Social Science

Contemporary India II

Textbook in Geography for Class X

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NCERT Campus
Sri Aurobindo Marg
New Delhi 110 016 **Phone : 011-26562708**

108, 100 Feet Road
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Bengaluru 560 085 **Phone : 080-26725740**

Navjivan Trust Building
P.O.Navjivan
Ahmedabad 380 014 **Phone : 079-27541446**

CWC Campus
Opp. Dhankal Bus Stop
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Publication Team

Head, Publication Division	:	*M. Siraj Anwar*
Chief Editor	:	*Shveta Uppal*
Chief Business Manager	:	*Gautam Ganguly*
Chief Production Officer (Incharge)	:	*Arun Chitkara*
Assistant Editor	:	*R. N. Bhardwaj*
Production Assistant	:	*Om Prakash*

Cover, Layout and Illustrations
Nidhi Wadhwa

Cartography
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FOREWORD

The National Curriculum Framework (NCF), 2005, recommends that children's life at school must be linked to their life outside the school. This principle marks a departure from the legacy of bookish learning which continues to shape our system and causes a gap between the school, home and community. The syllabi and textbooks developed on the basis of NCF signify an attempt to implement this basic idea. They also attempt to discourage rote learning and the maintenance of sharp boundaries between different subject areas. We hope these measures will take us significantly further in the direction of a child-centred system of education outlined in the National Policy on Education (1986).

The success of this effort depends on the steps that school principals and teachers will take to encourage children to reflect on their own learning and to pursue imaginative activities and questions. We must recognise that, given space, time and freedom, children generate new knowledge by engaging with the information passed on to them by adults. Treating the prescribed textbook as the sole basis of examination is one of the key reasons why other resources and sites of learning are ignored. Inculcating creativity and initiative is possible if we perceive and treat children as participants in learning, not as receivers of a fixed body of knowledge.

These aims imply considerable change in school routines and mode of functioning. Flexibility in the daily time-table is as necessary as rigour in implementing the annual calendar so that the required number of teaching days are actually devoted to teaching. The methods used for teaching and evaluation will also determine how effective this textbook proves for making children's life at school a happy experience, rather than a source of stress or boredom. Syllabus designers have tried to address the problem of curricular burden by restructuring and reorienting knowledge at different stages with greater consideration for child psychology and the time available for teaching. The textbook attempts to enhance this endeavour by giving higher priority and space to opportunities for contemplation and wondering, discussion in small groups, and activities requiring hands-on experience.

The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) appreciates the hard work done by the textbook development committee responsible for this book. We wish to thank the Chairperson of the advisory committee for textbooks in Social Sciences, at the higher secondary level, Professor Hari Vasudevan and the Chief Advisor for this book, Professor M.H. Qureshi for guiding the work of this committee. Several teachers contributed to the development of this textbook; we are grateful to their principals for making this possible. We are indebted to

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Director
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New Delhi
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TEXTBOOK DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE

Chairperson, Advisory Committee for Textbooks in Social Sciences at the Secondary Level

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Chief Advisor

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Advisor

B. S. Butola, *Professor*, Centre for the Study of Regional Development, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi

Members

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Aparna Pandey, *Lecturer*, Department of Education in Social Sciences and Humanities, NCERT, New Delhi

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THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a [1]**[SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC]** and to secure to all its citizens :

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the [2][unity and integrity of the Nation];

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949 do **HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.**

---

1. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec.2, for "Sovereign Democratic Republic" (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)
2. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec.2, for "Unity of the Nation" (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)

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The following are applicable to all the maps of India used in this textbook

1. © Government of India, Copyright 2006
2. The responsibility for the correctness of internal details rests with the publisher.
3. The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

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4. The administrative headquarters of Chandigarh, Haryana and Punjab are at Chandigarh.
5. The interstate boundaries amongst Arunachal Pradesh, Assam and Meghalaya shown on this map are as interpreted from the "North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Act.1971," but have yet to be verified.
6. The external boundaries and coastlines of India agree with the Record/Master Copy certified by Survey of India.
7. The state boundaries between Uttarakhand & Uttar Pradesh, Bihar & Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh & Madhya Pradesh have not been verified by the Governments concerned.
8. The spellings of names in these maps have been taken from various sources.

School Bhuvan–NCERT an Online web portal

Web based online e-learning Geo spatial portal **School Bhuvan–NCERT** (URL: http://bhuvan.nrsc.gov.in/governance/mhrd_ncert/) has been launched by NCERT and ISRO in collaboration to enhance geo spatial skills among students. This online e-learning portal includes thematic maps given in Geography textbooks. This portal enables students to use Geo-spatial technology for better understanding of concepts in Geography. Online activities available on the portal as Level 1, Level 2 and Level 3 encourage learners from Classes VI to XII to develop neighbourhood maps and their attributes on satellite imageries available on **School Bhuvan–NCERT**.

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Constitution of India

Part IV A (Article 51 A)

Fundamental Duties

It shall be the duty of every citizen of India —

(a) to abide by the Constitution and respect its ideals and institutions, the National Flag and the National Anthem;

(b) to cherish and follow the noble ideals which inspired our national struggle for freedom;

(c) to uphold and protect the sovereignty, unity and integrity of India;

(d) to defend the country and render national service when called upon to do so;

(e) to promote harmony and the spirit of common brotherhood amongst all the people of India transcending religious, linguistic and regional or sectional diversities; to renounce practices derogatory to the dignity of women;

(f) to value and preserve the rich heritage of our composite culture;

(g) to protect and improve the natural environment including forests, lakes, rivers, wildlife and to have compassion for living creatures;

(h) to develop the scientific temper, humanism and the spirit of inquiry and reform;

(i) to safeguard public property and to abjure violence;

(j) to strive towards excellence in all spheres of individual and collective activity so that the nation constantly rises to higher levels of endeavour and achievement;

*(k) who is a parent or guardian, to provide opportunities for education to his child or, as the case may be, ward between the age of six and fourteen years.

Note: The Article 51A containing Fundamental Duties was inserted by the Constitution (42nd Amendment) Act, 1976 (with effect from 3 January 1977).

*(k) was inserted by the Constitution (86th Amendment) Act, 2002 (with effect from 1 April 2010).

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RESOURCES AND DEVELOPMENT

Can you identify and name the various items used in making life comfortable in our villages and towns. List the items and name the material used in their making.

Everything available in our environment which can be used to satisfy our needs, provided, it is technologically accessible, economically feasible and culturally acceptable can be termed as 'Resource'.

Fig. 1.1: Interdependent relationship between nature, technology and institutions

The process of transformation of things available in our environment involves an interactive relationship between nature, technology and institutions. Human beings interact with nature through technology and create institutions to accelerate their economic development.

Do you think that resources are free gifts of nature as is assumed by many? They are not. Resources are a function of human activities. Human beings themselves are essential components of resources. They transform material available in our environment into resources and use them. These resources can be classified in the following ways–

(a) On the basis of origin – biotic and abiotic

(b) On the basis of exhaustibility – renewable and non-renewable

(c) On the basis of ownership – individual, community, national and international

(d) On the basis of status of development – potential, developed stock and reserves.

Fig. 1.2: Classification of resources

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Activity

Identify at least two resources from each category.

Types of Resources

On the Basis of Origin

Biotic Resources: These are obtained from biosphere and have life such as human beings, flora and fauna, fisheries, livestock etc.

Abiotic Resources: All those things which are composed of non-living things are called abiotic resources. For example, rocks and metals.

On the Basis of Exhaustibility

Renewable Resources: The resources which can be renewed or reproduced by physical, chemical or mechanical processes are known as renewable or replenishable resources. For example, solar and wind energy, water, forests and wildlife, etc. The renewable resource may further be divided into continuous or flow (Fig.1.2).

Non-Renewable Resources: These occur over a very long geological time. Minerals and fossil fuels are examples of such resources. These resources take millions of years in their formation. Some of the resources like metals are recyclable and some like fossil fuels cannot be recycled and get exhausted with their use.

On the Basis of Ownership

Individual Resources: These are also owned privately by individuals. Many farmers own land which is allotted to them by government against the payment of revenue. In villages there are people with land ownership but there are many who are landless. Urban people own plots, houses and other property. Plantation, pasture lands, ponds, water in wells etc. are some of the examples of resources ownership by individuals. Make a list of resources owned by your household.

Community Owned Resources: There are resources which are accessible to all the members of the community. Village commons (grazing grounds, burial grounds, village ponds, etc.) public parks, picnic spots, playgrounds in urban areas are de facto accessible to all the people living there.

National Resources: Technically, all the resources belong to the nation. The country has legal powers to acquire even private property for public good. You might have seen roads, canals, railways being constructed on fields owned by some individuals. Urban Development Authorities get empowered by the government to acquire land. All the minerals, water resources, forests, wildlife, land within the political boundaries and oceanic area upto 12 nautical miles (22.2 km) from the coast termed as territorial water and resources therein belong to the nation.

International Resources: There are international institutions which regulate some resources. The oceanic resources beyond 200 nautical miles of the *Exclusive Economic Zone* belong to open ocean and no individual country can utilise these without the concurrence of international institutions.

Do you know?

Do you know that India has got the right to mine manganese nodules from the bed of the Indian Ocean from that area which lies beyond the exclusive economic zone. Identify some other resources which are international in nature.

On the Basis of the Status of Development

Potential Resources: Resources which are found in a region, but have not been utilised. For example, the western parts of India particularly Rajasthan and Gujarat have enormous potential for the development of wind and solar energy, but so far these have not been developed properly.

Developed Resources: Resources which are surveyed and their quality and quantity have been determined for utilisation. The development of resources depends on technology and level of their feasibility.

Stock: Materials in the environment which have the potential to satisfy human needs but human beings do not have the appropriate technology to access these, are included among

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stock. For example, water is a compound of two gases; hydrogen and oxygen. Hydrogen can be used as a rich source of energy. But we do not have advanced technical 'know-how' to use it for this purpose. Hence, it can be considered as stock.

Reserves are the subset of the stock, which can be put into use with the help of existing technical 'know-how' but their use has not been started. These can be used for meeting future requirements. River water can be used for generating hydroelectric power but presently, it is being utilised only to a limited extent. Thus, the water in the dams, forests etc. is a reserve which can be used in the future.

Activity

Prepare a list of stock and reserve, resources that you are familiar with from your local area.

Development of Resources

Resources are vital for human survival as well as for maintaining the quality of life. It was believed that resources are free gifts of nature. As a result, human beings used them indiscriminately and this has led to the following major problems.

- Depletion of resources for satisfying the greed of a few individuals.
- Accumulation of resources in few hands, which, in turn, divided the society into two segments i.e. haves and have nots or rich and poor.
- Indiscriminate exploitation of resources has led to global ecological crises such as, global warming, ozone layer depletion, environmental pollution and land degradation.

Activity

1. Imagine, if the oil supply gets exhausted one day, how would this affect our life style?
2. Plan a survey in your colony/village to investigate people's attitude towards recycling of the domestic/agricultural wastes. Ask questions about :
   (a) What do they think about resources they use?
   (b) What is their opinion about the wastes, and its utilisation?
   (c) Collage your results.

An equitable distribution of resources has become essential for a sustained quality of life and global peace. If the present trend of resource depletion by a few individuals and countries continues, the future of our planet is in danger.

Therefore, resource planning is essential for sustainable existence of all forms of life. Sustainable existence is a component of sustainable development.

Sustainable development

Sustainable economic development means 'development should take place without damaging the environment, and development in the present should not compromise with the needs of the future generations.'

Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit, 1992

In June 1992, more than 100 heads of states met in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, for the first International Earth Summit. The Summit was convened for addressing urgent problems of environmental protection and socio-economic development at the global level. The assembled leaders signed the Declaration on Global Climatic Change and Biological Diversity. The Rio Convention endorsed the global Forest Principles and adopted *Agenda 21* for achieving Sustainable Development in the 21st century.

Agenda 21

It is the declaration signed by world leaders in 1992 at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), which took place at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. It aims at achieving global sustainable development. It is an agenda to combat environmental damage, poverty, disease through global co-operation on common interests, mutual needs and shared responsibilities. One major objective of the Agenda 21 is that every local government should draw its own local Agenda 21.

Resource Planning

Planning is the widely accepted strategy for judicious use of resources. It has importance

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in a country like India, which has enormous diversity in the availability of resources. There are regions which are rich in certain types of resources but are deficient in some other resources. There are some regions which can be considered self sufficient in terms of the availability of resources and there are some regions which have acute shortage of some vital resources. For example, the states of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Madhya Pradesh are rich in minerals and coal deposits. Arunachal Pradesh has abundance of water resources but lacks in infrastructural development. The state of Rajasthan is very well endowed with solar and wind energy but lacks in water resources. The cold desert of Ladakh is relatively isolated from the rest of the country. It has very rich cultural heritage but it is deficient in water, infrastructure and some vital minerals. This calls for balanced resource planning at the national, state, regional and local levels.

Activity

Prepare a list of resources found in your state and also identify the resources that are important but deficit in your state.

Resource Planning in India

Resource planning is a complex process which involves : (i) identification and inventory of resources across the regions of the country. This involves surveying, mapping and qualitative and quantitative estimation and measurement of the resources. (ii) Evolving a planning structure endowed with appropriate technology, skill and institutional set up for implementing resource development plans. (iii) Matching the resource development plans with overall national development plans.

India has made concerted efforts for achieving the goals of resource planning right from the First Five Year Plan launched after Independence.

Find out

What resources are being developed in your surroundings by the community/village panchayats/ward level communities with the help of community participation?

The availability of resources is a necessary condition for the development of any region, but mere availability of resources in the absence of corresponding changes in technology and institutions may hinder development. There are many regions in our country that are rich in resources but these are included in economically backward regions. On the contrary there are some regions which have a poor resource base but they are economically developed.

Can you name some resource rich but economically backward regions and some resource poor but economically developed regions? Give reasons for such a situation.

The history of colonisation reveals that rich resources in colonies were the main attractions for the foreign invaders. It was primarily the higher level of technological development of the colonising countries that helped them to exploit resources of other regions and establish their supremacy over the colonies. Therefore, resources can contribute to development only when they are accompanied by appropriate technological development and institutional changes. India has experienced all this in different phases of colonisation. Therefore, in India, development, in general, and resource development in particular does not only involve the availability of resources, but also the technology, quality of human resources and the historical experiences of the people.

Conservation of Resources: Resources are vital for any developmental activity. But irrational consumption and over-utilisation of resources may lead to socio-economic and environmental problems. To overcome these problems, resource conservation at various levels is important. This had been the main concern of the leaders and thinkers in the past. For example, Gandhiji was very apt in voicing his concern about resource conservation in these words: "There is enough for everybody's need and not for any body's greed." He placed the greedy and selfish individuals and exploitative nature of modern technology as the root cause for resource depletion at the global level. He was against mass production and wanted to replace it with the production by the masses.

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At the international level, the Club of Rome advocated resource conservation for the first time in a more systematic way in 1968. Subsequently, in 1974, Gandhian philosophy was once again presented by Schumacher in his book **Small is Beautiful**. The seminal contribution with respect to resource conservation at the global level was made by the Brundtland Commission Report, 1987. This report introduced the concept of 'Sustainable Development' and advocated it as a means for resource conservation, which was subsequently published in a book entitled **Our Common Future**. Another significant contribution was made at the Earth Summit at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil in 1992.

Land Resources

We live on land, we perform our economic activities on land and we use it in different ways. Thus, land is a natural resource of utmost importance. It supports natural vegetation, wild life, human life, economic activities, transport and communication systems. However, land is an asset of a finite magnitude, therefore, it is important to use the available land for various purposes with careful planning.

India has land under a variety of relief features, namely; mountains, plateaus, plains and islands. About 43 per cent of the land area is plain, which provides facilities for agriculture and industry. Mountains account for 30 per cent of the total surface area of the country and ensure perennial flow of some rivers, provide facilities for tourism and ecological aspects. About 27 per cent of the area of the country is the plateau region. It possesses rich reserves of minerals, fossil fuels and forests.

Fig 1.3: India : *Land under important Relief Features*

Land Utilisation

Land resources are used for the following purposes:

1. Forests
2. Land not available for cultivation
   (a) Barren and waste land
   (b) Land put to non-agricultural uses, e.g. buildings, roads, factories, etc.
3. Other uncultivated land (excluding fallow land)
   (a) Permanent pastures and grazing land,
   (b) Land under miscellaneous tree crops groves (not included in net sown area),
   (c) Cultruable waste land (left uncultivated for more than 5 agricultural years).
4. Fallow lands
   (a) Current fallow-(left without cultivation for one or less than one agricultural year),
   (b) Other than current fallow-(left uncultivated for the past 1 to 5 agricultural years).
5. Net sown area
   Area sown more than once in an agricultural year plus net sown area is known as *gross cropped area*.

Land Use Pattern in India

The use of land is determined both by physical factors such as topography, climate, soil types as well as human factors such as population density, technological capability and culture and traditions etc.

