ways of life or cultures was deemed inevitable in this process.

6.4 COLONIALISM: ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSE

Colonisation of India was an occurrence of singular significance. The largest colony in the world was created by the classic capitalist power. The long historical process, from about the middle of the eighteenth century till the beginning of the twentieth century, was fraught with devices of resource exploitation of an unprecedented kind interceded by an environmental perception that oriented resources principally towards market. The colonial discourse on environment has been nicely elaborated by Alfred Crosby in his work Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe (CUP, 1986). We use his argument (as given by Gadgil and Guha) here and split and paraphrase it to show the consequences of colonial discourse on environment as below in line with our discussion:

European colonisers exterminated native ecosystems and populations;
The complex of weeds, animals and diseases brought by Europeans devastated the flora, fauna and human societies of the colonies; It created 'Neo-Europes' that dominate the New World today;

In this biological expansion of Europe there were three areas that were 'within reach' but 'beyond grasp' – Middle East, China and India;

Population densities, resistance to disease, agricultural technology and sophisticated socio-political organisations made these areas more resistant to the ecological imperialism of Europe;

Thus 'the rule (not the law)' was that although Europeans did conquer the tropics, they did not succeed in Europeanizing the tropics, not even country sides with European temperatures (p.134);

Portmanteau Biota (collective term for the organisms the colonising whites brought with them) enabled the European powers to easily overrun the temperate regions of North and South America as well the continent of Oceania;

In the case of more ecologically resistant civilisations like India and China a different strategy had to be adopted;

In India, the British could not create neo-Europes by decimating indigenous populations and their natural resources base;

But they did intervene and radically after existing food-production systems and their ecological basis;

Moreover, by exposing their subjects to the seductions of the industrial economy and consumer society, the British ensured that the process of ecological change they initiated would continue, and indeed intensify, after they left India's shores.

The English colonial control of India began with the acquisition of the power to collect land revenue – the Diwani rights of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. What seemed on the face a simple political process had grave and quite far reaching implications. Irfan Habib describes the process and its meaning exquisitely: "The East India Company, which obtained this power, was controlled by the great merchant-capitalists of London. These merchants had so far conducted a trade, based on the import of Indian piece goods (muslin, calico, chintz), silk, indigo and spices, that was financed mainly by the export of treasure. Now, suddenly, they found in their conquests the ultimate bliss that every merchant dreams of: to be able to buy without having to pay, and yet be able to sell at the full price. This could be achieved by treating the entire revenue of the country as gross profits. From these the expenses necessary for maintaining

government and army, and law and order – the costs of maintenance of the existing system of exploitation – had to be deducted in order to yield the net profits. These could, in turn, be invested for the purchase of Indian commodities, the so-called 'investments'. The purchase of these commodities in conditions where the buyer had a monopoly, and their sale in markets throughout the world, further enlarged the profits before the 'tribute'–a word freely in use for it at the time –was finally received in England. The revenues from the conquests dwarfed the amount of bullion that had once financed English trade; and, accordingly, the exports of Indian commodities underwent an enormous increase. British imports originating in 'East India' increased from £1.5 million in 1750 – 51 to 5.8 million in 1797-98, from 12 per cent of total British imports to 24 per cent. In contrast, the British exports to East India rose only from 6.4 per cent to 9 per cent of total British exports. Unlike the later imperialists, fighting for markets in the colonies, these pre-industrial conquerors were hunting for colonial commodities, which had the whole world as their market" ('Colonialisation of the Indian Economy' in Essays in Indian History, New Delhi, 1995, pp.299-300).

Interestingly the profits so gained by English did not come from commerce but were made available through the collection of land revenue. Thus if the profits had to be increased the land revenue too needed to be enhanced. A great pressure was exerted on the farmers/ peasants for maximising the land revenue. The results were terrifying as the agriculture was ruined. The colonial perception of the commercial use of resources had yielded disastrous results.

During the period coinciding with the first half of the nineteenth century "the colonial objective changed from seizing Indian commodities to seizing the Indian market. The changed objective not only made the East India Company's monopoly over Indian internal commerce and overseas trade obsolete, but positively required free trade… The English exports of manufactures, textiles in the first place, not only practically wiped out the Indian exports of cotton goods, but also entered India to challenge Indian manufactures, in their home market…." (Irfan Habib, op. cit. p.319). The result was a second disaster; deindustrialization of India had been effected. About mid-nineteenth century the capital investment at

home (in England) had reached a saturation point. This gave rise to an intensified race for markets and export of capital. In India this capital was used for laying railways. Once this process had progressed up to a certain stage, the influx of imports from England gained momentum. This onslaught of imports had grave consequences for the traditional craft industries of India. They were ruined beyond repair. Such was the ecological environmental encounter between India and its colonial conquerors, the English.

6.5 CONSERVATION

It is generally argued that the age of discovery and associated maritime travel gave rise to a new way of looking at man-nature relationship. There were two kinds of major changes involved in this new vision. The first related to the emergence of a view that natural environment surrounding the human society was pliable to man's desired changes. The second gave rise to a new kind of significance being attached to nature that was also often imitated. The development of the idea of botanical garden was copied from Middle East (Cf. Richard H. Grove, Green Imperialism, New Delhi, 1995, p.24). By the time we arrive at the seventeenth century "a fundamental displacement of social and symbolic meanings away from the confines of religious contexts and into more secular settings" takes place. Soon the "idea of a flawed and fallen natural world in opposition to a spiritual heaven became less attractive as the whole globe became technically and economically more reachable and as its extra-ordinary variety and richness, especially in tropical regions, became apparent and knowledge of it more widely disseminated in printed books" (Richard H. Grove, op. cit. , p.51). The conservation efforts initiated in the colonies were the result of a keen awareness that had developed about an impending global scarcity of timber resources. However, none of these efforts could be linked directly to any methodical efforts at organising the resource-use practices in the colonies to the objective of conservation. A serious threat to the supply of naval timber was the initial impetus for conservation. In the absence of any institutional evolution thus the environments of colonies continued to suffer.

Richard H. Grove has studied the conservation practices of English colonisers in his book Green Imperialism. He writes: "The very early incorporation of conservationism as an accepted part of the role of the colonial state in India needs to be set in a broader context. There is no doubt that environmental sensibilities in Britain, for example, were, among some groups, almost as well developed by the 1860s as they were among the scientific services in India. They were very different kinds of sensibilities, and were associated with different kinds of social critique. The biota of Europe was simply not perceived as being threatened by rapid ecological change of the kind that was taking place in India. As a result, embryonic worries about the destruction of rural landscapes and about species extinctions remained the concern of a largely ineffective minority" (pp. 462-3). It is not totally unfair to assume that environmental conservation as a policy was not on the principal agenda of the colonialists. The depleted wood resources back home in England were a blinker. It was not until the early years of twentieth century that serious attention was given to the issue.

"Fortress" or "colonial" conservation damages the environment because it evicts people from land they have been managing expertly for generations. They have shaped it to improve its biodiversity in ways which outsiders usually don't understand.

Tourist infrastructure is often then built to favor certain species – usually large mammals – at the expense of biodiversity, which suffers. Among many other effects: Crowds of tourist vehicles stress the animals and habituate them to routine human proximity (making poaching easier); attaching tracking devices and moving animals is often lethal; and allowing herbivores to grow without predation can endanger other species, and eventually themselves, as herds grow beyond the ecosystem's ability to provide enough food.

Other profit-making enterprises, including mining, trophy hunting, logging etc, are often established inside the protected zones. Often, this is with the collusion of big conservation organizations which are funded by these same industries.

The former human inhabitants are mistreated, often severely, if they attempt to enter the area (even for harmless pursuits such as collecting medicinal plants), or even when they don't. This further alienates them from any interest in seeing their former environment maintained.

Evicted from their land, with their subsistence livelihoods destroyed, they are more easily co-opted or forced by corrupt guards and officials into helping poach for the illegal wildlife trade. Park guards abuse these former inhabitants, despite making money from poaching themselves. The cycle of antagonism grows.

It continues with more and more violence and money needed to keep the original inhabitants out. Yet in many places the local populations are increasing their democratic voice and turning against the colonial model of conservation which contains the seeds of its own destruction. Unless the model changes to prioritize people's rights, it won't survive. Protected zones are being set up to fail in Africa, overwhelmed by the same popular opposition that ensured the retreat of colonialism.

The fact that local/tribal/indigenous people are the best guardians of the environment can no longer be dismissed as "noble savage" fantasy. It's been proven again and again. Big conservation organizations must start approaching local people humbly and fairly, recognizing their superior knowledge as guardians of their own environments, and offering them resources to keep their own lands under their own control. It would be a far cheaper, far more effective model of conservation and although many organizations now claim they follow this, our research shows that, in fact, they don't.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. Discuss about the Gender.

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2. Discuss about Industrialism: Environmental Discourse.

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3. Discuss about the Colonialism: Environmental Discourse.

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6.6 LET US SUM UP

The gender question has also attracted a lot of attention, particularly because of the rise of the feminist movement in post-independence period. However, two important books on the conditions of women by Pandita Ramabai and Katherine Mayo focused attention on women's problem during the colonial period. Now, of course, we have a lot of literature on this issue covering various aspects of gender relations.

Colonial understanding of environment was guided by the process of industrialisation and the necessity of controlling resources available in the colonies. The main feature of this understanding was an emphasis on the use of natural resources as commodities. In this the local cohesive communities who had hitherto been sustaining on the natural resource were relegated into background and their place in was occupied by atomised individuals. A major consequence of this was that individual access, in place of community access, to resources was promoted. The natural resources were now oriented towards market and the subsistence pattern of resource-use was seriously ruptured. The conservation practices, taking into consideration the environment as a whole, had not come into vogue. India as a colony was seen as a repository of natural resources, the exploitation of which was seen as a legitimate right.

6.7 KEY WORDS

Degradation: the condition or process of degrading or being degraded.

Colonization: Colonization is a process by which a central system of power dominates the surrounding land and its components.

6.8 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. Discuss the historical works related to gender.

2. How did industrialism shape the colonial perception of environment? Discuss.

3. Did colonisation of India result in environmental degradation? Comment.

4. Write a short note on the colonial conservation practices.

6.9 SUGGESTED READINGS AND REFERENCES

- Madhav Gadgil & Ramchandra Guha, This Fisured Land: An Ecological History of India, Delhi, 1992.

- Richard H. Grove, Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1800, Delhi, 1995.

- Irfan Habib, Essays in Indian History, Towards a Marxist Perception, New Delhi, 1995.

- Richard H. Grove, Vinita Damodaran, Satpal Sangwan, eds., Nature & The Orient, The Environmental History of South and Southeast Asia, Delhi, 1998.

6.10 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 6.2
2. See Section 6.3
3. See Section 6.4

UNIT 7: SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

STRUCTURE

Objectives

7.1 Introduction

7.2 Early Historiography

7.3 Recent Historiography

7.4 Role of Technology in Modern History

7.5 Let us sum up

7.6 Key Words

7.7 Questions for Review

7.8 Suggested readings and references

7.9 Answers to Check Your Progress

7.0 OBJECTIVES

After this unit, we can able to know:

- To know about the Early Historiography
- To discuss about the Recent Historiography
- To discuss Role of Technology in Modern History

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In the history and the historiography of modern India, science, technology and environment are closely related subjects. Massive demographic change, aided by science and technology, has changed the landscape beyond recognition. Neither Babar nor Warren Hastings would be able to tolerate the present aspect of the country. The transformation has recently attracted the attention of historians of India. It is not that technology, science and ecology as fundamental factors in Indian history escaped the notice of the past generations of historians. Nevertheless, it is only in the 1990s that a fair number of historians in India took these themes up as independent topics of research. However, there is no agreement among them about the impact of science and technology on

the welfare of the population and the climate of the country. Their disagreements reflect deep divisions within public opinion, and in the government and politics of the country. There is science lobby, an economics and planning lobby, and an environment lobby. There are cries of coming disaster, and hot denials that there is cause for alarm. It is said that because of greenhouse effect of global industrialisation, the glaciers from which our rivers descend are receding fast. Historians have been sensitised to the problems of science and environment by these public debates. From the 1990s, independent historical monographs on these subjects have begun to appear. Even before that, however, certain historical questions had figured in their discussions as regards science and technology: was modern science and technology distorted by the phenomenon of colonial rule? What were the state of the sciences and the level of technology before the establishment of British supremacy? Such questions have been renewed recently.