Total geographical area of India is 3.28 million sq km. Land use data, however, is available only for 93 per cent of the total geographical area because the land use reporting for most of the north-east states except Assam has not been done fully. Moreover, some areas of Jammu and Kashmir occupied by Pakistan and China have also not been surveyed.

Activity

Try to do a comparison between the two pie charts (Fig. 1.4) given for land use and find out why the net sown area and the land under forests have changed from 1960-61 to 2008-09 very marginally.

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Source : Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture, 2008-09

Fig. 1.4

The land under permanent pasture has also decreased. How are we able to feed our huge cattle population on this pasture land and what are the consequences of it? Most of the other than the current fallow lands are either of poor quality or the cost of cultivation of such land is very high. Hence, these lands are cultivated once or twice in about two to three years and if these are included in the net sown area then the percentage of NSA in India comes to about 54 per cent of the total reporting area.

The pattern of net sown area varies greatly from one state to another. It is over 80 per cent of the total area in Punjab and Haryana and less than 10 per cent in Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram, Manipur and Andaman Nicobar Islands.

Find out reasons for the low proportion of net sown area in these states.

Forest area in the country is far lower than the desired 33 per cent of geographical area, as it was outlined in the National Forest Policy (1952). It was considered essential for maintenance of the ecological balance. The livelihood of millions of people who live on the fringes of these forests depends upon it. A part of the land is termed as waste land and land put to other non-agricultural uses. Waste land includes rocky, arid and desert areas and land put to other non-agricultural uses includes settlements, roads, railways, industry etc. Continuous use of land over a long period of time without taking appropriate measures to conserve and manage it, has resulted in land degradation. This, in turn, has serious repercussions on society and the environment.

Land Degradation and Conservation Measures

We have shared our land with the past generations and will have to do so with the future generations too. Ninety-five per cent of our basic needs for food, shelter and clothing

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are obtained from land. Human activities have not only brought about degradation of land but have also aggravated the pace of natural forces to cause damage to land.

At present, there are about 130 million hectares of degraded land in India. Approximately, 28 per cent of it belongs to the category of forest degraded area, 56 per cent of it is water eroded area and the rest is affected by saline and alkaline deposits. Some human activities such as deforestation, over grazing, mining and quarrying too have contributed significantly in land degradation.

Fig. 1.5

Mining sites are abandoned after excavation work is complete leaving deep scars and traces of over-burdening. In states like Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh and Odisha deforestation due to mining have caused severe land degradation. In states like Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra overgrazing is one of the main reasons for land degradation. In the states of Punjab, Haryana, western Uttar Pradesh, over irrigation is responsible for land degradation due to water logging leading to increase in salinity and alkalinity in the soil. The mineral processing like grinding of limestone for cement industry and calcite and soapstone for ceramic industry generate huge quantity of dust in the atmosphere. It retards the process of infiltration of water into the soil after it settles down on the land. In recent years, industrial effluents as waste have become a major source of land and water pollution in many parts of the country.

There are many ways to solve the problems of land degradation. Afforestation and proper management of grazing can help to some extent. Planting of shelter belts of plants, control on over grazing, stabilisation of sand dunes by growing thorny bushes are some of the methods to check land degradation in arid areas. Proper management of waste lands, control of mining activities, proper discharge and disposal of industrial effluents and wastes after treatment can reduce land and water degradation in industrial and suburban areas.

Soil as a Resource

Soil is the most important renewable natural resource. It is the medium of plant growth and supports different types of living organisms on

Fig. 1.6: Soil Profile

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the earth. The soil is a living system. It takes millions of years to form soil upto a few cm in depth. Relief, parent rock or bed rock, climate, vegetation and other forms of life and time are important factors in the formation of soil. Various forces of nature such as change in temperature, actions of running water, wind and glaciers, activities of decomposers etc. contribute to the formation of soil. Chemical and organic changes which take place in the soil are equally important. Soil also consists of organic (humus) and inorganic materials (Fig. 1.6).

On the basis of the factors responsible for soil formation, colour, thickness, texture, age, chemical and physical properties, the soils of India are classified in different types.

Classification of Soils

India has varied relief features, landforms, climatic realms and vegetation types. These have contributed in the development of various types of soils.

Alluvial Soils

This is the most widely spread and important soil. In fact, the entire northern plains are made of alluvial soil. These have been deposited by three important Himalayan river systems– the Indus, the Ganga and the Brahmaputra. These soils also extend in Rajasthan and Gujarat through a narrow corridor. Alluvial soil is also found in the eastern coastal plains particularly in the deltas of the Mahanadi, the Godavari, the Krishna and the Kaveri rivers.

Fig. 1.7: *Alluvial Soil*

The alluvial soil consists of various proportions of sand, silt and clay. As we move inlands towards the river valleys, soil particles appear some what bigger in size. In the upper reaches of the river valley i.e. near the place of the break of slope, the soils are coarse. Such soils are more common in piedmont plains such as **Duars, Chos** and **Terai**.

Apart from the size of their grains or components, soils are also described on the basis of their age. According to their age alluvial soils can be classified as old alluvial (**Bangar**) and new alluvial (**Khadar**). The **bangar** soil has higher concentration of *kanker* nodules than the **Khadar.** It has more fine particles and is more fertile than the **bangar**.

Alluvial soils as a whole are very fertile. Mostly these soils contain adequate proportion of potash, phosphoric acid and lime which are ideal for the growth of sugarcane, paddy, wheat and other cereal and pulse crops. Due to its high fertility, regions of alluvial soils are intensively cultivated and densely populated. Soils in the drier areas are more alkaline and can be productive after proper treatment and irrigation.

Black Soil

These soils are black in colour and are also known as *regur* soils. Black soil is ideal for growing cotton and is also known as *black cotton soil.* It is believed that climatic condition along with the parent rock material are the important factors for the formation of black soil. This type of soil is typical of the Deccan trap (*Basalt*) region spread over northwest Deccan plateau and is made up of lava flows. They cover the plateaus of Maharashtra, Saurashtra,

Fig. 1.8: *Black Soil*

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India: *Major Soil Types*

Malwa, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh and extend in the south east direction along the Godavari and the Krishna valleys.

The black soils are made up of extremely fine i.e. clayey material. They are well-known for their capacity to hold moisture. In addition, they are rich in soil nutrients, such as calcium carbonate, magnesium, potash and lime. These soils are generally poor in phosphoric contents. They develop deep cracks during hot weather, which helps in the proper aeration of the soil. These soils are sticky when wet and difficult to work on unless tilled immediately after the first shower or during the pre-monsoon period.

Red and Yellow Soils

Red soil develops on crystalline igneous rocks in areas of low rainfall in the eastern and southern parts of the Deccan plateau. Yelllow and red soils are also found in parts of Odisha, Chhattisgarh, southern parts of the middle Ganga plain and along the piedmont zone of the Western Ghats. These soils develop a reddish colour due to diffusion of iron in crystalline and metamorphic rocks. It looks yellow when it occurs in a hydrated form.

Laterite Soil

Laterite has been derived from the Latin word 'later' which means brick. The laterite soil develops under tropical and subtropical climate with alternate wet and dry season. This soil is the result of intense leaching due to heavy rain. Lateritic soils are mostly deep to very deep, acidic (pH<6.0), generally deficient in plant nutrients and occur mostly in southern states, Western Ghats region of Maharashtra, Odisha, some parts of West Bengal and North-east regions. Where these soils support deciduous and evergreen forests, it is humus rich, but under sparse vegetation and in semi-arid environment, it is generally humus poor. They are prone to erosion and degradation due to their position on the landscape. After adopting appropriate soil conservation techniques particularly in the hilly areas of Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu, this soil is very useful for growing tea and coffee. Red laterite soils in Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala are more suitable for crops like cashew nut.

Fig. 1.9: *Laterite Soil*

Arid Soils

Arid soils range from red to brown in colour. They are generally sandy in texture and saline in nature. In some areas the salt content is very high and common salt is obtained by evaporating the water. Due to the dry climate, high temperature, evaporation is faster and the soil lacks humus and moisture. The lower horizons of the soil are occupied by *Kankar* because of the increasing calcium content downwards. The *Kankar* layer formations in the bottom horizons restrict the infiltration of water. After proper irrigation these soils become cultivable as has been in the case of western Rajasthan.

Fig. 1.10: *Arid Soil*

Forest Soils

These soils are found in the hilly and mountainous areas where sufficient rain forests are available. The soils texture varies

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according to the mountain environment where they are formed. They are loamy and silty in valley sides and coarse grained in the upper slopes. In the snow covered areas of Himalayas, these soils experience denudation and are acidic with low humus content. The soils found in the lower parts of the valleys particularly on the river terraces and alluvial fans are fertile.

Soil Erosion and Soil Conservation

The denudation of the soil cover and subsequent washing down is described as soil erosion. The processes of soil formation and erosion, go on simultaneously and generally there is a balance between the two. Sometimes, this balance is disturbed due to human activities like deforestation, over-grazing, construction and mining etc., while natural forces like wind, glacier and water lead to soil erosion. The running water cuts through the clayey soils and makes deep channels as **gullies**. The land becomes unfit for cultivation and is known as **bad land**. In the Chambal basin such lands are called ravines. Sometimes

Fig. 1.11: Soil Erosion

Fig. 1.12: Gully Erosion

water flows as a sheet over large areas down a slope. In such cases the top soil is washed away. This is known as **sheet erosion**. Wind blows loose soil off flat or sloping land known as wind erosion. Soil erosion is also caused due to defective methods of farming. Ploughing in a wrong way i.e. up and down the slope form channels for the quick flow of water leading to soil erosion.

Ploughing along the contour lines can decelerate the flow of water down the slopes. This is called contour ploughing. Steps can be cut out on the slopes making terraces. Terrace cultivation restricts erosion. Western and central Himalayas have well developed terrace farming. Large fields can be divided into strips. Strips of grass are left to grow between the crops. This breaks up the force of the wind. This method is known as strip cropping. Planting lines of trees to create shelter also works in a similar way. Rows of such trees are called shelter belts. These shelter belts have contributed significantly to the stabilisation of sand dunes and in stabilising the desert in western India.

State of India's Environment

- The village of Sukhomajri and the district of Jhabua have shown that it is possible to reverse land degradation. Tree density in Sukhomajri increased from 13 per hectare in 1976 to 1,272 per hectare in 1992;
- Regeneration of the environment leads to economic well-being, as a result of greater resource availability, improved agriculture and animal care, and

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consequently, increased incomes. Average annual household income in Sukhomajri ranged from Rs 10,000-15,000 between 1979 and 1984;

- People's management is essential for ecological restoration. With people being made the decision-makers by the Madhya Pradesh government, 2.9 million hectares or about 1 per cent of India's land area, are being greened across the state through watershed management.

Source: *The Citizens' Fifth Report, 1999 Centre of Science and Environment (CSE), New Delhi*

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EXERCISES EXERCISES EXERCISES EXERCISES EXERCISES

1. Multiple choice questions.

(i) Which one of the following type of resource is iron ore?
- (a) Renewable
- (b) Biotic
- (c) Flow
- (d) Non-renewable

(ii) Under which of the following type of resource tidal energy cannot be put?
- (a) Replenishable
- (b) Human-made
- (c) Abiotic
- (d) Non-recyclable

(iii) Which one of the following is the main cause of land degradation in Punjab?
- (a) Intensive cultivation
- (b) Deforestation
- (c) Over irrigation
- (d) Overgrazing

(iv) In which one of the following states is terrace cultivation practised?
- (a) Punjab
- (b) Plains of Uttar Pradesh
- (c) Haryana
- (d) Uttarakhand

(v) In which of the following states black soil is predominantly found?
- (a) Jammu and Kashmir
- (b) Maharashtra
- (c) Rajasthan
- (d) Jharkhand

2. Answer the following questions in about 30 words.
   (i) Name three states having black soil and the crop which is mainly grown in it.
   (ii) What type of soil is found in the river deltas of the eastern coast? Give three main features of this type of soil.
   (iii) What steps can be taken to control soil erosion in the hilly areas?
   (iv) What are the biotic and abiotic resources? Give some examples.

3. Answer the following questions in about 120 words.
   (i) Explain land use pattern in India and why has the land under forest not increased much since 1960-61?
   (ii) How have technical and economic development led to more consumption of resources?

Project/Activity

1. Make a project showing consumption and conservation of resources in your locality.
2. Have a discussion in the class– how to conserve various resources used in your school.
3. Imagine if oil supplies get exhausted, how will this affect our life style?
4. Solve the puzzle by following your search horizontally and vertically to find the hidden answers.

S	F	G	S	F	O	B	R	O	M	S	U	A	P	J
Q	G	A	F	F	O	R	E	S	T	A	T	I	O	N
P	N	R	E	C	P	R	S	L	D	M	I	L	N	F
S	N	A	T	Q	X	U	O	V	A	I	O	L	A	L
O	D	E	I	D	R	J	U	J	L	D	B	N	B	D
T	G	H	M	I	N	E	R	A	L	S	A	X	M	W
B	V	J	K	M	E	D	C	R	U	P	F	M	H	R
L	A	T	E	R	I	T	E	M	V	A	Z	T	V	L
A	B	Z	O	E	N	M	F	T	I	S	D	L	R	C
C	G	N	N	S	Z	I	O	P	A	X	T	Y	J	H
K	J	G	K	D	T	D	C	S	L	S	E	G	E	W

   (i) Natural endowments in the form of land, water, vegetation and minerals.
   (ii) A type of non-renewable resource.
   (iii) Soil with high water retaining capacity.
   (iv) Intensively leached soils of the monsoon climate.
   (v) Plantation of trees on a large scale to check soil erosion.
   (vi) The Great Plains of India are made up of these soils.

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FOREST AND WILDLIFE RESOURCES 2

Narak! My Lord, you are the creator of music in the world of Lepchas

Oh Narak! My Lord, let me dedicate myself to you

Let me gather your music from the springs, the rivers, the mountains, the forests, the insects and the animals

Let me gather your music from the sweet breeze and offer it to you

Source: *Lepcha folk song from northern part of West Bengal*

We share this planet with millions of other living beings, starting from micro-organisms and bacteria, lichens to banyan trees, elephants and blue whales. This entire habitat that we live in has immense biodiversity. We humans along with all living organisms form a complex web of ecological system in which we are only a part and very much dependent on this system for our own existence. For example, the plants, animals and micro-organisms re-create the quality of the air we breathe, the water we drink and the soil that produces our food without which we cannot survive. Forests play a key role in the ecological system as these are also the primary producers on which all other living beings depend.

Biodiversity or Biological Diversity is immensely rich in wildlife and cultivated species, diverse in form and function but closely integrated in a system through multiple network of interdependencies.

Flora and Fauna in India

If you look around, you will be able to find that there are some animals and plants which are unique in your area. In fact, India is one of the world's richest countries in terms of its vast array of biological diversity, and has nearly 8 per cent of the total number of species in the world (estimated to be 1.6 million). This is possibly twice or thrice the number yet to be discovered. You have already studied in detail about the extent and variety of forest and wildlife resources in India. You may have realised the importance of these resources in our daily life. These diverse flora and fauna are so well integrated in our daily life that we take these for granted. But, lately, they are under great stress mainy due to insensitivity to our environment.

Do you know?

Over 81,000 species of fauna and 47,000 species of flora are found in this country so far? Of the estimated 47,000 plant species, about 15,000 flowering species are endemic (indigenous) to India.

Activity

Find out stories prevalent in your region which are about the harmonious relationship between human beings and nature.

Some estimates suggest that at least 10 per cent of India's recorded wild flora and 20 per cent of its mammals are on the threatened list. Many of these would now be categorised as 'critical', that is on the verge of extinction like the cheetah, pink-headed duck, mountain quail, forest spotted owlet, and plants like *madhuca insignis* (a wild

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variety of mahua) and *hubbardia heptaneuron*,(a species of grass). In fact, no one can say how many species may have already been lost. Today, we only talk of the larger and more visible animals and plants that have become extinct but what about smaller animals like insects and plants?

Do you know?

Do you know that among the larger animals in India, 79 species of mammals, 44 of birds, 15 of reptiles, and 3 of amphibians are threatened? Nearly 1,500 plant species are considered endangered. Flowering plants and vertebrate animals have recently become extinct at a rate estimated to be 50 to 100 times the average expected natural rate.

Vanishing Forests

The dimensions of deforestation in India are staggering. The forest and tree cover in the country is estimated at 79.42 million hectare, which is 24.16 per cent of the total geographical area (dense forest 12.2 per cent; open forest 9.14 per cent; and mangrove 0.14 per cent). According to the State of Forest Report (2015), the dense forest cover has increased by 3,775 sq km since 2013. However, this apparent increase in the forest cover is due to conservation measures, management interventions and plantation, etc., by different agencies.

Fig. 2.1

Let us now understand the different categories of existing plants and animal species. Based on the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), we can classify as follows –

Normal Species: Species whose population levels are considered to be normal for their survival, such as cattle, sal, pine, rodents, etc.

Endangered Species: These are species which are in danger of extinction. The survival of such species is difficult if the negative factors that have led to a decline in their population continue to operate. The examples of such species are black buck, crocodile, Indian wild ass, Indian rhino, lion tailed macaque, sangai (brow anter deer in Manipur), etc.

Vulnerable Species: These are species whose population has declined to levels from where it is likely to move into the endangered category in the near future if the negative factors continue to operate. The examples of such species are blue sheep, Asiatic elephant, Gangetic dolphin, etc.

Rare Species: Species with small population may move into the endangered or vulnerable category if the negative factors affecting them continue to operate. The examples of such species are the Himalayan brown bear, wild Asiatic buffalo, desert fox and hornbill, etc.

Endemic Species: These are species which are only found in some particular areas usually isolated by natural or geographical barriers. Examples of such species are the Andaman teal, Nicobar pigeon, Andaman wild pig, mithun in Arunachal Pradesh.

Extinct Species: These are species which are not found after searches of known or likely areas where they may occur. A species may be extinct from a local area, region, country, continent or the entire earth. Examples of such species are the Asiatic cheetah, pink head duck.

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Fig. 2.2: *A few extinct, rare and endangered species*

Asiatic Cheetah: where did they go?

The world's fastest land mammal, the cheetah (Acinonyx jubantus), is a unique and specialised member of the cat family and can move at the speed of 112 km./hr. The cheetah is often mistaken for a leopard. Its distinguishing marks are the long teardrop-shaped lines on each side of the nose from the corner of its eyes to its mouth. Prior to the 20th century, cheetahs were widely distributed throughout Africa and Asia. Today, the Asian cheetah is nearly extinct due to a decline of available habitat and prey. The species was declared extinct in India long back in 1952.

What are the negative factors that cause such fearful depletion of the flora and fauna?

If you look around, you will be able to find out how we have transformed nature into a resource obtaining directly and indirectly from the forests and wildlife – wood, barks, leaves, rubber, medicines, dyes, food, fuel, fodder, manure, etc. So it is we ourselves who have depleted our forests and wildlife. The greatest damage inflicted on Indian forests was during the colonial period due to the expansion of the railways, agriculture, commercial and scientific forestry and mining activities. Even after Independence, agricultural expansion continues to be one of the major causes of depletion of forest resources. Between 1951 and 1980, according to the Forest Survey of India, over 26,200 sq. km. of forest area was converted into agricultural land all over India. Substantial parts of the tribal belts, especially in the north-eastern and central India, have been deforested or degraded by shifting cultivation (jhum), a type of 'slash and burn' agriculture.

Are colonial forest policies to be blamed?

Some of our environmental activists say that the promotion of a few favoured species, in many parts of India, has been carried through the ironically-termed "enrichment plantation", in which a single commercially valuable species was extensively planted and other species eliminated. For instance,

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teak monoculture has damaged the natural forest in South India and Chir Pine (*Pinus roxburghii)* plantations in the Himalayas have replaced the Himalayan oak (*Quercius* spp.) and *Rhododendron* forests.

Large-scale development projects have also contributed significantly to the loss of forests. Since 1951, over 5,000 sq km of forest was cleared for river valley projects. Clearing of forests is still continuing with projects like the Narmada Sagar Project in Madhya Pradesh, which would inundate 40,000 hectares of forest. Mining is another important factor behind deforestation. The Buxa Tiger Reserve in West Bengal is seriously threatened by the ongoing dolomite mining. It has disturbed the natural habitat of many species and blocked the migration route of several others, including the great Indian elephant.

Many foresters and environmentalists hold the view that the greatest degrading factors behind the depletion of forest resources are grazing and fuel-wood collection. Though, there may be some substance in their argument, yet, the fact remains that a substantial part of the fuel-fodder demand is met by lopping rather than by felling entire trees. The forest ecosystems are repositories of some of the country's most valuable forest products, minerals and other resources that meet the demands of the rapidly expanding industrial-urban economy. These protected areas, thus mean different things to different people, and therein lies the fertile ground for conflicts.

The Himalayan Yew in trouble

The Himalayan Yew (*Taxus wallachiana*) is a medicinal plant found in various parts of Himachal Pradesh and Arunachal Pradesh. A chemical compound called 'taxol' is extracted from the bark, needles, twigs and roots of this tree, and it has been successfully used to treat some cancers – the drug is now the biggest selling anti-cancer drug in the world. The species is under great threat due to over-exploitation. In the last one decade, thousands of yew trees have dried up in various parts of Himachal Pradesh and Arunachal Pradesh.

Tribal girls using bamboo saplings in a nursery at Mukhali near Silent Valley

Tribal women selling minor forest produce

Leaf litter collection by women folk

Fig. 2.3

Habitat destruction, hunting, poaching, over-exploitation, environmental pollution, poisoning and forest fires are factors, which have led to the decline in India's biodiversity. Other important causes of environmental destruction are unequal access, inequitable consumption of resources and differential sharing of responsibility for environmental well-being. Over-population in third world countries is often cited as the cause of environmental degradation. However, an average American consumes 40 times more resources than an average Somalian. Similarly, the richest five per cent of Indian society probably cause more ecological damage because of the amount they consume than the poorest 25 per cent. The former shares minimum responsibilities for environmental well-being. The question is: who is consuming what, from where and how much?

Do you know?

Do you know that over half of India's natural forests are gone, one-third of its wetlands drained out, 70 per cent of its surface water bodies polluted, 40 per cent of its mangroves wiped out, and with continued hunting and trade of wild animals and commercially valuable plants, thousands of plant and animal species are heading towards extinction?

Activity

Have you noticed any activity which leads to the loss of biodiversity around you? Write a note on it and suggest some measures to prevent it.

The destruction of forests and wildlife is not just a biological issue. The biological loss is strongly correlated with the loss of cultural diversity. Such losses have increasingly marginalised and impoverished many indigenous and other forest-dependent communities, who directly depend on various components of the forest and wildlife for food, drink, medicine, culture, spirituality, etc. Within the poor, women are affected more than men. In many societies, women bear the major responsibility of collection of fuel, fodder, water and other basic subsistence needs. As these resources are depleted, the drudgery of women increases and sometimes they have to walk for more than 10 km to collect these resources. This causes serious health problems for women and negligence of home and children because of the increased hours of work, which often has serious social implications. The indirect impact of degradation such as severe drought or deforestation-induced floods, etc. also hits the poor the hardest. Poverty in these cases is a direct outcome of environmental destruction. Therefore, forest and wildlife, are vital to the quality of life and environment in the subcontinent. It is imperative to adapt to sound forest and wildlife conservation strategies.

Conservation of Forest and Wildlife in India

Conservation in the background of rapid decline in wildlife population and forestry has become essential. But why do we need to conserve our forests and wildlife? Conservation preserves the ecological diversity and our life support systems – water, air and soil. It also preserves the genetic diversity of plants and animals for better growth of species and breeding. For example, in agriculture, we are still dependent on traditional crop varieties. Fisheries too are heavily dependent on the maintenance of aquatic biodiversity.

In the 1960s and 1970s, conservationists demanded a national wildlife protection programme. The Indian Wildlife (Protection) Act was implemented in 1972, with various provisions for protecting habitats. An all-India list of protected species was also published. The thrust of the programme was towards protecting the remaining population of certain endangered species by banning hunting, giving legal protection to their habitats, and restricting trade in wildlife. Subsequently, central and many state governments established national parks and wildlife sanctuaries about which you have already studied. The central government also announced several projects for protecting specific animals, which were gravely threatened, including the tiger, the one-

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Fig. 2.4: *Rhino and deer in Kaziranga National Park*

horned rhinoceros, the Kashmir stag or *hangul*, three types of crocodiles – fresh water crocodile, saltwater crocodile and the *Gharial*, the Asiatic lion, and others. Most recently, the Indian elephant, black buck (chinkara), the great Indian bustard (*godawan*) and the snow leopard, etc. have been given full or partial legal protection against hunting and trade throughout India.

Project Tiger

Tiger is one of the key wildlife species in the faunal web. In 1973, the authorities realised that the tiger population had dwindled to 1,827 from an estimated 55,000 at the turn of the century. The major threats to tiger population are numerous, such as poaching for trade, shrinking habitat, depletion of prey base species, growing human population, etc. The trade of tiger skins and the use of their bones in traditional medicines, especially in the Asian countries left the tiger population on the verge of extinction. Since India and Nepal provide habitat to about two-thirds of the surviving tiger population in the world, these two nations became prime targets for poaching and illegal trading.

"Project Tiger", one of the well-publicised wildlife campaigns in the world, was launched in 1973. Initially, it showed success as the tiger population went up to 4,002 in 1985 and 4,334 in 1989. But in 1993, the population of the tiger had dropped to 3,600. There were 39 tiger reserves in India covering an area of 32137.14 sq km*. Tiger conservation has been viewed not only as an effort to save an endangered species, but with equal importance as a means of preserving biotypes of sizeable magnitude. Corbett National Park in Uttarakhand, Sunderbans National Park in West Bengal, Bandhavgarh National Park in Madhya Pradesh, Sariska Wildlife Sanctuary in Rajasthan, Manas Tiger Reserve in Assam and Periyar Tiger Reserve in Kerala are some of the tiger reserves of India.

The conservation projects are now focusing on biodiversity rather than on a few of its components. There is now a more intensive search for different conservation measures. Increasingly, even insects are beginning to find a place in conservation planning. In the notification under Wildlife Act of 1980 and 1986, several hundred butterflies, moths, beetles, and one dragonfly have been added to the list of protected species. In 1991, for the first time plants were also added to the list, starting with six species.

Activity

Collect more information on the wildlife sanctuaries and national parks of India and cite their locations on the map of India.

Source: *National Tiger Conservation Authority, Ministry of Environment and Forests, Government of India, 2009–10

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Gharial on the brink

The gharial population has been at its lowest since the 1970s. What went wrong and what can we do?

ROMULUS WHITAKER and JANAKI LENIN

WISPY tendrils of mist rise delicately from the water surface, tinged gold by the dawn. Your breath hangs as little clouds of vapour as you gaze upon the Girwa River on a cold winter morning. A trio of hollow clapping sounds from the other side of the river, half a kilometre away tells you that an adult male gharial is advertising his presence. It is the height of the breeding season. The place seems trapped in a time in early history when man was still clad in animal skins. It is only as the sun rises higher and burns the mist off the water that the world comes into focus with appalling clarity. The five-km stretch of the Girwa River in Katerniaghat Wildlife Sanctuary is one of the only three wild breeding sites left in the world for the most unique of all the

CRITICALLY ENDANGERED: *Captive gharial at the Madras C*

hatched by FAO consultant Bob Bustard. When they reached a metre in length, they were released in the wild.

ability to support larger numbers of the animal.

During the dry summer months, the

Dhruva Basu compile of the last 10 years drastic decline in g

Bird deaths blamed on dirty Yamuna

Delhi Govt Report Points To Toxic Elements in Stagnant Water

By Nidhi Sharma/TNN

New Delhi: It is official now. The recent bird deaths reported in Okhla sanctuary were because of polluted Yamuna water and contaminated fish and not because of bird flu. The wildlife departments of UP and Delhi have sent reports to respective governments saying that more such deaths cannot be ruled out till the polluted water in this sanctuary is cleaned.

Fifty-three migratory birds were found dead in Okhla bird sanctuary earlier this month. Later UP authorities had arrested three fishermen and claimed that they had added poison to water to kill fish. These poi-

Can you find out the reasons for the above mentioned problems?

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Types and Distribution of Forest and Wildlife Resources

Even if we want to conserve our vast forest and wildlife resources, it is rather difficult to manage, control and regulate them. In India, much of its forest and wildlife resources are either owned or managed by the government through the Forest Department or other government departments. These are classified under the following categories.

(i) ***Reserved Forests:*** More than half of the total forest land has been declared **reserved forests**. Reserved forests are regarded as the most valuable as far as the conservation of forest and wildlife resources are concerned.

(ii) ***Protected Forests:*** Almost one-third of the total forest area is protected forest, as declared by the Forest Department. This forest land are protected from any further depletion.

(iii) ***Unclassed Forests:*** These are other forests and wastelands belonging to both government and private individuals and communities.

Reserved and protected forests are also referred to as permanent forest estates maintained for the purpose of producing timber and other forest produce, and for protective reasons. Madhya Pradesh has the largest area under permanent forests, constituting 75 per cent of its total forest area. Jammu and Kashmir, Andhra Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, West Bengal, and Maharashtra have large percentages of reserved forests of its total forest area whereas Bihar, Haryana, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Odisha and Rajasthan have a bulk of it under protected forests. All North-eastern states and parts of Gujarat have a very high percentage of their forests as unclassed forests managed by local communities.

Community and Conservation

Conservation strategies are not new in our country. We often ignore that in India, forests are also home to some of the traditional communities. In some areas of India, local communities are struggling to conserve these habitats along with government officials, recognising that only this will secure their own long-term livelihood. In Sariska Tiger Reserve, Rajasthan, villagers have fought against mining by citing the Wildlife Protection Act. In many areas, villagers themselves are protecting habitats and explicitly rejecting government involvement. The inhabitants of five villages in the Alwar district of Rajasthan have declared 1,200 hectares of forest as the Bhairodev Dakav 'Sonchuri', declaring their own set of rules and regulations which do not allow hunting, and are protecting the wildlife against any outside encroachments.

Sacred groves - a wealth of diverse and rare species

Nature worship is an age old tribal belief based on the premise that all creations of nature have to be protected. Such beliefs have preserved several virgin forests in pristine form called Sacred Groves (the forests of God and Goddesses). These patches of forest or parts of large forests have been left untouched by the local people and any interference with them is banned.

Certain societies revere a particular tree which they have preserved from time immemorial. The Mundas and the Santhal of Chota Nagpur region worship mahua (**Bassia latifolia**) and kadamba (**Anthocaphalus cadamba**) trees, and the tribals of Odisha and Bihar worship the tamarind (**Tamarindus indica**) and mango (**Mangifera indica**) trees during weddings. To many of us, peepal and banyan trees are considered sacred.

Indian society comprises several cultures, each with its own set of traditional methods of conserving nature and its creations. Sacred qualities are often ascribed to springs, mountain peaks, plants and animals which are closely protected. You will find troops of macaques and langurs around many temples. They are fed daily and treated as a part of temple devotees. In and around Bishnoi villages in Rajasthan, herds of blackbuck, (chinkara), nilgai and peacocks can be seen as an integral part of the community and nobody harms them.

Activity

Write a short essay on any practices which you may have observed and practised in your everyday lives that conserve and protect the environment around you.

The famous **Chipko** movement in the Himalayas has not only successfully resisted deforestation in several areas but has also shown that community afforestation with indigenous species can be enormously successful. Attempts to revive the traditional conservation methods or developing new methods of ecological farming are now widespread. Farmers and citizen's groups like the **Beej Bachao Andolan** in Tehri and **Navdanya** have shown that adequate levels of diversified crop production without the use of synthetic chemicals are possible and economically viable.

In India joint forest management (JFM) programme furnishes a good example for involving local communities in the management and restoration of degraded forests. The programme has been in formal existence since 1988 when the state of Odisha passed the first resolution for joint forest management. JFM depends on the formation of local (village) institutions that undertake protection activities mostly on degraded forest land managed by the forest department. In return, the members of these communities are entitled to intermediary benefits like non-timber forest produces and share in the timber harvested by 'successful protection'.

The clear lesson from the dynamics of both environmental destruction and reconstruction in India is that local communities everywhere have to be involved in some kind of natural resource management. But there is still a long way to go before local communities are at the centre-stage in decision-making. Accept only those economic or developmental activities, that are people centric, environment-friendly and economically rewarding.

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"The tree is a peculiar organism of unlimited kindness and benevolence and makes no demand for its sustenance, and extends generously the products of its life activity. It affords protection to all beings, offering shade even to the axemen who destroy it".

Gautama Buddha (487 B.C.)

Exercises Exercises Exercises Exercises Exercises

1. Multiple choice questions.

   (i) Which of these statements is not a valid reason for the depletion of flora and fauna?
   - (a) Agricultural expansion.
   - (b) Large scale developmental projects.
   - (c) Grazing and fuel wood collection.
   - (d) Rapid industrialisation and urbanisation.

   (ii) Which of the following conservation strategies do not directly involve community participation?
   - (a) Joint forest management
   - (b) Beej Bachao Andolan
   - (c) Chipko Movement
   - (d) Demarcation of Wildlife sanctuaries

2. Match the following animals with their category of existence.

Animals/Plants	Category of existence
Black buck	Extinct
Asiatic elephant	Rare
Andaman wild pig	Endangered
Himalayan brown bear	Vulnerable
Pink head duck	Endemic

3. Match the following.

Reserved forests	other forests and wastelands belonging to both government and private individuals and communities
Protected forests	forests are regarded as most valuable as far as the conservation of forest and wildlife resources
Unclassed forests	forest lands are protected from any further depletion

4. Answer the following questions in about 30 words.
   - (i) What is biodiversity? Why is biodiversity important for human lives?
   - (ii) How have human activities affected the depletion of flora and fauna? Explain.

5. Answer the following questions in about 120 words.
   - (i) Describe how communities have conserved and protected forests and wildlife in India?
   - (ii) Write a note on good practices towards conserving forest and wildlife.