The history of colonial science and medicine in British India is nowadays a rapidly expanding body of scholarship. It is not only increasingly attracting the attention of scholars from a range of disciplinary locations, but has also extended the limit of previous history writings on colonial/imperial scientific disciplines. In recent years, as the varied themes and perspectives have emerged, the historiography has become more fresh and proliferative and therefore it is growingly difficult to identify any single framework for writing the history of colonial science and medicine. Drawing on this burgeoning field of scholarship, the present paper is an attempt to study the history of science and medicine in British India and in doing so it particularly aims to engage with various theoretical positions on the relationship between the 'imperial metropole' and 'colonial periphery'. The centre-periphery relationship model was first employed in the 1950s and 1960s in disciplines such as economic and political theory, in a little while its use being encouraged in the history of Western science and medicine. In the field of history, the standard version of this model suggested that there was centre of science and medicine in the West from where scientific knowledge came to be diffused and found its place in the non-Western world. In view of that, the major characteristic feature of the periphery lied in its dependence

upon the centre. Although, this one-way diffusionist model continued as a historiographic scheme, it certainly provoked several critiques and debates. Against this background, by critically examining the existing historiography concerning the centreperiphery relationship, this paper carries on the idea that Western science and medicine in British India was not merely an extension of metropolitan ideas and methods. This is because the modern scientific knowledge in the colony, even though often was based on significant derivation from science in the metropole, was always sensitive to the local condition and willing to adapt, modify, and even sometimes deviate from their original Western epistemology on the concerned subject. Obviously, this had to be done in response to the needs and exigencies of the locale. However, before drawing any conclusion, it will be pertinent to elaborately discuss how diversely and in what perspectives the scholars of colonial science and medicine employed the notion of 'imperial metropole' and 'colonial periphery'.

It is Anglo-American historian George Basalla, who in his seminal 1967 essay first propounds a three-tier model of the 'spread' of modern science from the West to the non-Western cultures (Basalla, 1967). His contention is as follows: In the Phase One of the diffusion process, non-scientific societies served only as passive sources of data for the development of science in European country. In this period, European explorers, travellers, missionaries and other amateurs used to visit the new land, survey and collect its flora and fauna, study its physical features and then take the results of their works back to Europe. Phase Two is marked by a period of 'colonial science' when a larger number of scientists were involved in the enterprise and the range of activity expanded considerably. In this era of 'dependent science', scientific work was carried out by transplanted European colonists or settlers or else by acculturated indigenes of the territory under consideration who saw themselves as dependents of the scientific institutions and traditions of the metropole. Phase Three completed the process of transplantation with a struggle to achieve an independent national scientific tradition, however, based on Western professional standards. What is unique in Basalla's model is that it does not confine itself to the diffusion of knowledge within Europe, but by asking how 'modern' science and

medicine came to be diffused from its homeland in Western Europe to the rest of the world, it provides an understanding of global transfer processes. Indeed, "Escaping from an earlier historiography of science, constructed around great men and great discoveries, it encourages us to see developments in a wider context ..." (Arnold, 1993, p. 16).

The Eurocentric Basalla's universal model however, came to be seriously and variously challenged. The leading historian in this enterprise was Roy MacLeod. In a significant theoretical piece in the mid 1980s, he argued that the difference between metropolitan and colonial science was not always clear in Basalla's typology, and emphasised that scholars should keep them analytically separate (MacLeod, 1982; 1996; 2000). According to him metropolitan science was a "way of doing science, based on learned societies, small groups of cultivators, certain conventions of discourse, and certain theoretical priorities set in eighteenth-century Western Europe" (MacLeod, 1982, p. 2). On the other end, colonial science was practiced in non-European hemisphere. It meant derivative science, which in the eyes of metropolis was a sort of 'low science', identified only with fact-gathering. But in the colonies, colonial science could mean something else. This could be intellectually derivative and also be metropolitan "in the sense of 'functional'... with values confirming the rule of 'Britannia in another world' (MacLeod, 1982, p. 2). MacLeod did not confine the metropole only to Western Europe as Basalla did. Rather, by developing his concept of a 'Moving Metropolis' he stressed on the fact that the metropolis might move over time from one location to another; because of the ever changing needs and economics of the empire and the forms of colonial governance. These changes, in MacLeod's view, certainly affected the scientific relations between the metropolis and the province. MacLeod also proposed an alternative framework, a five-staged progress of the so-called British imperial science between 1780 and 1939, and very modestly called for its more universal application (MacLeod, 1982, pp. 7-13).