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WATER RESOURCES 3

You already know that three-fourth of the earth's surface is covered with water, but only a small proportion of it accounts for freshwater that can be put to use. This freshwater is mainly obtained from surface run off and ground water that is continually being renewed and recharged through the hydrological cycle. All water moves within the hydrological cycle ensuring that water is a renewable resource.

You might wonder that if three-fourth of the world is covered with water and water is a renewable resource, then how is it that countries and regions around the globe suffer from water scarcity? Why is it predicted that by 2025, nearly two billion people will live in absolute water scarcity?

Water: Some facts and figures

- 96.5 per cent of the total volume of world's water is estimated to exist as oceans and only 2.5 per cent as freshwater. Nearly 70 per cent of this freshwater occurs as ice sheets and glaciers in Antarctica, Greenland and the mountainous regions of the world, while a little less than 30 per cent is stored as groundwater in the world's aquifers.
- India receives nearly 4 per cent of the global precipitation and ranks 133 in the world in terms of water availability per person per annum.
- The total renewable water resources of India are estimated at 1,897 sq km per annum.

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- By 2025, it is predicted that large parts of India will join countries or regions having absolute water scarcity.

Source: *The UN World Water Development Report, 2003*

Water Scarcity and the Need for Water Conservation and Management

Given the abundance and renewability of water, it is difficult to imagine that we may suffer from water scarcity. The moment we speak of water shortages, we immediately associate it with regions having low rainfall or those that are drought prone. We instantaneously visualise the deserts of Rajasthan and women balancing many '*matkas*' (earthen pots) used for collecting and storing water and travelling long distances to get water. True, the availability of water resources varies over space and time, mainly due to the variations in seasonal and annual precipitation, but water scarcity in most cases is caused by over-exploitation, excessive use and unequal access to water among different social groups.

Water, Water Everywhere, Not a Drop to Drink: After a heavy downpour, a boy collects drinking water in Kolkata. Life in the city and its adjacent districts was paralysed as incessant overnight rain, meaning a record 180 mm, flooded vast area and disruted traffic.

एक ओर इजराइल जैसे 25 सेमी. औसत वार्षिक वर्षा वाले देश में जल का कोई अभाव नहीं है तो दूसरी ओर 114 सेमी. औसत वार्षिक वर्षा वाले हमारे देश में प्रति वर्ष किसी भाग में सूखा अवश्य पड़ता है। देश में जल की उपलब्धता और उसके स्वरूप के अनुसार समुचित जलप्रबंधन न होने के कारण ही वर्षा का जल नदी-नालों में तेजी से बहकर समुद्र में चला जाता है जिससे वर्षा के बाद के लगभग नौ महीने देश के लिए पानी की कमी के होते हैं। ये ही मूल कारण हैं देश में जलीय अभाव के, जिसे हम उचित प्रबंधन के द्वारा ही नियंत्रित कर सकते हैं।

A Kashmiri earthquake survivor carries water in the snow in a devastated village.

Fig. 3.1: *Water Scarcity*

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According to Falkenmark, a Swedish expert, water stress occurs when water availability is between 1,000 and 1,600 cubic metre per person per year.

Where is then water scarcity likely to occur? As you have read in the hydrological cycle, freshwater can be obtained directly from precipitation, surface run off and groundwater.

Is it possible that an area or region may have ample water resources but is still facing water scarcity? Many of our cities are such examples. Thus, water scarcity may be an outcome of large and growing population and consequent greater demands for water, and unequal access to it. A large population requires more water not only for domestic use but also to produce more food. Hence, to facilitate higher food-grain production, water resources are being over-exploited to expand irrigated areas for dry-season agriculture. Irrigated agriculture is the largest consumer of water. Now it is needed to revolutionise the agriculture through developing drought resistant crops and dry farming techniques. You may have seen in many television advertisements that most farmers have their own wells and tube-wells in their farms for irrigation to increase their produce. But have you ever wondered what this could result in? That it may lead to falling groundwater levels, adversely affecting water availability and food security of the people.

Post-independent India witnessed intensive industrialisation and urbanisation, creating vast opportunities for us. Today, large industrial houses are as commonplace as the industrial units of many MNCs (Multinational Corporations). The ever-increasing number of industries has made matters worse by exerting pressure on existing freshwater resources. Industries, apart from being heavy users of water, also require power to run them. Much of this energy comes from hydroelectric power. Today, in India hydroeclectric power contributes approximately 22 per cent of the total electricity produced. Moreover, multiplying urban centres with large and dense populations and urban lifestyles have not only added to water and energy requirements but have further aggravated the problem. If you look into the housing societies or colonies in the cities, you would find that most of these have their own groundwater pumping devices to meet their water needs. Not surprisingly, we find that fragile water resources are being over-exploited and have caused their depletion in several of these cities.

So far we have focused on the quantitative aspects of water scarcity. Now, let us consider another situation where water is sufficiently available to meet the needs of the people, but, the area still suffers from water scarcity. This scarcity may be due to bad quality of water. Lately, there has been a growing concern that even if there is ample water to meet the needs of the people, much of it may be polluted by domestic and industrial wastes, chemicals, pesticides and fertilisers used in agriculture, thus, making it hazardous for human use.

India's rivers, especially the smaller ones, have all turned into toxic streams. And even the big ones like the Ganga and Yamuna are far from being pure. The assault on India's rivers – from population growth, agricultural modernisation, urbanisation and industrialisation – is enormous and growing by the day..... This entire life stands threatened.

Source: *The Citizens' Fifth Report, CSE, 1999.*

You may have already realised that the need of the hour is to conserve and manage our water resources, to safeguard ourselves from health hazards, to ensure food security, continuation of our livelihoods and productive activities and also to prevent degradation of our natural ecosystems. Over exploitation and mismanagement of water resources will impoverish this resource and cause ecological crisis that may have profound impact on our lives.

Activity

From your everyday experiences, write a short proposal on how you can conserve water.

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Multi-purpose River Projects and Integrated Water Resources Management

But, how do we conserve and manage water? Archaeological and historical records show that from ancient times we have been constructing sophisticated hydraulic structures like dams built of stone rubble, reservoirs or lakes, embankments and canals for irrigation. Not surprisingly, we have continued this tradition in modern India by building dams in most of our river basins.

Hydraulic Structures in Ancient India

- In the first century B.C., Sringaverapura near Allahabad had sophisticated water harvesting system channelling the flood water of the river Ganga.
- During the time of Chandragupta Maurya, dams, lakes and irrigation systems were extensively built.
- Evidences of sophisticated irrigation works have also been found in Kalinga, (Odisha), Nagarjunakonda (Andhra Pradesh), Bennur (Karnataka), Kolhapur (Maharashtra), etc.
- In the 11th Century, Bhopal Lake, one of the largest artificial lakes of its time was built.
- In the 14th Century, the tank in Hauz Khas, Delhi was constructed by Iltutmish for supplying water to Siri Fort area.

Source: *Dying Wisdom, CSE, 1997.*

Fig. 3.2: *Hirakud Dam*

What are dams and how do they help us in conserving and managing water? Dams were traditionally built to impound rivers and rainwater that could be used later to irrigate agricultural fields. Today, dams are built not just for irrigation but for electricity generation, water supply for domestic and industrial uses, flood control, recreation, inland navigation and fish breeding. Hence, dams are now referred to as multi-purpose projects where the many uses of the impounded water are integrated with one another. For example, in the Sutluj-Beas river basin, the Bhakra – Nangal project water is being used both for hydel power production and irrigation. Similarly, the Hirakud project in the Mahanadi basin integrates conservation of water with flood control.

A **dam** is a barrier across flowing water that obstructs, directs or retards the flow, often creating a reservoir, lake or impoundment. "Dam" refers to the reservoir rather than the structure. Most dams have a section called a spillway or weir over which or through which it is intended that water will flow either intermittently or continuously. Dams are classified according to structure, intended purpose or height. Based on structure and the materials used, dams are classified as timber dams, embankment dams or masonry dams, with several subtypes. According to the height, dams can be categorised as large dams and major dams or alternatively as low dams, medium height dams and high dams.

Multi-purpose projects, launched after Independence with their integrated water resources management approach, were thought of as the vehicle that would lead the nation to development and progress, overcoming the handicap of its colonial past. Jawaharlal Nehru proudly proclaimed the dams as the 'temples of modern India'; the reason being that it would integrate development of agriculture and the village economy with rapid industrialisation and growth of the urban economy.

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Activity

Find out more about any one traditional method of building dams and irrigation works.

We have sown the crops in Asar
We will bring Bhadu in Bhadra
Floods have swollen the Damodar
The sailing boats cannot sail
Oh! Damodar, we fall at your feet
Reduce the floods a little
Bhadu will come a year later
Let the boats sail on your surface

(This popular Bhadu song in the Damodar valley region narrates the troubles faced by people owing to the flooding of Damodar river known as the river of sorrow.)

In recent years, multi-purpose projects and large dams have come under great scrutiny and opposition for a variety of reasons. Regulating and damming of rivers affect their natural flow causing poor sediment flow and excessive sedimentation at the bottom of the reservoir, resulting in rockier stream beds and poorer habitats for the rivers' aquatic life. Dams also fragment rivers making it difficult for aquatic fauna to migrate, especially for spawning. The reservoirs that are created on the floodplains also submerge the existing vegetation and soil leading to its decomposition over a period of time.

Multi-purpose projects and large dams have also been the cause of many new environmental movements like the 'Narmada Bachao Andolan' and the 'Tehri Dam Andolan' etc. Resistance to these projects has primarily been due to the large-scale displacement of local communities. Local people often had to give up their land, livelihood and their meagre access and control over resources for the greater good of the nation. So, if the local people are not benefiting from such projects then who is benefited? Perhaps, the landowners and large farmers, industrialists and few urban centres. Take the case of the landless in a village – does he really gain from such a project?

Narmada Bachao Andolan or Save Narmada Movement is a Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) that mobilised tribal people, farmers, environmentalists and human rights activists against the Sardar Sarovar Dam being built across the Narmada river in Gujarat. It originally focused on the environmental issues related to trees that would be submerged under the dam water. Recently it has re-focused the aim to enable poor citizens, especially the oustees (displaced people) to get full rehabilitation facilities from the government.

People felt that their suffering would not be in vain... accepted the trauma of displacement believing in the promise of irrigated fields and plentiful harvests. So, often the survivors of Rihand told us that they accepted their sufferings as sacrifice for the sake of their nation. But now, after thirty bitter years of being adrift, their livelihood having even being more precarious, they keep asking: "Are we the only ones chosen to make sacrifices for the nation?"

Source: *S. Sharma, quoted in In the Belly of the River. Tribal conflicts over development in Narmada valley, A. Baviskar, 1995.*

Do you know?

Sardar Sarovar Dam has been built over the Narmada River in Gujarat. This is one of the largest water resource projects of India covering four states—Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Rajasthan. The Sardar Sarovar project would meet the requirement of water in drought-prone and desert areas of Gujarat (9,490 villages and 173 towns) and Rajasthan (124 villages).

Source: *http://www.sardarsarovardam.org/project.aspx*

Irrigation has also changed the cropping pattern of many regions with farmers shifting to water intensive and commercial crops. This has great ecological consequences like salinisation of the soil. At the same time, it has transformed the social landscape i.e.

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India: Major Rivers and Dams

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increasing the social gap between the richer landowners and the landless poor. As we can see, the dams did create conflicts between people wanting different uses and benefits from the same water resources. In Gujarat, the Sabarmati-basin farmers were agitated and almost caused a riot over the higher priority given to water supply in urban areas, particularly during droughts. Inter-state water disputes are also becoming common with regard to sharing the costs and benefits of the multi-purpose project.

Do you know?

Do you know that the Krishna-Godavari dispute is due to the objections raised by Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh governments? It is regarding the diversion of more water at Koyna by the Maharashtra government for a multipurpose project. This would reduce downstream flow in their states with adverse consequences for agriculture and industry.

Activity

Make a list of inter-state water disputes.

Most of the objections to the projects arose due to their failure to achieve the purposes for which they were built. Ironically, the dams that were constructed to control floods have triggered floods due to sedimentation in the reservoir. Moreover, the big dams have mostly been unsuccessful in controlling floods at the time of excessive rainfall. You may have seen or read how the release of water from dams during heavy rains aggravated the flood situation in Maharashtra and Gujarat in 2006. The floods have not only devastated life and property but also caused extensive soil erosion. Sedimentation also meant that the flood plains were deprived of silt, a natural fertiliser, further adding on to the problem of land degradation. It was also observed that the multi-purpose projects induced earthquakes, caused water-borne diseases and pests and pollution resulting from excessive use of water.

FLOODS

Basic Safety Precautions To Be Taken :

- Listen to radio/TV for the latest weather bulletins and flood warnings. Pass on the information to others.
- Make a family emergency kit which should include; a portable radio/transistor, torch, spare batteries, a first aid box along with essential medicines, ORS, dry food items, drinking water, matchboxes, candles and other essential items.
- Keep hurricane lamp, ropes, rubber tubes, umbrella and bamboo stick in your house. These could be useful.
- Keep your cash, jewellery, valuables, important documents etc. in a safe place.
- If there is a flood, move along with your family members and cattle to safe areas like relief camps, evacuation centres, elevated grounds where you can take shelter.
- Turn off power and gas connections before leaving your house.

During floods

- Don't enter into flood waters; it could be dangerous.
- Don't allow children to play in or near flood waters.
- Stay away from sewerage line, gutters, drains, culverts etc.
- Be careful of snakes; snakebites are common during floods.
- Stay away from electric poles and fallen power-lines to avoid electrocution.
- Don't use wet electrical appliances - get them checked before use.
- Eat freshly cooked and dry food. Always keep your food covered.
- Use boiled and filtered drinking water.
- Keep all drains, gutters near your house clean.
- Stagnation of water can breed vector/water-borne diseases .In case of sickness, seek medical assistance.
- Use bleaching powder and lime to disinfect the surroundings.

THE RIDE OF HIS LIFE

Left-off : An IAF helicopter rescues a woman and her child from the Dongargaon village of Maharashtra's Hingoli district. In all, 11 choppers were pressed into rescue operations across the state (Related reports on P)

UP, UP & AWAY : An IAF helicopter rescues a worker who was trapped in the floodwaters of the Tawi river in Jammu on Thursday

Heavy rain drowns Kolkata

Durga Puja Preparations Go Awry As Met Predicts Downpour For Next 2 Days

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Kolkata: With two days of incessant rain — and more forecast for the next 48 hours — Kolkata came to a complete halt on Friday. The city has so far recorded 218.44 mm rainfall.

Three people died of electrocution in the southern fringes of the city and three of a family were killed in a wall collapse in North 24-Parganas district. Elsewhere in the state, 22 people died and nearly 70,000 houses were damaged. Bengalis woke up on Friday to the chanting of Mahalaya — the auspicious occasion observed seven days prior to the start of Durga Puja — hymns even as rains lashed the city.

Boats were used at Ultadanga, Alipore Body Guard Lines, Amherst Street, Chetla and Monirapur. People had to wade through waist-deep waters in many areas. Alipore Bodyguard Lines, which houses barracks and family quarters of Kolkata Police, was flooded. It had been cut off since two days, but Friday's deluge and an accompanying high tide in the Hooghly river left it completely swamped.

Train services were disrupted in both Eastern and South-Eastern Railway's Sealdah and Howrah divisions with tracks submerged under water in many places. Six trains, including Jammu Tawi Express and Howrah-Puri passenger train, were cancelled, while 11 trains, including Poorva express, Mumbai Mail, Shatabdi Express, Yesh-wantpur Express, Puri Express and Jagannath Express, ran behind schedule. All North Bengal-bound trains were diverted through Azimganj-Katwa line. EMU and Circular railway services were largely affected. However, there was no change in Rajdhani Express schedule. While surface transport was badly hit, there was no disruption in flight operations.

Power blackouts occurred at Bhowanipore, Dum Dum, Thakurpukur, Behala, New Alipore, Green Park and large parts of south and south-west Kolkata. The posh Salt Lake, too, was flooded. Techies going to the IT hub at Sector V had a tough time treading through water-logged streets. Anxiety was writ large over all sculptors at Kumartoli in north Kolkata as rain seeped in through the patched studio roofs to wash clay off idols. "Every artisan has suffered. While some have been badly damaged, colour has been washed off many idols," said artist Babu Pal.

Though efforts were on to use kerosene fireguns to dry clay idols, the artists are already facing cost and time over runs. "If the rain does not subside soon, delivery schedules will go haywire," said Prodyut Pal, an idol-maker. The late monsoon southwest caused by a series of depression came as a dampener for the city residents busy with their last-minute puja shopping. City roads were empty with few or taxis and buses plying on the road.

BARELY AFLOAT: A bus is stuck in a waterlogged street in Kolkata on Friday

Collect information about flood prone areas of the country

Rainwater Harvesting

Many thought that given the disadvantages and rising resistance against the multi-purpose projects, water harvesting system was a viable alternative, both socio-economically and environmentally. In ancient India, along with the sophisticated hydraulic structures, there existed an extraordinary tradition of water-harvesting system. People had in-depth knowledge of rainfall regimes and soil types and developed wide ranging techniques to harvest rainwater, groundwater, river water and flood water in keeping with the local ecological conditions and their water needs. In hill and mountainous regions, people built diversion channels like the 'guls' or 'kuls' of the Western Himalayas for agriculture. 'Rooftop rainwater harvesting' was commonly practised to store drinking water, particularly in Rajasthan. In the flood plains of Bengal, people developed inundation channels to irrigate their fields. In arid and semi-arid regions, agricultural fields were converted into rain fed storage structures that allowed the water to stand and moisten the soil like the 'khadins' in Jaisalmer and 'Johads' in other parts of Rajasthan.

Fig. 3.3

(a) Recharge through Hand Pump

(b) Recharge through Abandoned Dugwell

Fig 3.4: *Rooftop Rainwater Harvesting*

- Rooftop rainwater is collected using a PVC pipe
- Filtered using sand and bricks
- Underground pipe takes water to sump for immediate usage
- Excess water from the sump is taken to the well
- Water from the well recharges the underground
- Take water from the well (later)

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A kul leads to a circular village tank, as the above in the Kaza village, from which water is released as and when required.

Fig 3.5: *Traditional method of rainwater harvesting*

In the semi-arid and arid regions of Rajasthan, particularly in Bikaner, Phalodi and Barmer, almost all the houses traditionally had underground tanks or *tankas* for storing drinking water. The tanks could be as large as a big room; one household in Phalodi had a tank that was 6.1 metres deep, 4.27 metres long and 2.44 metres wide. The tankas were part of the well-developed rooftop rainwater harvesting system and were built inside the main house or the courtyard. They were connected to the sloping roofs of the houses through a pipe. Rain falling on the rooftops would travel down the pipe and was stored in these underground 'tankas'. The first spell of rain was usually not collected as this would clean the roofs and the pipes. The rainwater from the subsequent showers was then collected.

The rainwater can be stored in the **tankas** till the next rainfall making it an extremely reliable source of drinking water when all other sources are dried up, particularly in the summers. Rainwater, or **palar pani**, as commonly referred to in these parts, is considered the purest form of natural water. Many houses constructed underground rooms adjoining the 'tanka' to beat the summer heat as it would keep the room cool.

Interesting Fact

Rooftop rainwater harvesting is the most common practice in Shillong, Meghalaya. It is interesting because Cherapunjee and Mawsynram situated at a distance of 55 km. from Shillong receive the highest rainfall in the world, yet the state capital Shillong faces acute shortage of water. Nearly every household in the city has a rooftop rainwater harvesting structure. Nearly 15-25 per cent of the total water requirement of the household comes from rooftop water harvesting.

Activity

Find out other rainwater harvesting systems existing in and around your locality.

Today, in western Rajasthan, sadly the practice of rooftop rainwater harvesting is on the decline as plenty of water is available due to the perennial Indira Gandhi Canal, though some houses still maintain the tankas since they do not like the taste of tap water. Fortunately, in many parts of rural and urban India, rooftop rainwater harvesting is being successfully adapted to store and conserve water. In Gendathur, a remote backward village in Mysuru, Karnataka, villagers have installed, in their household's rooftop, rainwater harvesting system to meet their water needs. Nearly 200 households have installed this system and the village has earned the rare distinction of being rich in rainwater. See Fig. 3.6 for a better

Rooftop harvesting was common across the towns and villages of the Thar. Rainwater that falls on the sloping roofs of houses is taken through a pipe into an underground *tanka* (circular holes in the ground). built in the main house or in the courtyard. The picture above shows water being taken from a neighbour's roof through a long pipe. Here the neighbour's rooftop has been used for collection of rainwater. The picture shows a hole through which rainwater flows down into an underground *tanka*.

Fig. 3.6

Bamboo Drip Irrigation System

In Meghalaya, a 200-year-old system of tapping stream and spring water by using bamboo pipes, is prevalent. About 18-20 litres of water enters the bamboo pipe system, gets transported over hundreds of metres, and finally reduces to 20-80 drops per minute at the site of the plant.

Picture 1: *Bamboo pipes are used to divert perennial springs on the hilltops to the lower reaches by gravity.*

Picture 2 and 3: *The channel sections, made of bamboo, divert water to the plant site where it is distributed into branches, again made and laid out with different forms of bamboo pipes. The flow of water into the pipes is controlled by manipulating the pipe positions.*

Picture 4: *If the pipes pass a road, they are taken high above the land.*

Picture 5 and 6

Reduced channel sections and diversion units are used at the last stage of water application. The last channel section enables water to be dropped near the roots of the plant.

Fig 3.7

understanding of the rooftop rainwater harvesting system which is adapted here. Gendathur receives an annual precipitation of 1,000 mm, and with 80 per cent of collection efficiency and of about 10 fillings, every house can collect and use about 50,000 litres of water annually. From the 200 houses, the net amount of rainwater harvested annually amounts to 1,00,000 litres.

Interesting Fact

Tamil Nadu is the first state in India which has made rooftop rainwater harvesting structure compulsory to all the houses across the state. There are legal provisions to punish the defaulters.

Activity

1. Collect information on how industries are polluting our water resources.
2. Enact with your classmates a scene of water dispute in your locality.

EXERCISES EXERCISES EXERCISES EXERCISES EXERCISES

1. Multiple choice questions.
   (i) Based on the information given below classify each of the situations as 'suffering from water scarcity' or 'not suffering from water scarcity'.
   (a) Region with high annual rainfall.
   (b) Region having high annual rainfall and large population.
   (c) Region having high annual rainfall but water is highly polluted.
   (d) Region having low rainfall and low population.
   (ii) Which one of the following statements is not an argument in favour of multi-purpose river projects?
   (a) Multi-purpose projects bring water to those areas which suffer from water scarcity.
   (b) Multi-purpose projects by regulating water flow helps to control floods.
   (c) Multi-purpose projects lead to large scale displacements and loss of livelihood.
   (d) Multi-purpose projects generate electricity for our industries and our homes.
   (iii) Here are some false statements. Identify the mistakes and rewrite them correctly.
   (a) Multiplying urban centres with large and dense populations and urban lifestyles have helped in proper utilisation of water resources.
   (b) Regulating and damming of rivers does not affect the river's natural flow and its sediment flow.
   (c) In Gujarat, the Sabarmati basin farmers were not agitated when higher priority was given to water supply in urban areas, particularly during droughts.
   (d) Today in Rajasthan, the practice of rooftop rainwater water harvesting has gained popularity despite high water availability due to the Indira Gandhi Canal.
2. Answer the following questions in about 30 words.
   (i) Explain how water becomes a renewable resource.
   (ii) What is water scarcity and what are its main causes?
   (iii) Compare the advantages and disadvantages of multi-purpose river projects.
3. Answer the following questions in about 120 words.
   (i) Discuss how rainwater harvesting in semi-arid regions of Rajasthan is carried out.
   (ii) Describe how modern adaptations of traditional rainwater harvesting methods are being carried out to conserve and store water.

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AGRICULTURE 4

India is an agriculturally important country. Two-thirds of its population is engaged in agricultural activities. Agriculture is a primary activity, which produces most of the food that we consume. Besides food grains, it also produces raw material for various industries.

Can you name some industries based on agricultural raw material?

Moreover, some agricultural products like tea, coffee, spices, etc. are also exported.

Types of Farming

Agriculture is an age-old economic activity in our country. Over these years, cultivation methods have changed significantly depending upon the characteristics of physical environment, technological know-how and socio-cultural practices. Farming varies from subsistence to commercial type. At present, in different parts of India, the following farming systems are practised.

Primitive Subsistence Farming

This type of farming is still practised in few pockets of India. Primitive subsistence agriculture is practised on small patches of land with the help of primitive tools like hoe, dao and digging sticks, and family/community labour. This type of farming depends upon monsoon, natural fertility of the soil and suitability of other environmental conditions to the crops grown.

It is a 'slash and burn' agriculture. Farmers clear a patch of land and produce cereals and other food crops to sustain their family. When the soil fertility decreases, the farmers shift and clear a fresh patch of land for cultivation. This type of shifting allows Nature to replenish the fertility of the soil through natural processes; land productivity in this type of agriculture is low as the farmer does not use fertilisers or other modern inputs. It is known by different names in different parts of the country.

Can you name some such types of farmings?

It is *jhumming* in north-eastern states like Assam, Meghalaya, Mizoram and Nagaland; Pamlou in Manipur, Dipa in Bastar district of Chhattishgarh, and in Andaman and Nicobar Islands.

Jhumming: The 'slash and burn' agriculture is known as 'Milpa' in Mexico and Central America, 'Conuco' in Venzuela, 'Roca' in Brazil, 'Masole' in Central Africa, 'Ladang' in Indonesia, 'Ray' in Vietnam.

In India, this primitive form of cultivation is called 'Bewar' or 'Dahiya' in Madhya Pradesh, 'Podu' or 'Penda' in Andhra Pradesh, 'Pama Dabi' or 'Koman' or Bringa' in Odisha, 'Kumari' in Western Ghats, 'Valre' or 'Waltre' in South-eastern Rajasthan, 'Khil' in the Himalayan belt, 'Kuruwa' in Jharkhand, and 'Jhumming' in the North-eastern region.

Fig. 4.1

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Rinjha lived with her family in a small village at the outskirts of Diphu in Assam. She enjoys watching her family members clearing, slashing and burning a patch of land for cultivation. She often helps them in irrigating the fields with water running through a bamboo canal from the nearby spring. She loves the surroundings and wants to stay here as long as she can, but this little girl has no idea about the declining fertility of the soil and her family's search for fresh a patch of land in the next season.

Can you name the type of farming Rinjha's family is engaged in?

Can you enlist some crops which are grown in such farming?

Intensive Subsistence Farming

This type of farming is practised in areas of high population pressure on land. It is labour-intensive farming, where high doses of biochemical inputs and irrigation are used for obtaining higher production.

Can you name some of the states of India where such farming is practised?

Though the 'right of inheritance' leading to the division of land among successive generations has rendered land-holding size uneconomical, the farmers continue to take maximum output from the limited land in the absence of alternative source of livelihood. Thus, there is enormous pressure on agricultural land.

Commercial Farming

The main characteristic of this type of farming is the use of higher doses of modern inputs, e.g. high yielding variety (HYV) seeds, chemical fertilisers, insecticides and pesticides in order to obtain higher productivity. The degree of commercialisation of agriculture varies from one region to another. For example, rice is a commercial crop in Haryana and Punjab, but in Odisha, it is a subsistence crop.

Can you give some more examples of crops which may be commercial in one region and may provide subsistence in another region?

Plantation is also a type of commercial farming. In this type of farming, a single crop is grown on a large area. The plantation has an interface of agriculture and industry. Plantations cover large tracts of land, using capital intensive inputs, with the help of migrant labourers. All the produce is used as raw material in respective industries.

In India, tea, coffee, rubber, sugarcane, banana, etc., are important plantation crops. Tea in Assam and North Bengal coffee in

Fig. 4.2: *Banana plantation in Southern part of India*

Fig. 4.3: *Bamboo plantation in North-east*

Karnataka are some of the important plantation crops grown in these states. Since the production is mainly for market, a well-developed network of transport and communication connecting the plantation areas, processing industries and markets plays an important role in the development of plantations.

Cropping Pattern

You have studied the physical diversities and plurality of cultures in India. These are also reflected in agricultural practices and cropping patterns in the country. Various types of food and fibre crops, vegetables and fruits, spices and condiments, etc. constitute some of the important crops grown in the country. India has three cropping seasons — **rabi**, **kharif** and **zaid**.

Rabi crops are sown in winter from October to December and harvested in summer from April to June. Some of the important rabi crops are wheat, barley, peas, gram and mustard. Though, these crops are grown in large parts of India, states from the north and north-western parts such as Punjab, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Uttarakhand and Uttar Pradesh are important for the production of wheat and other rabi crops. Availability of precipitation during winter months due to the western temperate cyclones helps in the success of these crops. However, the success of the green revolution in Punjab, Haryana, western Uttar Pradesh and parts of Rajasthan has also been an important factor in the growth of the above-mentioned rabi crops.

Kharif crops are grown with the onset of monsoon in different parts of the country and these are harvested in September-October. Important crops grown during this season are paddy, maize, jowar, bajra, tur (arhar), moong, urad, cotton, jute, groundnut and soyabean. Some of the most important rice-growing regions are Assam, West Bengal, coastal regions of Odisha, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Maharashtra, particularly the (Konkan coast) along with Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. Recently, paddy has also become an important crop of Punjab and Haryana. In states like Assam, West Bengal and Odisha, three crops of paddy are grown in a year. These are *Aus*, *Aman* and *Boro*.

In between the rabi and the kharif seasons, there is a short season during the summer months known as the **Zaid** season. Some of the crops produced during 'zaid' are watermelon, muskmelon, cucumber, vegetables and fodder crops. Sugarcane takes almost a year to grow.

Major Crops

A variety of food and non food crops are grown in different parts of the country depending upon the variations in soil, climate and cultivation practices. Major crops grown in India are rice, wheat, millets, pulses, tea, coffee, sugarcane, oil seeds, cotton and jute, etc.

Rice: It is the staple food crop of a majority of the people in India. Our country is the second largest producer of rice in the world after China. It is a kharif crop which requires high temperature, (above 25°C) and high humidity with annual rainfall above 100 cm. In the areas of less rainfall, it grows with the help of irrigation.

Rice is grown in the plains of north and north-eastern India, coastal areas and the deltaic regions. Development of dense network

Fig. 4.4 (a): *Rice Cultivation*

Fig. 4.4 (b): *Rice is ready to be harvested in the field*

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India: *Distribution of Rice*

of canal irrigation and tubewells have made it possible to grow rice in areas of less rainfall such as Punjab, Haryana and western Uttar Pradesh and parts of Rajasthan.

Wheat: This is the second most important cereal crop. It is the main food crop, in north and north-western part of the country. This rabi crop requires a cool growing season and a bright sunshine at the time of ripening. It requires 50 to 75 cm of annual rainfall evenly-distributed over the growing season. There are two important wheat-growing zones in the country – the Ganga-Satluj plains in the north-west and black soil region of the Deccan. The major wheat-producing states are Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Rajasthan and parts of Madhya Pradesh.

Fig. 4.5: *Wheat Cultivation*

Millets: Jowar, bajra and ragi are the important millets grown in India. Though, these are known as coarse grains, they have very high nutritional value. For example, ragi is very rich in iron, calcium, other micro nutrients and roughage. Jowar is the third most important food crop with respect to area and production. It is a rain-fed crop mostly grown in the moist areas which hardly needs irrigation. Major Jowar producing States are Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.

Bajra grows well on sandy soils and shallow black soil. Major Bajra producing States are Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Gujarat and Haryana. Ragi is a crop of dry

Fig. 4.6: *Bajra Cultivation*

regions and grows well on red, black, sandy, loamy and shallow black soils. Major ragi producing states are: Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Sikkim, Jharkhand and Arunachal Pradesh.

Maize: It is a crop which is used both as food and fodder. It is a kharif crop which requires temperature between 21°C to 27°C and grows well in old alluvial soil. In some states like Bihar

Fig. 4.7: *Maize Cultivation*

maize is grown in rabi season also. Use of modern inputs such as HYV seeds, fertilisers and irrigation have contributed to the increasing production of maize. Major maize-producing states are Karnataka, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and Madhya Pradesh.

Pulses: India is the largest producer as well as the consumer of pulses in the world. These are the major source of protein in a vegetarian diet. Major pulses that are grown in India are tur (arhar), urad, moong, masur, peas and

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India: *Distribution of Wheat*

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gram. Can you distinguish which of these pulses are grown in the kharif season and which are grown in the rabi season? Pulses need less moisture and survive even in dry conditions. Being leguminous crops, all these crops except arhar help in restoring soil fertility by fixing nitrogen from the air. Therefore, these are mostly grown in rotation with other crops. Major pulse producing states in India are Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra and Karnataka.

Food Crops other than Grains

Sugarcane: It is a tropical as well as a subtropical crop. It grows well in hot and humid climate with a temperature of 21°C to 27°C and an annual rainfall between 75cm. and 100cm. Irrigation is required in the regions of low rainfall. It can be grown on a variety of

Fig. 4.8: *Sugarcane Cultivation*

soils and needs manual labour from sowing to harvesting. India is the second largest producer of sugarcane only after Brazil. It is the main source of sugar, gur (jaggary), khandsari and molasses. The major sugarcane-producing states are Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Bihar, Punjab and Haryana.

Oil Seeds: In 2014 India was the second largest producer of groundnut in the world after china. In rapeseed production India was third largest producer in the world after Canada and China in 2014. Different oil seeds are grown covering approximately 12 per cent of the total cropped area of the country. Main oil-seeds produced in India are groundnut, mustard, coconut, sesamum (til), soyabean, castor seeds, cotton seeds, linseed and sunflower. Most of these are edible and used as cooking mediums. However, some of these are also used as raw material in the production of soap, cosmetics and ointments.