In discussing the development of the peripheral (e.g. Australian) scientific enterprise, Ian Inkster located several minor problems with Basalla's framework which: "may not be regarded as a model until its

elements are more clearly specified, and until attention has been given to the mechanisms of phase transition and the dynamics of the phases themselves" (Inkster, 1985, p. 685)[1] . He identified that the tripartite model did not differentiate between the scientific and technical culture that emerged in the areas of recent settlement like Australia and the areas of relatively backward economy like Japan (Inkster, 1985, p. 686). In his opinion: Basalla has very little to say about the ultimate goals of (the peripheral) science, the interests and methodologies of the scientific community (in the periphery), or its intellectual and psychological relations with the metropolitan centre (Inkster, 1985, p. 688, parenthesis added). He criticised Basalla for focusing more on the marginality of colonial scientists neglecting "the tension between their metropolitan identities and their provincial situations, and their institutional and cultural divorce from the colonial setting" (Inkster, 1985, p. 684). Though, Inkster called Australian scientists as 'cosmopolitan' in the sense that: "they were spatially divorced from the centre, intellectually and mentally divorced from the provincial setting in which they lived and worked" (Inkster, 1985, p. 689), scholars commented that, Indian condition depicted altogether a different and intricate history where local setting and colonial control in concert largely influenced the scenario (Kumar, 2006, pp. 8-9). However, as the linkage between science and colonisation in non-settler colonies like India, where small numbers of European dominated large and diverse colonised populations, was markedly different from that in white settler colonies (Adas, 1997, p. 217; Worboys, 2004, p. 218), MacLeod's and Inkster's theses concerning science in Australia are not likely to be invariably applicable to countries like British India. Nevertheless, these analytical insights inspired a number of science and medical historians of British India to critically differ with Basalla's models and propound their own lines of arguments. For example, Satpal Sangwan in his own assessment of the metropole/ colony relationship pertaining to Britain/India criticises the inadequate characterisation of Basalla's first stage. Basalla's Phase One scientists used to survey and collect data for the scientific community at home. In his book, Sangwan argues: The British had undertaken the arduous task of scientific surveys primarily to increase the knowledge of British

entrepreneurs and colonisers, not that of the scientists at home. The fact that metropolitan science also gained in the process is a by-product of their labours (Sangwan, 1991, p. 147). Sangwan acknowledges the various achievements of 'gentlemen' scientists in the colony, who proved their abilities and effectively retained their identities despite having deep relation with the rule of profit-oriented English East India Company and research-oriented metropolitan erudite scholars (Sangwan, 1992).

V. V. Krishna too is critical of one particular hypothesis of Basalla which states that Phase Two of colonial science contains in an embryonic form, some of the essential features of the Phase Three. Krishna classifies the scientists settled in India from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century into three broad categories (Krishna, 1991; 1992). For naming these categories, Krishna followed MacLeod's terminology, yet used them in different senses (MacLeod, 1982). The first category was 'gate keepers' who, following the British imperial ideal, actively endeavoured to prohibit 'Native Indian Scientists' from joining the colonial scientific enterprises. "'Gate keepers' operated on several fronts including education, industry, finance and science departments" (Krishna, 1992, p. 58). The second group was the 'scientific soldiers', European or Indian by birth, educated and trained in Britain, came to India either through government channels or commerce and served for low-status scientific jobs in the Empire (Krishna, 1992, p. 59). Krishna writes: They had no commitment to the promotion of scientific disciplines or scientific societies, and their goal was limited to the accomplishment of their assigned tasks. When these British scientists completed their assignments or attained the age limit, they returned to their country taking with them a vast treasure of experience (Krishna, 1991, p. 92). On the other hand, mostly 'native' Indians by race and a small number of European missionaries and Jesuits together shaped the third sort, whom Krishna identifies as 'national scientists', responsible for the growth of an independent scientific culture. As the first two categories were neither national nor independent in the true sense, Krishna delinks them from the last and refuses to accept any embryonic links between Phase Two and Phase Three. Although, Sangwan and Krishna both recognise the difficulties of discussing the transformation of Western scientific

knowledge in British India in terms of Basalla's diffusionist theory, they overlook the fact that the colonial scientist was a much more critical person than they assume. Whichever stage such a scientist might belong to, the specificity of the colonial situation often made him simultaneously factgatherer and theory maker. A colonial scientist's impact might not necessarily have confined only to the peripheral world of colonial knowledge, but indeed might have modified any dominant medical idea in the West.

"Basalla's model", according to Dhruv Raina, "stimulated attempts to open up the Pandora's box of science and imperialism, but did so inadvertently" (Raina, 1999, p. 500)2 . In his view, this and other Basalla-like schemes, suggest that science is a 'cultural universal' and its reception by the periphery is unproblematic (Raina, 2003, p. 159). These studies restrict their historical concern only to the implantation of modern scientific knowledge and the institutions of modern science in non-Western environments and view the non-West merely as laboratories for performance of scientific experiments (Raina, 1999, p. 498). In this context, Basalla's framework is vulnerable to the charge of Eurocentrism as it cannot accommodate cross-cultural exchanges and is preoccupied only with the spread of modern Western culture throughout the world, without recognising that the meaning of science changes across cultures and within cultures across time (Raina, 1999, p. 502). According to Raina, there are substantial historical evidences which show that "'more' non-European knowledge travelled to Europe than is often acknowledged" (Raina, 1999, p. 502) and in the process of knowledge transmission "the periphery has been the source of important new ideas in the theoretical sciences" (Raina, 1999, p. 506).

It is very clear then that scholars are quick to identify the inadequacy in Basalla's thesis. In this scenario, a good many histories of colonial science and medicine in India come to enquire how the scientific ideas are circulated and raise several new questions. Despite differences between their respective points of view, they all suggest that the interminable story of the diffusion and absorption of modern science and medicine as only a Western cultural import is inadequate. It misses out the multifarious nature of transmission of knowledge between South