Groundnut is a kharif crop and accounts for about half of the major oilseeds produced in the country. Gujarat was the largest producer of groundnut followed by Rajasthan and Tamil Nadu in 2015–16. Linseed and mustard are rabi crops. Sesamum is a kharif crop in north and rabi crop in south India. Castor seed is grown both as rabi and kharif crop.

Tea: Tea cultivation is an example of plantation agriculture. It is also an important beverage crop introduced in India initially by the British. Today, most of the tea plantations are owned by Indians. The tea plant grows well in tropical and sub-tropical climates endowed with deep and fertile well-drained soil, rich in humus and organic matter. Tea bushes require warm and moist frost-free climate all through the year. Frequent showers evenly distributed over the year ensure continuous growth of tender leaves. Tea is a labour-intensive industry. It requires abundant,

Fig. 4.9: *Groundnut, sunflower and mustard are ready to be harvested in the field*

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cheap and skilled labour. Tea is processed within the tea garden to restore its freshness. Major tea-producing states are Assam, hills of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts, West Bengal, Tamil Nadu and Kerala. Apart from these, Himachal Pradesh, Uttarakhand, Meghalaya, Andhra Pradesh and Tripura are also tea-producing states in the country. In 2014 India was the second largest producer of tea after China.

Fig. 4.10: Tea Cultivation

Fig. 4.11: Tea-leaves Harvesting

Coffee: In 2014 India produced 3.5 per cent of the world coffee production. Indian coffee is known in the world for its good quality. The Arabica variety initially brought from Yemen is produced in the country. This variety is in great demand all over the world. Intially its cultivation was introduced on the Baba Budan Hills and even today its cultivation is confined to the Nilgiri in Karnataka, Kerala and Tamil Nadu.

Horticulture Crops: In 2014 India was the second largest producer of fruits and vegetables in the world after China. India is a producer of tropical as well as temperate fruits. Mangoes of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal, oranges of Nagpur and Cherrapunjee (Meghalaya), bananas of Kerala, Mizoram, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, lichi and guava of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, pineapples of Meghalaya, grapes of Andhra Pradesh, Telangana and Maharashtra, apples, pears, apricots and walnuts of Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh are in great demand the world over.

Fig. 4.12: Apricots, apple and pomegranate

India produces about 13 per cent of the world's vegetables. It is an important producer of pea, cauliflower, onion, cabbage, tomato, brinjal and potato.

Fig. 4.13: Cultivation of vegetables – peas, cauliflower, tomato and brinjal

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Non-Food Crops

Rubber: It is an equatorial crop, but under special conditions, it is also grown in tropical and sub-tropical areas. It requires moist and humid climate with rainfall of more than 200 cm. and temperature above 25°C.

Rubber is an important industrial raw material. It is mainly grown in Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Andaman and Nicobar islands and Garo hills of Meghalaya. In 2012–13 India ranked fourth among the world's natural rubber producers.

Activity

List the items which are made of rubber and are used by us.

Fig. 4.14: *Consumption of natural rubber - 2010-11*

Source : Statistics and Planning Department Rubber Board, Kottayam, Kerala

Fibre Crops: Cotton, jute, hemp and natural silk are the four major fibre crops grown in India. The first three are derived from the crops grown in the soil, the latter is obtained from cocoons of the silkworms fed on green leaves specially mulberry. Rearing of silk worms for the production of silk fibre is known as **sericulture**.

Cotton: India is believed to be the original home of the cotton plant. Cotton is one of the main raw materials for cotton textile industry. In 2014 India was second largest producer of cotton after China. Cotton grows well in drier parts of the black cotton soil of the Deccan plateau. It requires high temperature, light rainfall or irrigation, 210 frost-free days and bright sun-shine for its growth. It is a kharif crop and requires 6 to 8 months to mature. Major cotton-producing states are– Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Telangana, Tamil Nadu, Punjab, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh.

Fig. 4.15: *Cotton Cultivation*

Jute: It is known as the golden fibre. Jute grows well on well-drained fertile soils in the flood plains where soils are renewed every year. High temperature is required during the time of growth. West Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Odisha and Meghalaya are the major jute producing states. It is used in making gunny bags, mats, ropes, yarn, carpets and other artefacts. Due to its high cost, it is losing market to synthetic fibres and packing materials, particularly the nylon.

Technological and Institutional Reforms

It was mentioned in the previous pages that agriculture has been practised in India for thousands of years. Sustained uses of land without compatible techno-institutional changes have hindered the pace of agricultural development. Inspite of development of sources of irrigation most of the farmers in large parts of the country still depend upon monsoon and natural fertility in order to carry on their agriculture. For a growing population, this poses a serious challenge. Agriculture which provides livelihood for more than 60 per cent of its population, needs some serious technical and

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Fig. 4.16: Modern technological equipments used in agriculture

institutional reforms. Thus, collectivisation, consolidation of holdings, cooperation and abolition of zamindari, etc. were given priority to bring about institutional reforms in the country after Independence. 'Land reform' was the main focus of our First Five Year Plan. The right of inheritance had already lead to fragmentation of land holdings necessitating consolidation of holdings.

The laws of land reforms were enacted but the implementation was lacking or lukewarm. The Government of India embarked upon introducing agricultural reforms to improve Indian agriculture in the 1960s and 1970s. The Green Revolution based on the use of package technology and the White Revolution (Operation Flood) were some of the strategies initiated to improve the lot of Indian agriculture. But, this too led to the concentration of development in few selected areas. Therefore, in the 1980s and 1990s, a comprehensive land development programme was initiated, which included both institutional and technical reforms. Provision for crop insurance against drought, flood, cyclone, fire and disease, establishment of Grameen banks, cooperative societies and banks for providing loan facilities to the farmers at lower rates of interest were some important steps in this direction.

Kissan Credit Card (KCC), Personal Accident Insurance Scheme (PAIS) are some other schemes introduced by the Government of India for the benefit of the farmers. Moreover, special weather bulletins and agricultural programmes for farmers were introduced on the radio and television. The government also announces minimum support price, remunerative and procurement prices for important crops to check the exploitation of farmers by speculators and middlemen.

Bhoodan – Gramdan

Mahatma Gandhi declared Vinoba Bhave as his spiritual heir. He also participated in Satyagraha as one of the foremost satyagrahis. He was one of the votaries of Gandhi's concept of **gram swarajya**. After Gandhiji's martyrdom, Vinoba Bhave undertook **padyatra** to spread Gandhiji's message covered almost the entire country. Once, when he was delivering a lecture at Pochampalli in Andhra Pradesh, some poor landless villagers demanded some land for their economic well-being. Vinoba Bhave could not promise it to them immediately but assured them to talk to the Government of India regarding provision of land for them if they undertook cooperative farming.

Suddenly, Shri Ram Chandra Reddy stood up and offered 80 acres of land to be distributed among 80 land-less villagers. This act was known as 'Bhoodan'. Later he travelled and introduced his ideas widely all over India. Some zamindars, owners of many villages offered to distribute some villages among the landless. It was known as **Gramdan**. However, many land-owners chose to provide some part of their land to

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the poor farmers due to the fear of land ceiling act. This Bhoodan-Gramdan movement initiated by Vinoba Bhave is also known as the **Blood-less Revolution**.

Contribution of agriculture to the national economy, employment and output

Agriculture has been the backbone of the Indian economy though its share in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has registered a declining trend from 1951 onwards; in 2010-11 about 52 per cent of the total work force was employed by the farm sector which makes more than half of the Indian Population dependent on agriculture for sustenance.

The declining share of agriculture in the GDP is a matter of serious concern because any decline and stagnation in agriculture will lead to a decline in other spheres of the economy having wider implications for society.

Considering the importance of agriculture in India, the Government of India made concerted efforts to modernise agriculture. Establishment of Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR), agricultural universities, veterinary services and animal breeding centres, horticulture development, research and development in the field of meteorology and weather forecast, etc. were given priority for improving Indian agriculture. Apart from this, improving the rural infrastructure was also considered essential for the same.

Activity

Find out why an Indian farmer does not want his son to become a farmer.

From the Table 4.1, it is clear that though the GDP growth rate is increasing over the years, it is not generating sufficient employment opportunities in the country. The growth rate in agriculture has been decelerating which is an alarming situation. Today, Indian farmers are facing a big challenge from international competition and reduction in the public investment in agriculture sector. Subsidy on fertilisers is decreased leading to increase in the cost of production. Moreover, reduction in import duties on agricultural products have proved detrimental to agriculture in the country. Farmers are withdrawing their investment from agriculture causing a downfall in the employment in agriculture.

Table 4.1: India: Growth Rate of GDP and Major Sectors (in %)

Sector	2013–14	2014–-15	2015–16
Agriculture	4.2	-0.2	1.1
Industry	5.0	5.9	7.3
Services	7.8	10.3	9.2
GDP	6.6	7.2	7.6

Source: *Economic Survey 2015–16*

Note: These are provisional figures.

When farmers have been facing so many problems and land under agriculture is decreasing, can we think of alternative employment opportunities in the agriculture sector?

Why are farmers committing suicides in several states of the country?

Food Security

You know that food is a basic need and every citizen of the country should have access to food which provides minimum nutritional level. If any segment of our population does not have this access, that segment suffers from lack of food security. The number of people who do not have food security is disproportionately large in some regions of our country, particularly in economically less developed states with higher incidence of poverty. The remote areas of the country are more prone to natural disasters and uncertain food supply. In order to ensure availability of food to all sections of society our government carefully designed a national food security system. It consists of two components (a) buffer stock and (b) public distribution system (PDS).

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As you know, PDS is a programme which provides food grains and other essential commodities at subsidised prices to Below Poverty Line (BPL) population in rural and urban areas.

India's food security policy has a primary objective to ensure availability of foodgrains to the common people at an affordable price. It has enabled the poor to have access to food. The focus of the policy is on growth in agriculture production and on fixing the support price for procurement of wheat and rice, to maintain their stocks. Food Corporation of India (FCI) is responsible for procuring and stocking foodgrains, whereas distribution is ensured by public distribution system (PDS).

The FCI procures foodgrains from the farmers at the government announced minimum support price (MSP). The government used to provide subsidies on agriculture inputs such as fertilizers, power and water. These subsidies have now reached unsustainable levels and have also led to large scale inefficiencies in the use of these scarce inputs. Excessive and imprudent use of fertilizers and water has led to waterlogging, salinity and depletion of essential micronutrients in the soil. The high MSP, subsidies in input and committed FCI purchases have distorted the cropping pattern. Wheat and paddy crops are being grown more for the MSP they get. Punjab and Haryana are foremost examples. This has also created a serious imbalance in inter-crop parities.

You already know that the consumers are divided into two categories : below poverty line (BPL) and above poverty line (APL), with the issue price being different for each category. However, this categorisation is not perfect and a number of deserving poor have been excluded from the BPL category. Moreover, some of the so called APL slip back to BPL, because of the failure of even one crop and it is administratively difficult to accommodate such shifts.

Each district and block can be made self sufficient in foodgrain production if government provides proper agricultural infrastructure, credit linkages and also encourages the use of latest techniques. Instead of concentrating only on rice or wheat, the food crop with a better growth potential in that particular area must be encouraged. Creation of necessary infrastructure like irrigation facilities, availability of electricity etc. may also attract private investments in agriculture.

The focus on increasing foodgrain production which should be on a sustainable basis and also free trade in grains will create massive employment and reduce poverty in rural areas.

There has been a gradual shift from cultivation of food crops to cultivation of fruits, vegetables, oil-seeds and industrial crops. This has led to the reduction in net sown area under cereals and pulses. With the growing population of India, the declining food production puts a big question mark over the country's future food security. The competition for land between non-agricultural uses such as housing etc. and agriculture has resulted in reduction in the net sown area. The productivity of land has started showing a declining trend. Fertilisers, pesticides and insecticides, which once showed dramatic results, are now being held responsible for degrading the soils. Periodic scarcity of water has led to reduction in area under irrigation. Inefficient water management has led to water logging and salinity.

Activity

Draw bar diagram showing the trend of food grain production in India during last five years. Find out the reason of this trend.

Table 4.2: India: Foodgrains production

(in million tonnes)

Cereals	2011–12	2012–13	2013–14	2014–15	2015–16
Rice	105.30	105.24	106.54	105.48	104.32
Wheat	94.88	93.51	95.85	86.53	93.50
Maize	21.76	22.26	24.26	24.17	21.81
Coarse grains	42.01	40.04	43.29	42.86	37.94
Pulses	17.09	18.34	19.25	17.15	16.47
Total	**281.04**	**279.39**	**289.19**	**276.19**	**274.04**

Source: *Directorate of Economics and Statistics. DAC@FW, Ministry of Agriculture, Economic Survey 2015–16.*

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One important reason is land degradation. Free power to a section of farmers has encouraged them to pump groundwater to grow water-intensive crops in low-rainfall areas (rice in Punjab, sugarcane in Maharashtra). This unsustainable pumping has reduced water storage in aquifers. Consequently, many wells and tubewells have run dry. This has pushed the marginal and small farmers out of cultivation.

The big farmers with deeper tubewells still have water, but many others face a water crisis. Inadequate storage and marketing facilities also act as a disincentive to the farmer. Thus, the farmers are badly affected by the uncertainties of production and market. They suffer from a double disadvantage as they pay high prices for inputs such as HYV seeds, fertilisers etc. but lack the bargaining power to fix prices in their favour. All the production reaches the market simultaneously. The higher the supply the lower is the demand. This causes distress sale also. Therefore, there can be no food security without the security of the small farmers.

Impact of Globalisation on Agriculture

Globalisation is not a new phenomenon. It was there at the time of colonisation. In the nineteenth century when European traders came to India, at that time too, Indian spices were exported to different countries of the world and farmers of south India were encouraged to grow these crops. Till today it is one of the important items of export from India.

During the British period cotton belts of India attracted the British and ultimately cotton was exported to Britain as a raw material for their textile industries. Cotton textile industry in Manchester and Liverpool flourished due to the availability of good

Activity

Organise a debate on food security of India, its need and efforts

quality cotton from India. You have read about the Champaran movement which started in 1917 in Bihar. This was started because farmers of that region were forced to grow indigo on their land because it was necessary for the textile industries which were located in Britain. They were unable to grow foodgrains to sustain their families.

Under globalisation, particularly after 1990, the farmers in India have been exposed to new challenges. Despite being an important producer of rice, cotton, rubber, tea, coffee, jute and spices our agricultural products are not able to compete with the developed countries because of the highly subsidised agriculture in those countries.

Fig. 4.17: *Tissue culture of teak clones*

Today, Indian agriculture finds itself at the crossroads. To make agriculture successful and profitable, proper thrust should be given to the improvement of the condition of marginal and small farmers. The green revolution promised much. But today it's under controversies. It is being alleged that it has caused land degradation due to overuse of chemicals, drying aquifers and vanishing biodiversity. The keyword today is "gene revolution", which includes genetic engineering.

Genetic engineering is recognised as a powerful supplement in inventing new hybrid varieties of seeds.

Can you name any gene modified seed used vastly in India?

Fig. 4.18: *Problems associated with heavy pesticide use are widely recognised in developed and developing countries*

Infact organic farming is much in vogue today because it is practised without factory made chemicals such as fertilisers and pesticides. Hence, it does not affect environment in a negative manner.

A few economists think that Indian farmers have a bleak future if they continue growing foodgrains on the holdings that grow smaller and smaller as the population rises. India's rural population is about 833 million (2011) which depends upon 250 million (approximate) hectares of agricultural land, an average of less than half a hectare per person.

Indian farmers should diversify their cropping pattern from cereals to high-value crops. This will increase incomes and reduce environmental degradation simultaneously. Because fruits, medicinal herbs, flowers, vegetables, bio-diesel crops like jatropha and jojoba need much less irrigation than rice or sugarcane. India's diverse climate can be harnessed to grow a wide range of high-value crops.

Change in cropping pattern for example from cereals to high-value crops will mean that India will have to import food. During 1960's this would have been seen as a disaster. But if India imports cereals while exporting high-value commodities, it will be following successful economies like Italy, Israel and Chile. These countries exports farm products (fruits, olives, speciality seeds and wine) and import cereals. Are we ready to take this risk? Debate the issue.

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1. Multiple choice questions.

   (i) Which one of the following describes a system of agriculture where a single crop is grown on a large area?
   - (a) Shifting Agriculture
   - (b) Plantation Agriculture
   - (c) Horticulture
   - (d) Intensive Agriculture

   (ii) Which one of the following is a rabi crop?
   - (a) Rice
   - (b) Gram
   - (c) Millets
   - (d) Cotton

   (iii) Which one of the following is a leguminous crop?
   - (a) Pulses
   - (b) Jawar
   - (c) Millets
   - (d) Sesamum

   (iv) Which one of the following is announced by the government in support of a crop?
   - (a) Maximum support price
   - (b) Minimum support price
   - (c) Moderate support price
   - (d) Influential support price

2. Answer the following questions in 30 words.

   (i) Name one important beverage crop and specify the geographical conditions required for its growth.

   (ii) Name one staple crop of India and the regions where it is produced.

   (iii) Enlist the various institutional reform programmes introduced by the government in the interest of farmers.

   (iv) The land under cultivation has got reduced day by day. Can you imagine its consequences?

3. Answer the following questions in about 120 words.

   (i) Suggest the initiative taken by the government to ensure the increase in agricultural production.

   (ii) Describe the impact of globalisation on Indian agriculture.

   (iii) Describe the geographical conditions required for the growth of rice.

PROJECT WORK

1. Group discussion on the necessity of literacy among farmers.
2. On an outline map of India show wheat producing areas.

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Activity

Solve the puzzle by following your search horizontally and vertically to find the hidden answers.

A	Z	M	X	N	C	B	V	N	X	A	H	D	Q
S	D	E	W	S	R	J	D	Q	J	Z	V	R	E
D	K	H	A	R	I	F	G	W	F	M	R	F	W
F	N	L	R	G	C	H	H	R	S	B	S	V	T
G	B	C	W	H	E	A	T	Y	A	C	H	B	R
H	R	T	K	A	S	S	E	P	H	X	A	N	W
J	I	E	S	J	O	W	A	R	J	Z	H	D	T
K	C	L	A	E	G	A	C	O	F	F	E	E	Y
L	T	E	F	Y	M	T	A	T	S	S	R	G	I
P	D	E	J	O	U	Y	V	E	J	G	F	A	U
O	U	M	H	Q	S	U	D	I	T	S	W	S	P
U	O	A	C	O	T	T	O	N	E	A	H	F	O
Y	O	L	F	L	U	S	R	Q	Q	D	T	W	I
T	M	U	A	H	R	G	Y	K	T	R	A	B	F
E	A	K	D	G	D	Q	H	S	U	O	I	W	H
W	Q	Z	C	X	V	B	N	M	K	J	A	S	L

1. The two staple food crops of India.
2. This is the summer cropping season of India.
3. Pulses like arhar, moong, gram, urad contain...
4. It is a coarse grain.
5. The two important beverages in India are...
6. One of the four major fibers grown on black soils.

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MINERALS AND ENERGY RESOURCES 5

Haban comes to Guwahati with his father from a remote village.

He sees people getting into strange house like objects which move along the road. He also sees a "kitchen" dragging a number of house along with it. He is amazed and asked his father "Why don't our houses move like the one we saw in Guwahati, Ba?"

Ba replies, "These are not houses, they are buses and trains. Unlike our houses these are not made of bricks and stones, metal like iron and alluminium are used in making these. They do not move on their own. They are driven by an engine which needs energy to work."

We use different things in our daily life made from metal. Can you list a number of items used in your house made of metals. Where do these metals come from?

You have studied that the earth's crust is made up of different minerals embedded in the rocks. Various metals are extracted from these minerals after proper refinement.

Minerals are an indispensable part of our lives. Almost everything we use, from a tiny pin to a towering building or a big ship, all are made from minerals. The railway lines and the tarmac (paving) of the roads, our implements and machinery too are made from minerals. Cars, buses, trains, aeroplanes are manufactured from minerals and run on power resources derived from the earth. Even the food that we eat contains minerals. In all stages of development, human beings have used minerals for their livelihood, decoration, festivities, religious and ceremonial rites.

A bright smile from toothpaste and minerals

Toothpaste cleans your teeth. Abrasive minerals like silica, limestone, aluminium oxide and various phosphate minerals do the cleaning. Fluoride which is used to reduce cavities, comes from a mineral fluorite. Most toothpaste are made white with titanium oxide, which comes from minerals called rutile, ilmenite and anatase. The sparkle in some toothpastes comes from mica. The toothbrush and tube containing the paste are made of plastics from petroleum. Find out where these minerals are found?

Dig a little deeper and find out how many minerals are used to make a light bulb?

All living things need minerals

Life processes cannot occur without minerals. Although our mineral intake represents only about 0.3 per cent of our total intake of nutrients, they are so potent and so important that without them we would not be able to utilise the other 99.7 per cent of foodstuffs.

Dig a little deeper and collect "Nutritional Facts" printed on food labels.

What is a mineral?

Geologists define mineral as a "homogenous, naturally occurring substance with a definable internal structure." Minerals are found in varied forms in nature, ranging from the hardest diamond to the softest talc. Why are they so varied?

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You have already learnt about rocks. Rocks are combinations of homogenous substances called **minerals**. Some rocks, for instance limestone, consist of a single mineral only, but majority of the rock consist of several minerals in varying proportions. Although, over 2000 minerals have been identified, only a few are abundantly found in most of the rocks.

A particular mineral that will be formed from a certain combination of elements depends upon the physical and chemical conditions under which the material forms. This, in turn, results in a wide range of colours, hardness, crystal forms, lustre and density that a particular mineral possesses. Geologists use these properties to classify the minerals.

Study of Minerals by Geographers and Geologists

Geographers study minerals as part of the earth's crust for a better understanding of landforms. The distribution of mineral resources and associated economic activities are of interest to geographers. A geologist, however, is interested in the formation of minerals, their age and physical and chemical composition.

However, for general and commercial purposes minerals can be classified as under.

CLASSIFICATION OF MINERALS

Fig. 5.1

concentration to make its extraction commercially viable. The type of formation or structure in which they are found determines the relative ease with which mineral ores may be mined. This also determines the cost of extraction. It is, therefore, important for us to understand the main types of formations in which minerals occur.

Minerals generally occur in these forms:

(i) In igneous and metamorphic rocks minerals may occur in the cracks, crevices, faults or joints. The smaller occurrences are called **veins** and the larger are called **lodes**. In most cases, they are formed when minerals in liquid/molten and gaseous forms are forced upward through cavities towards the earth's surface. They cool and solidify as they rise. Major metallic minerals like tin, copper, zinc and lead etc. are obtained from veins and lodes.

(ii) In sedimentary rocks a number of minerals occur in **beds** or **layers**. They have been formed as a result of deposition, accumulation and concentration in horizontal strata. Coal and some forms of iron ore have been concentrated as a result of long periods under great heat and pressure. Another group of sedimentary minerals include gypsum, potash salt and sodium salt. These are formed as a result of **evaporation** especially in arid regions.

(iii) Another mode of formation involves the decomposition of surface rocks, and the removal of soluble constituents, leaving a **residual mass of weathered material** containing ores. Bauxite is formed this way.

MODE OF OCCURRENCE OF MINERALS

Where are these minerals found?

Minerals are usually found in "ores". The term ore is used to describe an accumulation of any mineral mixed with other elements. The mineral content of the ore must be in sufficient

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(iv) Certain minerals may occur as **alluvial deposits** in sands of valley floors and the base of hills. These deposits are called 'placer deposits' and generally contain minerals, which are not corroded by water. Gold, silver, tin and platinum are most important among such minerals.

(v) The ocean waters contain vast quantities of minerals, but most of these are too widely diffused to be of economic significance. However, common salt, magnesium and bromine are largely derived from ocean waters. The ocean beds, too, are rich in manganese nodules.

Interesting Fact

Rat-Hole Mining. Do you know that most of the minerals in India are nationalised and their extraction is possible only after obtaining due permission from the government? But in most of the tribal areas of the north-east India, minerals are owned by individuals or communities. In Meghalaya, there are large deposits of coal, iron ore, limestone and dolomite etc. Coal mining in Jowai and Cherapunjee is done by family member in the form of a long narrow tunnel, known as 'Rat hole' mining.

Dig a little deeper: What is the difference between an open pit mine, a quarry and an underground mine with shafts?

India is fortunate to have fairly rich and varied mineral resources. However, these are unevenly distributed. Broadly speaking, peninsular rocks contain most of the reserves of coal, metallic minerals, mica and many other non-metallic minerals. Sedimentary rocks on the western and eastern flanks of the peninsula, in Gujarat and Assam have most of the petroleum deposits. Rajasthan with the rock systems of the peninsula, has reserves of many non-ferrous minerals. The vast alluvial plains of north India are almost devoid of economic minerals. These variations exist largely because of the differences in the geological structure, processes and time involved in the formation of minerals.

Let us now study the distribution of a few major minerals in India. Always remember that the concentration of mineral in the ore, the ease of extraction and closeness to the market play an important role in affecting the economic viability of a reserve. Thus, to meet the demand, a choice has to be made between a number of possible options. When this is done a mineral 'deposit' or 'reserve' turns into a **mine**.

Ferrous Minerals

Ferrous minerals account for about three-fourths of the total value of the production of metallic minerals. They provide a strong base for the development of metallurgical industries. India exports substantial quantities of ferrous minerals after meeting her internal demands.

Iron Ore

Iron ore is the basic mineral and the backbone of industrial development. India is endowed with fairly abundant resources of iron ore. India is rich in good quality iron ores. Magnetite is the finest iron ore with a very high content of iron up to 70 per cent. It has excellent magnetic qualities, especially valuable in the electrical industry. Hematite ore is the most important industrial iron ore in terms of the quantity used, but has a slightly lower iron content than magnetite. (50-60 per cent).

Fig. 5.2: Production of iron ore showing statewise share in per cent, 2009-10

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Do you know?

Kudre in Kannada means horse. The highest peak in the western ghats of Karnataka resembles the face of a horse. The Bailadila hills look like the hump of an ox, and hence its name.

Fig. 5.3: *Iron ore mine*

The major iron ore belts in India are:

- *Odisha-Jharkhand belt*: In Odisha high grade hematite ore is found in Badampahar mines in the Mayurbhanj and Kendujhar districts. In the adjoining Singbhum district of Jharkhand haematite iron ore is mined in Gua and Noamundi.
- *Durg-Bastar-Chandrapur belt* lies in Chhattisgarh and Maharashtra. Very high grade hematites are found in the famous Bailadila range of hills in the Bastar district of Chhattisgarh. The range of hills comprise of 14 deposits of super high grade hematite iron ore. It has the best physical properties needed for steel making. Iron ore from these mines is exported to Japan and South Korea via Vishakhapatnam port.
- *Ballari-Chitradurga-Chikkamagaluru-Tumakuru belt* in Karnataka has large reserves of iron ore. The Kudremukh mines located in the Western Ghats of Karnataka are a 100 per cent export unit. Kudremukh deposits are known to be one of the largest in the world. The ore is transported as slurry through a pipeline to a port near Mangaluru.
- *Maharashtra-Goa belt* includes the state of Goa and Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra. Though, the ores are not of very high quality, yet they are efficiently exploited. Iron ore is exported through Marmagao port.

Manganese

Manganese is mainly used in the manufacturing of steel and ferro-manganese alloy. Nearly 10 kg of manganese is required to manufacture one tonne of steel. It is also used in manufacturing bleaching powder, insecticides and paints.

Fig. 5.4: *Production of Manganese showing statewise share in per cent, 2009-2010*

Odisha is the largest producer of manganese ores in India. It accounted for one-third of the country's total production in 2000-01.

Dig a little deeper: Superimpose the maps showing distribution of iron ore, manganese, coal and iron and steel industry. Do you see any correlation. Why?

Non-Ferrous Minerals

India's reserves and production of non- ferrous minerals is not very satisfactory. However, these minerals, which include copper, bauxite, lead, zinc and gold play a vital role in a number of metallurgical, engineering and electrical industries. Let us study the distribution of copper and bauxite.

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India: *Distribution of Iron Ore, Manganese, Bauxite and Mica*

Copper

India is critically deficient in the reserve and production of copper. Being malleable, ductile and a good conductor, copper is mainly used in electrical cables, electronics and chemical industries. The Balaghat mines in Madhya Pradesh, Khetri mines in Rajasthan and Singhbhum district of Jharkhand are leading producers of copper.

Fig. 5.5: *Copper mines at Malanjkhand*

Fig. 5.6: *Production of Copper showing state-wise share in per cent, 2009-10*

Bauxite

Though, several ores contain aluminium, it is from bauxite, a clay-like substance that alumina and later aluminium is obtained. Bauxite deposits are formed by the decomposition of a wide variety of rocks rich in aluminium silicates.

Aluminium is an important metal because it combines the strength of metals such as iron, with extreme lightness and also with good conductivity and great malleability.

India's bauxite deposits are mainly found in the Amarkantak plateau, Maikal hills and the plateau region of Bilaspur-Katni.

Odisha was the largest bauxite producing state in India with 34.97 per cent of the country's total production in 2009-10. Panchpatmali deposits in Koraput district are the most important bauxite deposits in the state.

Fig.5.7: *Bauxite Mine*

Dig a little deeper: Locate the mines of Bauxite on the physical map of India.

Interesting Fact

After the discovery of aluminium Emperor Napoleon III wore buttons and hooks on his clothes made of aluminium and served food to his more illustrious guests in aluminium utensils and the less honourable ones were served in gold and silver utensils. Thirty years after this incident aluminium bowls were most common with the beggars in Paris.

Non-Metallic Minerals

Mica is a mineral made up of a series of plates or leaves. It splits easily into thin sheets. These sheets can be so thin that a thousand can be layered into a mica sheet of a few centimeters high. Mica can be clear, black, green, red yellow or brown. Due to its excellent di-electric strength, low power loss factor, insulating properties and resistance to high voltage, mica is one of the most indispensable minerals used in electric and electronic industries.

Mica deposits are found in the northern edge of the Chota Nagpur plateau. Koderma Gaya – Hazaribagh belt of Jharkhand is the leading producer.

In Rajasthan, the major mica producing area is around Ajmer. Nellore mica belt of Andhra Pradesh is also an important producer in the country.

Rock Minerals

Limestone is found in association with rocks composed of calcium carbonates or calcium and magnesium carbonates. It is found in sedimentary rocks of most geological formations. Limestone is the basic raw material for the cement industry and essential for smelting iron ore in the blast furnace.

Dig a little deeper: Study the maps to explain why Chota Nagpur is a storehouse of minerals.

Fig. 5.8: *Production of Limestone showing state-wise share in per cent, 2009-10*

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Hazards of Mining

Have you ever wondered about the efforts the miners make in making life comfortable for you? What are the impacts of mining on the health of the miners and the environment?

The dust and noxious fumes inhaled by miners make them vulnerable to pulmonary diseases. The risk of collapsing mine roofs, inundation and fires in coalmines are a constant threat to miners.

The water sources in the region get contaminated due to mining. Dumping of waste and slurry leads to degradation of land, soil, and increase in stream and river pollution.

Fig. 5.9: *Air pollution due to generation of dust in mining areas*

Jharia to be shifted

Law Kumar Mishra | TNN

Dhanbad: The government has decided to relocate an entire township — Jharia — because of the uncontrollable spread of underground fires that have been burning for years in the coal belt.

"The Centre has already sanctioned Rs 14 crore for the first phase of shifting."

Claiming it to be one of the world's major evacuation drives, Soren said the shifting would be done in three phases in five years and he also as-su

1990. According to the Rana panel, the cost of shifting people will be at Rs 20,000 crore. The Rana panel had also said, "It is profitable to shift people from Jharia, since coal worth Rs 60,000 crore is lying unutilised beneath the Jharia

Coal unit fined Rs 300 cr in damages

Dhananjay Mahapatra | TNN

New Delhi: The Supreme Court has asked India's largest coal producing company — South Eastern Coalfields Ltd — to pay within a month Rs 300 crore as compensation for using forest land in Chhattisgarh. This is in addition to Rs 50 crore already paid by the PSU, which is a subsidiary of Coal India Ltd, to continue its operations in the state.

SECL will have to pay Rs 100 crore within a week and the rest within a month, the forest Bench comprising CJI Y K Sabharwal and Justices Arijit Pasayat and S H Kapadia directed on Friday.

The court, in its earlier judgment, had said that all companies were liable to pay Penal Compensatory Afforestation cost and amount of Net Present Value to continue operations in forest land already allotted to them by the states.

Appearing for the PSU, solicitor general G E Vahanvati argued that the company had one of the best records for protection of environment and had won awards at the national and state level. He said the Rs 50 crore already deposited by the company was compensation enough for it to be allowed coal mining operations. Appearing for the ministry of environment and forests, counsel A D N Rao

'Over 50% of coal-belt mines unsafe'

Law Kumar Mishra | TNN

Dhanbad: Three days after one of the worst mining disasters in decades left 54 people dead, the chief of the company which owns these mines, said no less than half the mines in the area did not meet the basic safety standards.

Bharat Coking Coal Ltd (BCCL) chairman Partho S Bhattacharya, however, said on Saturday the company shouldn't be blamed for operating unsafe mines because workers and trade unions had blocked moves to shut these for fear of losing jobs. He said only one out of 41 mines was operated scientifically and of the rest, the many were functioning against the advice of the Directorate General of Mines Safety. He described safety standards in 24 mines as poor.

Bhattacharya said workers were aware that they would have to seek voluntary retirement if unsafe mines were shut.

Bharat Coking Coal management on Saturday also handed over employment letters to the immediate people nominated by families of victims. Ironically, these people, most likely, would go to work in mines deemed unsafe by the company.