Asians and Europeans. One of the pioneers in this genre, Deepak Kumar explores the intricate connection between imperialism and science and analyses the process whereby an 'alien' system of knowledge, methods and tools have truly become indigenised (Kumar, 1980; 1996; 2000; 2004; 2006). Although, Kumar's writings lavishly deal with various theories of diffusion and exchange, invoking such names as Basalla, Michael Worboys, MacLeod, Sangwan and Krishna, his empirical works often are not geared to the modification or advancement of such theoretical insights (Kumar, 1980, pp. 105-113; 2006, pp. 1-31). Elsewhere, Kumar showed that a number of European physicians visited pre-colonial India and wrote extensively on Indian disease condition and therapeutics. As they failed to develop a comprehensive aetiology of maladies, concluded that Indian diseases were environmentally determined and should be treated by Indian methods. They, however, continued to look at the Indian practices with curiosity and disdain, but regarding use of drugs Europeans and Indians both learned from each other (Kumar, 2001, pp. xvi-xvii; 2010, p. 263; 2011, pp. 236- 237). But during the high noon of colonial rule this type of 'synergetic' relationship between the 'micro-parasites' and the 'macro-parasites' was far more difficult (Kumar, 2001, p. xix). "There were several areas in which the western and indigenous system could collaborate but did not" (Kumar, 1997, p. 169). Moreover, as David Arnold pointed out, Western medical science assumed a position of superiority over indigenous medicine and 'native' bodies by which subject people and local medical systems were subjugated and marginalised and thus the possibilities of medical pluralism came to an end (Arnold, 1989, pp. 11-12; 2000, pp. 66- 67). However, recently in their edition, Kumar and Raj Sekhar Basu question the binary division of 'West' and 'non-West' and confidently argue that: "there is no 'pure' East, no 'pure' West… The word 'Western' in relation to medicine has, correctly speaking, no meaning. Science knows no geographical limitations" (Kumar and Basu, 2013, p. 15)3 . According to them, the exchange and adoption of knowledge are not something always imposed forcibly from above, nor these are osmotic transfers. They come from the logic of the interactions between the global and the local (Kumar and Basu, 2013, p. 8).

7.2   EARLY HISTORIOGRAPHY

The British rule over India found a moral justification for itself by virtue of the benefits of reason and modern science it had extended to the colony. The British view of Indian civilisation was that it was long on religion and short on science. Seven centuries ago, early Muslim visitors to the country had a different view of the civilisation then prevailing in the land. Al Beruni gave equal and serious attention to both the religion and science of Hind around 1030. The Muslims themselves brought with them several new technical products, such as paper and the Persian wheel. Europe, which at that time borrowed several techniques from China and the Islamic world, later strode ahead in course of the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century and the industrial revolution in the eighteenth century. This constituted, upon the British conquest of India, the ground for the European claim of scientific and civilisational superiority. The Indian scientists who emerged during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the colleges and universities of British India did not deny the positive role the British had played in bringing modern science to India. At the same time, they maintained that India had an ancient scientific tradition. This dual attitude is reflected in the work of the Chemistry Professor of the Presidency College of Bengal, Dr. P.C. Ray, who, besides making major chemical discoveries in the field of nitrates, wrote a work on The History of Hindu Chemistry. Published in two volumes in 1902 and 1908, this was a world– renowned scientist's historically substantiated refutation of the imperialist idea of science as the achievement of Western enlightened thought alone. That science had multicivilisational origins would be argued by many other historians in the future, including Joseph Needham of Science and Civilization in China. Within the leadership of the nationalist movement in India, two distinct attitudes crystallised at about this time as regards modern science and its historical effect on Indian civilisation. Mohan Das Karamchand Gandhi denounced railways, lawyers and doctors, and declared machinery to be a 'great sin'. He said in Hind Swaraj (1990) : 'It is machinery that has impoverished India'. Jawaharlal Nehru, his disciple, could not agree with this view of the matter. In a tract entitled The Unity of India (1941), he declared: 'Politics led me to economics,

and this led me inevitably to science and the scientific approach to all our problems of hunger and poverty.' As Prime Minister he transformed the landscape of India by means of the Five Year Plans, the great dams and the steel plants. Modern day radical environmental historians invoke Gandhi rather than Nehru in the debate about science, technology and the ecological question. In the later colonial period, an ecological query emerged: how far had the face of the country changed over time? The economist Radhakamal Mukherjee, who wrote a work on Social Ecology (London, 1942) in this period, examined historical evidence of riverine and ecological change in an interesting work entitled The Changing face of Bengal: a Study in Riverine Economy (Calcutta, 1938). Nor was he the first to record ecological evidence of change. Even in the early nineteenth century, the British official D. Butter, in a report entitled An Outline of the Topography and Statistics of the Southern Districts of Oudh (Calcutta, 1839), had reported the 'unremitting advance' of the hot summer wind (loo) in recent decades. It may be noted that the northern Gangetic plains, the area he reported on, had experienced large-scale deforestation from the Mughal period onwards. But in the other areas, agriculture was still considerably mixed with jungle in the early nineteenth century, a fact commented on, for instance, by James Taylor in the A Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca (Calcutta, 1840). Colonial officials showed an interest in historical geography, and a pioneering work in this respect was Alexander Cunningham, The Ancient Geography of India (London, 1871). Later Jadunath Sarkar wrote The India of Aurangzeb (Topography, Statistics and Road), (Calcutta, 1901) Such works recorded evidence that even before modern science and technology intervened, demographic and commercial factors had been changing the face of the country over time. It is only recently, however, that this issue has been explored by historians in a self conscious ecological manner.

7.3 RECENT HISTORIOGRAPHY

In the new historical studies of science, technology and environment that emerged in the 1990s several key themes and questions provided a sophisticated framework of discussion. What was the politics of science

and technology? Were they the means of imperial domination and / or national reconstruction? What was the technological impact upon the economic organisation of life – to enrich or impoverish? What was the popular reception of science – acceptance or resistance? What was the impact of ecological change upon the question of welfare – partially beneficial or wholly negative? Commentaries on recent historical writings have pointed out that the above-mentioned concerns were not entirely new. In fact, the same issues had implicitly formed a part of imperial, nationalist and popular discussions and sayings. Let us take a few instances. For one, imperial planners who laid down the railways, among them Bartle Frere of Bombay in 1863 proclaimed clearly that the railways would quadruple the British Military strength in India. For another, one strand of nationalist opinion, represented by Gandhi in 1908, declared openly: 'Railways, lawyers and doctors have impoverished the country, so much so that, if we do not wake up in time, we shall be ruined.' To take a third and rather interesting instance, there had been attempts to study the popular response to the innovations of the modern age among the nineteenth century folk songs collected by William Crooke. One was on the train and it ran as follows: 'Eating no corn, drinking water / by the force of steam it goes / it goes on no plain road, on rods of iron it goes / In front of the engines, behind the cars, bhak, bhak they go.' The attitude reflects neither approval nor rejection, just a strange new addition accepted as part of the landscape, it has been argued. What was new about the new historiography was that it dealt with all these questions in a connected way, in analytical frame. Earlier discussions of science and technology had not always shown good, critical sense. On the one hand, patriotic Indians sought to upstage Western Science and Technology by claiming to have discovered everything in the Vedas. On the other hand, colonial statements on scientific and technological progress were simply and approvingly reproduced by some historians without examining the motives behind those statements. Among recent works on science and technology which have all focused in one way or the other on the question of power and politics may be mentioned Dipak Kumar, Science and The Raj (New Delhi, 1995); David Arnold, Colonizing the Body: State Medicine and

Epidemic Disease in Nineteenth Century India (Berkeley, 1993), Gyan Prakash, Another Reason : Science and The Imagination of Modern India (Princeton, 1999); David Arnold, Science. Technology and Medicine in Colonial India (Cambridge, 2000). Arnold and Prakash, both belonging to the Subalternist school, regarded science as an integral part of the political sphere. Arnold brought science under the technique of colonial discourse analysis; Prakash on the other hand, treated science as part of the discourse of imagining the nation as a modern, rational body of people. Both saw the new technology as a means of forging 'a link between space and the state' (Prakash, Another Reason), and science, therefore, as very much a matter of power and domination. In the name of science, the colonial administration pursued policies of domination biased towards maintaining imperial authority and not the welfare of the colonised. In the name of science again, the nationalist movement and the Indian scientists sympathetic to that movement sought an alternative centre of power, an imagined community called the nation that would liberate itself by means of the modern spirit of scientific rationality. As for the colonised themselves (the so-called subalterns), the subalternists speculated that popular resistance to colonial domination might arise from the people's mental association of railways and telegraphs with calamities such as famines and epidemics. There emerged historical studies of the mortality caused by plague, malaria, small-pox, cholera and the influenza epidemic of 1918; the political unrest and administrative chaos caused by disease; and the popular response to harsh colonial public health policies.

Ecological history, which emerged as a separate branch of history in the 1990s, was a response to the world-wide environmental movement. In 1987, C.A. Bayly declared in Indian Society and the Making of the British Empire, New Cambridge History of India, Vol II, (Cambridge, 1987): 'Ecological change in India is the coming subject, but no overview has appeared.' Bayly himself concluded that the hundred years following 1780 witnessed 'the beginnings of extensive deforestation in the subcontinent. The first work of the new ecological history, Ramchandra Guha's The Unquiet Woods: Ecological Change and Peasant Resistance in the Himalaya (Delhi, 1991), concerned itself with

the Sublternist theme of domination and resistance rather than with the actual tracking of environmental change over the long duration. It was a study of the emergence of a popular movement in the Himalayan foothills against the commercial exploitation of the forest resources of the Himalayas. The next work, Ramchandra Guha and Madhav Gadgil's This Fissured Land: an Ecological History of India (Delhi, 1992), was wider in scope, and it took the following position: 'In India the ongoing struggle between the peasant and industrial modes of resource use has come in two stages: colonial and post-colonial. It has left in its wake a fissured land, ecologically and socially fragmented beyond belief and, to some observers, beyond repair.' Other works, which focused on conservation and the adverse ecological consequences of colonial policies, included Richard H. Grove, Green Imperialism : Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens, and the Origins of Environmentalism 1600 – 1860 (Cambridge, 1994) and Mahesh Rangarajan, Fencing the Forest: Conservation and Ecological Change in India's Central Provinces 1860-1914 (New Delhi, 1996). The loss of the rights of the forest–dwellers was a principal theme of ecological history, as was the development of resistance and of efforts at conservation. More conventional economic histories had already focused on the impact of colonial rule on the environment. The advance of the agricultural frontier and irrigation canals, with the attendant problems of salination, water-logging and spread of disease, were studied, among others, by Elizabeth Whitcombe, Agrarian Conditions in Northern India: the United Provinces under British Rule, 1860-1900 (Berkeley, 1972); Ian Stone, Canal Irrigation in British India: Perspectives on Technological Change in a Peasant Economy (Cambridge, 1984); and M. Mufakharul Islam, Irrigation, Agriculture and the Raj: Punjab 1887-1947 (New Delhi, 1997). It emerged that the roads and canals interrupted the natural watercourses, yet on balance it could not be denied that irrigation increased agricultural productivity. A study of the impact of the railways, by Robert Varady among others, shows that the railways depleted the Himalayan timber region, wiped out the remaining jungles on the plains, and could carry on only because of the advent of cheap coal. Roads and railways formed disease– laden puddles, spread epidemics and speeded

up soil erosion. Nevertheless, economic historians such as John Hurd and Mukul Mukherjee, have concluded that the railways promoted internal trade, reduced seasonal fluctuations and inter–market price differentials for grain and cotton, and integrated the market in bulk commodities. Economic historians, rather than ecological historians, have mapped the long-term recession of forest and pasture under the onslaught of agriculture in Indian history. Shireen Moosvi, in her Man and Nature in the Mughal Era (Symposium paper, Indian History Congress, 1993), established that cultivation doubled between 1601 and 1909 at the expense of pasture and waste in Northern India. A balanced picture emerges when we take together the work of the mainstream economic historians and the new historians of science, technology and environment. New dimensions of history have emerged, the harmful effects of modern science and technology on environment have been highlighted, yet the benefits have also been stressed.

7.4   ROLE OF TECHNOLOGY IN MODERN HISTORY

The emergence of environmental history has induced historians to rethink the role of science and technology in modern Indian history. This is because environmental historians have drawn attention to the manner in which technological progress has affected the natural environment, sometimes quite adversely in certain areas, during the colonial and post-colonial periods. The earlier uncritical attitudes to technological progress have given way to a more critical treatment of the theme of science and technology. British colonial historians were quite certain that British rule in India had worked to the betterment of the lot of the Indians through the introduction of science and technology. They were also convinced that Indians, at least initially, were resistant to the radical technical innovations such as railways and telegraph. This formed part of J.H. Kaye's explanation of the revolt of 1857 in his famous book, A History of the Sepoy War in India (London, 1867). The Hindu priesthood, said Kaye, were confounded by the railways cars, which travelled, without horses or bullocks, at the rate of thirty miles an hour, and the electric wires, which in a few minutes carried a message across a whole

province. The prodigious triumphs over time and space achieved by these 'fire carriages' and 'lightning posts' put to shame the wisdom of the Brahmans and, in his view, produced a reaction resulting in the revolt. The British colonial view was that, after the suppression of the revolt, there was genuine progress brought about by the improvements in technology, communications and transport. In the well-known book Modern India and the West: a Study of the Interactions of their Civilizations (London, 1941), the editor, L.S.S.O' Malley, who was a colonial official, devoted a whole chapter to 'Mechanism and Transport'. In this chapter he surveyed the new forms of communication, including railways, broadcasting and films, and his estimation of the consequences for India were clearly positive. It took some time after Independence for studies of technology to acquire an analytical historical perspective. A preliminary venture in this direction was a series of lectures by leading scientists and technical educators at the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, edited by B.R. Nanda as Science and Technology in India (New Delhi, 1977). Here, too, the impact was judged in somewhat uncritically positive terms, with an emphasis on the progressive leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru. Technology was treated in such preliminary works as part of the history of science. It took some time to give more complex and critical attention to technological history on its own. Many historians in the West continued to emphasise the progress brought about by technology transfer from the West to non-Western societies. Daniel R. Headrick's The Tentacles of Progress: Technology Transfer in the Age of Imperialism, 1850-1940 (New York, 1988) dwelt on the transfer of a range of new technologies, such as railways, botany, urban infrastructures, metallurgy, technical education, etc., with special attention to India. A more critical assessment for India specifically was made in Roy McLeod and Dipak Kumar (eds.), Technology and the Raj (New Delhi, 1995). An important article in this collection, 'The Building of India's Railways: the Application of Western Technology in the Colonial Periphery', by Ian Derbyshire, pointed out that railway development in India, unlike UK, secured few direct, 'backward linkage' benefits. Labour market conditions discouraged greater mechanisation. Technical development remained 'colonial-dependent'. In comparative

terms, India lagged behind not only the USA, but also Russia, where innovation in constructional, equipment and operational spheres was conspicuously greater. Backward linkage effects relate to the stimulation of activities in the economy that ensure supply to a new line of production. Forward linkage effects, on the other hand, mean the stimulation of demand for other products resulting from the new product. In and Technology the case of railway construction in India, a forward linkage benefit might have come about with the construction of locomotives. This hardly happened during the colonial period on an appreciable scale. In a pioneering article entitled 'Great Britain and the Supply of Railway Locomotives in India: a Case Study of "Economic Imperialism"', first published in The Indian Economic and Social History Review (October, 1965), F. Lehmann calculated that during the entire period of British rule in India, not more than 700 locomotives were built in the country, despite the vast railway network that existed by 1947. All the other locomotives came from aboard, and, predictably, most were constructed in Great Britain. Had the railway authorities gone in for building locomotives in India on a bigger scale, this might have laid the basis of a heavy engineering industry before Independence. As it happened, such a development had to await the coming of the Nehru era. One noted author who analysed the limited economic stimulus resulting from colonial technological innovation was Daniel Thorner. He noted the limited effect of colonial railway and steamship enterprise on India's capital market in Investment in Empire: British Railway and Steam Shipping Enterprise in India 1825-1849 (Philadelphia, 1950). In yet another notable contribution entitled 'The Pattern of Railway Development in India' first published in Far Eastern Quarterly (1955), he went even further, and noted: 'India alone of the countries with great railway networks is unindustrialized.' It may be noted that such critical observations of the historical role of the transfer of science and technology from Britain to India were still formulated in economic rather than environmental terms. The emergence of environmental history added a new dimension to the existing criticism of the role of technology and science. Both the economic and environmental arguments have been brought together by Ian J. Kerr, the editor of an important anthology of

articles on the railroads entitled Railways in Modern India (New Delhi, 2001). Kerr has faithfully included the criticisms of the railway network by both the new environmental historians and the more conventional economic historians. At the same time, he has not forgotten to emphasise the positive benefits of railways in particular and technology in general. One aspect of science and technology is the import of Western medicine in India. Here, too, recent research has highlighted not merely the positive effects, but also some of the negative developments. Over all, however, the new research, even when at its most critical (as in the works of David Arnold referred to above), has still not dislodged the impression that technology brought important benefits. Without science, technology and modern medicine, India's vast and growing population would have been more (and not less) vulnerable to famines and epidemics.

Check Your Progress 1

Note: i) Use the space given below for your answer.

ii) See the end of the unit for tips for your answer.

1. What do you know about the Early Historiography?

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2. Discuss about the Recent Historiography.

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3. Discuss Role of Technology in Modern History

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7.5 LET US SUM UP

The progress of research has established the history of science, technology and ecology as viable branches of the discipline of history. This has added new and important dimensions to general history. At the

same time, detailed research has demonstrated the close inter-relationship between the histories of science, technology and environment. All this has altered the shape of history.

The Arthashastra of Kautilya mentions the construction of dams and bridges. The use of suspension bridges using plaited bamboo and iron chain was visible by about the 4th century. The stupa, the precursor of the pagoda and torii, was constructed by the 3rd century BCE. Rock-cut step wells in the region date from 200–400 CE. Subsequently, the construction of wells at Dhank (550–625 CE) and stepped ponds at Bhinmal (850–950 CE) took place.

During the 1st millennium BCE, the Vaisheshika school of atomism was founded. The most important proponent of this school was Kanada, an Indian philosopher who lived around 600 BCE. The school proposed that atoms are indivisible and eternal, can neither be created nor destroyed, and that each one possesses its own distinct viśeṣa (individuality). It was further elaborated on by the Buddhist school of atomism, of which the philosophers Dharmakirti and Dignāga in the 7th century CE were the most important proponents. They considered atoms to be point-sized, durationless, and made of energy.

By the beginning of the Common Era glass was being used for ornaments and casing in the region. Contact with the Greco-Roman world added newer techniques, and local artisans learnt methods of glass molding, decorating and coloring by the early centuries of the Common Era. The Satavahana period further reveals short cylinders of composite glass, including those displaying a lemon yellow matrix covered with green glass. Wootz originated in the region before the beginning of the common era. Wootz was exported and traded throughout Europe, China, the Arab world, and became particularly famous in the Middle East, where it became known as Damascus steel. Archaeological evidence suggests that manufacturing process for Wootz was also in existence in South India before the Christian era.

Evidence for using bow-instruments for carding comes from India (2nd century CE). The mining of diamonds and its early use as gemstones originated in India. Golconda served as an important early center for diamond mining and processing. Diamonds were then exported to other

parts of the world. Early reference to diamonds comes from Sanskrit texts. The Arthashastra also mentions diamond trade in the region. The Iron pillar of Delhi was erected at the times of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya (375–413), which stood without rusting for around 2 millennium. The Rasaratna Samuccaya (800) explains the existence of two types of ores for zinc metal, one of which is ideal for metal extraction while the other is used for medicinal purpose.

Model of a Chola (200–848) ship's hull, built by the ASI, based on a wreck 19 miles off the coast of Poombuhar, displayed in a Museum in Tirunelveli.

The origins of the spinning wheel are unclear but India is one of the probable places of its origin. The device certainly reached Europe from India by the 14th century. The cotton gin was invented in India as a mechanical device known as charkhi, the "wooden-worm-worked roller". This mechanical device was, in some parts of the region, driven by water power. The Ajanta Caves yield evidence of a single roller cotton gin in use by the 5th century. This cotton gin was used until further innovations were made in form of foot powered gins. Chinese documents confirm at least two missions to India, initiated in 647, for obtaining technology for sugar-refining. Each mission returned with different results on refining sugar. Pingala (300–200 BCE) was a musical theorist who authored a Sanskrit treatise on prosody. There is evidence that in his work on the enumeration of syllabic combinations, Pingala stumbled upon both the Pascal triangle and Binomial coefficients, although he did not have knowledge of the Binomial theorem itself. A description of binary numbers is also found in the works of Pingala. The Indians also developed the use of the law of signs in multiplication. Negative numbers and the subtrahend had been used in East Asia since the 2nd century BCE, and Indian mathematicians were aware of negative numbers by the 7th century CE, and their role in mathematical problems of debt was understood. Although the Indians were not the first to use the subtrahend, they were the first to establish the "law of signs" with regards to the multiplication of positive and negative numbers, which did not appear in East Asian texts until 1299. Mostly consistent and correct rules for working with negative numbers were formulated, and the

diffusion of these rules led the Arab intermediaries to pass it on to Europe.

A decimal number system using hieroglyphics dates back to 3000 BC in Egypt, and was later in use in ancient India where the modern numeration system was developed.[80] By the 9th century CE, the Hindu–Arabic numeral system was transmitted from India through the Middle East and to the rest of the world. The concept of 0 as a number, and not merely a symbol for separation is attributed to India. In India, practical calculations were carried out using zero, which was treated like any other number by the 9th century CE, even in case of division. Brahmagupta (598–668) was able to find (integral) solutions of Pell's equation. Conceptual design for a perpetual motion machine by Bhaskara II dates to 1150. He described a wheel that he claimed would run forever. The trigonometric functions of sine and versine, from which it was trivial to derive the cosine, were used by the mathematician, Aryabhata, in the late 5th century.The calculus theorem now known as "Rolle's theorem" was stated by mathematician, Bhāskara II, in the 12th century.

Akbarnama—written by August 12, 1602—depicts the defeat of Baz Bahadur of Malwa by the Mughal troops, 1561. The Mughals extensively improved metal weapons and armor used by the armies of India.

Indigo was used as a dye in India, which was also a major center for its production and processing. The Indigofera tinctoria variety of Indigo was domesticated in India. Indigo, used as a dye, made its way to the Greeks and the Romans via various trade routes, and was valued as a luxury product. The cashmere wool fiber, also known as pashm or pashmina, was used in the handmade shawls of Kashmir. The woolen shawls from Kashmir region find written mention between 3rd century BCE and the 11th century CE. Crystallized sugar was discovered by the time of the Gupta dynasty, and the earliest reference to candied sugar comes from India. Jute was also cultivated in India. Muslin was named after the city where Europeans first encountered it, Mosul, in what is now Iraq, but the fabric actually originated from Dhaka in what is now Bangladesh. In the 9th century, an Arab merchant named Sulaiman makes note of the material's origin in Bengal (known as Ruhml in Arabic).

European scholar Francesco Lorenzo Pullè reproduced a number of Indian maps in his magnum opus La Cartografia Antica dell India. Out of these maps, two have been reproduced using a manuscript of Lokaprakasa, originally compiled by the polymath Ksemendra (Kashmir, 11th century CE), as a source. The other manuscript, used as a source by Francesco I, is titled Samgraha'.

Samarangana Sutradhara, a Sanskrit treatise by Bhoja (11th century), includes a chapter about the construction of mechanical contrivances (automata), including mechanical bees and birds, fountains shaped like humans and animals, and male and female dolls that refilled oil lamps, danced, played instruments, and re-enacted scenes from Hindu mythology

7.6 KEY WORDS

Technology: Technology is the sum of techniques, skills, methods, and processes used in the production of goods or services or in the accomplishment of objectives, such as scientific investigation.

7.7 QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1) Write a note on the role of technology in modern history.
2) What are the views of the nationalists on the nature and role of modern technology?
3) Discuss some of the historical works on science and technology.

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7.9 ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

Check Your Progress 1

1. See Section 7.2
2. See Section 7.3
3. See Section 7.4