BCCL's audit of the safety status of mines, graded second and third degrees,

WAIT AND WATCH: A crowd watches the ongoing rescue operation outside the Bharat Coking Coal Ltd mine at Bhatdih in Jharkhand on Thursday

'Safety standards were not in place'

Law Kumar Mishra | TNN

Dhanbad: Union coal minister Shibu Soren on Thursday announced an ex gratia of Rs 3 lakh to the families of the mine tragedy victims. Soren said: "Dependents of the victims will be provided employment by the Bharat Coking Coal from today. A probe by the director general of mines safety and the labour commissioner will also be initiated."

Soren also held discussions with Bharat Coking Coal officials and promised medical help to the four survivors.

tained, even though the director general of mine safety carries out surveys of the safety norms," an expert said.

Some agitating miners alleged that "there is no emergency measures inside the mine. We go deep — between 400 feet and 1,500 ft — into the mines with only an oxygen mask." The tragedy points to the lack of security measures by Bharat Coking Coal despite previous instances of disasters due to methane leak.

At least 48 people were killed in explosions in Jeetpur mine, 43 in Sudamdeeh and 30 in

Stricter safety regulations and implementation of environmental laws are essential to prevent mining from becoming a "killer industry".

Conservation of Minerals

We all appreciate the strong dependence of industry and agriculture upon mineral deposits and the substances manufactured from them. The total volume of workable mineral deposits is an insignificant fraction i.e. one per cent of the earth's crust. We are rapidly consuming mineral resources that required millions of years to be created and concentrated. The geological processes of mineral formation are so slow that the rates of replenishment are infinitely small in comparison to the present rates of consumption. Mineral resources are, therefore, finite and non-renewable. Rich mineral deposits are our country's extremely valuable but short-lived possessions. Continued extraction of ores leads to increasing costs as mineral extraction comes from greater depths along with decrease in quality.

A concerted effort has to be made in order to use our mineral resources in a planned and sustainable manner. Improved technologies need to be constantly evolved to allow use of low grade ores at low costs. Recycling of metals, using scrap metals and other substitutes are steps in conserving our mineral resources for the future.

Dig a little deeper: Make a list of items where substitutes are being used instead of minerals. Where are these substitutes obtained from?

Energy Resources

Energy is required for all activities. It is needed to cook, to provide light and heat, to propel vehicles and to drive machinery in industries.

Energy can be generated from fuel minerals like coal, petroleum, natural gas, uranium and from electricity. Energy resources can be classified as conventional and non-conventional sources. Conventional sources include: firewood, cattle dung cake, coal, petroleum, natural gas and electricity (both hydel and thermal). Non-conventional sources include solar, wind, tidal, geothermal, biogas and atomic energy. Firewood and cattle dung cake are most common in rural India. According to one estimate more than 70 per cent energy requirement in rural households is met by these two ; continuation of these is increasingly becoming difficult due to decreasing forest area. Moreover, using dung cake too is being discouraged because it consumes most valuable manure which could be used in agriculture.

Conventional Sources of Energy

Coal: In India, coal is the most abundantly available fossil fuel. It provides a substantial part of the nation's energy needs. It is used for power generation, to supply energy to industry as well as for domestic needs. India is highly dependent on coal for meeting its commercial energy requirements.

As you are already aware that coal is formed due the compression of plant material over millions of years. Coal, therefore, is found in a variety of forms depending on the degrees of compression

Fig. 5.10 (a): A view from inside of a coal mine

Fig. 5.10 (b): A view from outside of a coal mine

and the depth and time of burial. Decaying plants in swamps produce peat. Which has a low carbon and high moisture contents and low heating capacity. **Lignite** is a low grade brown coal, which is soft with high moisture content. The principal lignite reserves are in Neyveli in Tamil Nadu and are used for generation of electricity. Coal that has been buried deep and subjected to increased temperatures is **bituminous** coal. It is the most popular coal in commercial use. Metallurgical coal is high grade bituminous coal which has a special value for smelting iron in blast furnaces. **Anthracite** is the highest quality hard coal.

In India coal occurs in rock series of two main geological ages, namely Gondwana, a little over 200 million years in age and in tertiary deposits which are only about 55 million years old. The major resources of Gondwana coal, which are metallurgical coal, are located in

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India: *Distribution of Coal, Oil and Natural Gas*

Damodar valley (West Bengal-Jharkhand). Jharia, Raniganj, Bokaro are important coalfields. The Godavari, Mahanadi, Son and Wardha valleys also contain coal deposits.

Tertiary coals occur in the north eastern states of Meghalaya, Assam, Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland.

Remember coal is a bulky material, which loses weight on use as it is reduced to ash. Hence, heavy industries and thermal power stations are located on or near the coalfields.

Petroleum

Petroleum or mineral oil is the next major energy source in India after coal. It provides fuel for heat and lighting, lubricants for machinery and raw materials for a number of manufacturing industries. Petroleum refineries act as a "nodal industry" for synthetic textile, fertiliser and numerous chemical industries.

Most of the petroleum occurrences in India are associated with anticlines and fault traps in the rock formations of the tertiary age. In regions of folding, anticlines or domes, it occurs where oil is trapped in the crest of the upfold. The oil bearing layer is a porous limestone or sandstone through which oil may flow. The oil is prevented from rising or sinking by intervening non-porous layers.

Petroleum is also found in fault traps between porous and non-porous rocks. Gas, being lighter usually occurs above the oil.

About 63 per cent of India's petroleum production is from Mumbai High, 18 per cent from Gujarat and 16 per cent from Assam. From the map locate the 3 major off shore fields of western India. Ankeleshwar is the most important field of Gujarat. Assam is the oldest oil producing state of India. Digboi, Naharkatiya and Moran-Hugrijan are the important oil fields in the state.

Natural Gas

Natural gas is an important clean energy resource found in association with or without petroleum. It is used as a source of energy as well as an industrial raw material in the petrochemical industry.

Natural gas is considered an environment friendly fuel because of low carbon dioxide emissions and is, therefore, the fuel for the present century.

Large reserves of natural gas have been discovered in the Krishna-Godavari basin. Along the west coast the reserves of the Mumbai High and allied fields are supplemented by finds in the Gulf of Cambay. Andaman and Nicobar islands are also important areas having large reserves of natural gas.

The 1700 km long Hazira-Vijaipur-Jagdishpur cross country gas pipeline links Mumbai High and Bassien with the fertilizer, power and industrial complexes in western and northern India. This artery has provided an impetus to India's gas production. The power and fertilizer industries are the key users of natural gas. Use of Compressed Natural Gas (CNG) for vehicles to replace liquid fuels is gaining wide popularity in the country.

Electricity

Electricity has such a wide range of applications in today's world that, its percapita consumption is considered as an index of development. Electricity is generated mainly in two ways: by running water which drives hydro turbines to generate *hydro electricity;* and by burning other fuels such as coal, petroleum and natural gas to drive turbines to produce *thermal power.* Once generated the electricity is exactly the same.

Activity

Name some river valley projects and write the names of the dams built on these rivers.

Hydro electricity is generated by fast flowing water, which is a renewable resource. India has a number of multi-purpose projects like the Bhakra Nangal, Damodar Valley corporation, the Kopili Hydel Project etc. producing hydroelectric power.

Thermal electricity is generated by using coal, petroleum and natural gas. The thermal power stations use non-renewable fossil fuels for generating electricity. There are over 310 thermal power plants in India.

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India: *Distribution of Nuclear and Thermal Power Plants*

Collect information about thermal/hydel power plants located in your state. Show them on the map of India.

Non-Conventional Sources of Energy

The growing consumption of energy has resulted in the country becoming increasingly dependent on fossil fuels such as coal, oil and gas. Rising prices of oil and gas and their potential shortages have raised uncertainties about the security of energy supply in future, which in turn has serious repercussions on the growth of the national economy. Moreover, increasing use of fossil fuels also causes serious environmental problems. Hence, there is a pressing need to use renewable energy sources like solar energy, wind, tide, biomass and energy from waste material. These are called non-conventional energy sources.

India is blessed with an abundance of sunlight, water, wind and biomass. It has the largest programmes for the development of these renewable energy resources.

Nuclear or Atomic Energy

It is obtained by altering the structure of atoms. When such an alteration is made, much energy is released in the form of heat and this is used to generate electric power. Uranium and Thorium, which are available in Jharkhand and the Aravalli ranges of Rajasthan are used for generating atomic or nuclear power. The Monazite sands of Kerala is also rich in Thorium.

Locate the 6 nuclear power stations and find out the state in which they are located.

Solar Energy

India is a tropical country. It has enormous possibilities of tapping solar energy. Photovoltaic technology converts sunlight directly into electricity. Solar energy is fast becoming popular in rural and remote areas. Some big solar power plants are being established in different parts of India which will minimise the dependence of rural households on firewood and dung cakes, which in turn will contribute to environmental conservation and adequate supply of manure in agriculture.

Fig. 5.11: *Solar operated electronic milk testing equipment*

Activity

Collect information about newly established solar power plants in India.

Wind power

India has great potential of wind power. The largest wind farm cluster is located in Tamil Nadu from Nagarcoil to Madurai. Apart from these, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Gujarat, Kerala, Maharashtra and Lakshadweep have important wind farms. Nagarcoil and Jaisalmer are well known for effective use of wind energy in the country.

Fig. 5.12: *Wind mills – Nagarcoil*

Biogas

Shrubs, farm waste, animal and human waste are used to produce biogas for domestic consumption in rural areas. Decomposition of organic matter yields gas, which has higher thermal efficiency in comparison to kerosene, dung cake and charcoal. Biogas plants are set up at municipal, cooperative and individual levels. The plants using cattle dung are known as *'Gobar gas plants'* in rural India. These provide twin benefits to the farmer in the form of energy and improved quality of manure.

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Biogas is by far the most efficient use of cattle dung. It improves the quality of manure and also prevents the loss of trees and manure due to burning of fuel wood and cow dung cakes.

Fig. 5.13: Biogas Plant

Tidal Energy

Oceanic tides can be used to generate electricity. Floodgate dams are built across inlets. During high tide water flows into the inlet and gets trapped when the gate is closed. After the tide falls outside the flood gate, the water retained by the floodgate flows back to the sea via a pipe that carries it through a power-generating turbine.

In India the Gulf of Khambhat, the Gulf of Kuchchh in Gujarat on the western coast and Gangetic delta in Sunderban regions of West Bengal provide ideal conditions for utilising tidal energy.

Geo Thermal Energy

Geo thermal energy refers to the heat and electricity produced by using the heat from the interior of the Earth. Geothermal energy exists because, the Earth grows progressively hotter with increasing depth. Where the geothermal gradient is high, high temperatures are found at shallow depths. Groundwater in such areas absorbs heat from the rocks and becomes hot. It is so hot that when it rises to the earth's surface, it turns into steam. This steam is used to drive turbines and generate electricity.

There are several hundred hot springs in India, which could be used to generate electricity. Two experimental projects have been set up in India to harness geothermal energy. One is located in the Parvati valley near Manikarn in Himachal Pradesh and the other is located in the Puga Valley, Ladakh.

Conservation of Energy Resources

Energy is a basic requirement for economic development. Every sector of the national economy – agriculture, industry, transport, commercial and domestic – needs inputs of energy. The economic development plans implemented since Independence necessarily required increasing amounts of energy to remain operational. As a result, consumption of energy in all forms has been steadily rising all over the country.

In this background, there is an urgent need to develop a sustainable path of energy development. Promotion of energy conservation and increased use of renewable energy sources are the twin planks of sustainable energy.

India is presently one of the least energy efficient countries in the world. We have to adopt a cautious approach for the judicious use of our limited energy resources. For example, as concerned citizens we can do our bit by using public transport systems instead of individual vehicles; switching off electricity when not in use, using power-saving devices and using non-conventional sources of energy. After all, "energy saved is energy produced".

EXERCISES

1. Multiple choice questions.

   (i) Which one of the following minerals is formed by decomposition of rocks, leaving a residual mass of weathered material?

   (a) coal (b) bauxite (c) gold (d) zinc

   (ii) Koderma, in Jharkhand is the leading producer of which one of the following minerals?

   (a) bauxite (b) mica (c) iron ore (d) copper

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(iii) Minerals are deposited and accumulated in the stratas of which of the following rocks?

(a) sedimentary rocks (c) igneous rocks

(b) metamorphic rocks (d) none of the above

(iv) Which one of the following minerals is contained in the Monazite sand?

(a) oil (b) uranium (c) thorium (d) coal

2. Answer the following questions in about 30 words.

(i) Distinguish between the following in not more than 30 words.

(a) ferrous and non-ferrous minerals

(b) conventional and non-conventional sources of energy

(ii) What is a mineral?

(iii) How are minerals formed in igneous and metamorphic rocks?

(iv) Why do we need to conserve mineral resources ?

3. Answer the following questions in about 120 words.

(i) Describe the distribution of coal in India.

(ii) Why do you think that solar energy has a bright future in India?

Activity

Fill the name of the correct mineral in the crossword below:

Across

1. A ferrous mineral (9)
2. Raw material for cement industry (9)
3. Finest iron ore with magnetic properties (9)
4. Highest quality hard coal (10)
5. Aluminium is obtained from this ore (7)
6. Khetri mines are famous for this mineral (6)
7. Formed due to evaporation (6)

Down

1. Found in placer deposit (4)
2. Iron ore mined in Bailadila (8)
3. Indispensable for electrical industry (4)
4. Geological Age of coal found in north east India (8)
5. Formed in veins and lodes (3)

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MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES 6

On the occassion of Diwali, Harish went to a market with his parents. They purchased shoes and clothes for him. His mother purchased utensils, sugar, tea and diyas (earthen lamps). Harish observed that the shops in the market were flooded with items for sale. He wondered how so many items could be made in such large quantities. His father explained that shoes, clothes, sugar etc. are manufactured by machines in large industries, some utensils are manufactured in small industries, while items like **diyas** are made by individual artisans in household industry.

Do you have some ideas about these industries?

Production of goods in large quantities after processing from raw materials to more valuable products is called manufacturing. Do you know that paper is manufactured from wood, sugar from sugarcane, iron and steel from iron ore and aluminium from bauxite? Do you also know that some types of clothes are manufactured from yarn which itself is an industrial product?

People employed in the secondary activities manufacture the primary materials into finished goods. The workers employed in steel factories, car, breweries, textile industries, bakeries etc. fall into this category. Some people are employed in providing services. In this chapter, we are mainly concerned with manufacturing industries which fall in the secondary sector.

The economic strength of a country is measured by the development of manufacturing industries.

Importance of Manufacturing

Manufacturing sector is considered the backbone of development in general and economic development in particular mainly because–

- Manufacturing industries not only help in modernising agriculture, which forms the backbone of our economy, they also reduce the heavy dependence of people on agricultural income by providing them jobs in secondary and tertiary sectors.
- Industrial development is a precondition for eradication of unemployment and poverty from our country. This was the main philosophy behind public sector industries and joint sector ventures in India. It was also aimed at bringing down regional disparities by establishing industries in tribal and backward areas.
- Export of manufactured goods expands trade and commerce, and brings in much needed foreign exchange.
- Countries that transform their raw materials into a wide variety of finished goods of higher value are prosperous. India's prosperity lies in increasing and diversifying its manufacturing industries as quickly as possible.

Agriculture and industry are not exclusive of each other. They move hand in hand. For instance, the agro-industries in India have given a major boost to agriculture by raising its productivity. They depend on the latter for raw materials and sell their products such as irrigation pumps, fertilisers, insecticides, pesticides, plastic and PVC pipes, machines and tools, etc. to the farmers. Thus, development and competitiveness of manufacturing industry has not only assisted agriculturists in increasing

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their production but also made the production processes very efficient.

In the present day world of globalisation, our industry needs to be more efficient and competitive. Self-sufficiency alone is not enough. Our manufactured goods must be at par in quality with those in the international market. Only then, will we be able to compete in the international market.

Contribution of Industry to National Economy

Over the last two decades, the share of manufacturing sector has stagnated at 17 per cent of GDP – out of a total of 27 per cent for the industry which includes 10 per cent for mining, quarrying, electricity and gas.

This is much lower in comparison to some East Asian economies, where it is 25 to 35 per cent. The trend of growth rate in manufacturing over the last decade has been around 7 per cent per annum. The desired growth rate over the next decade is 12 per cent. Since 2003, manufacturing is once again growing at the rate of 9 to 10 per cent per annum. With appropriate policy interventions by the government and renewed efforts by the industry to improve productivity, economists predict that manufacturing can achieve its target over the next decade. The National Manufacturing Competitiveness Council (NMCC) has been set up with this objective.

Industrial Location

Industrial locations are complex in nature. These are influenced by availability of raw material, labour, capital, power and market, etc. It is rarely possible to find all these factors available at one place. Consequently, manufacturing activity tends to locate at the most appropriate place where all the factors of industrial location are either available or can be arranged at lower cost. After an industrial activity starts, urbanisation follows. Sometimes, industries are located in or near the cities. Thus, industrialisation and urbanisation go hand in hand. Cities provide markets and also provide services such as banking, insurance, transport, labour, consultants and financial advice, etc. to the industry. Many industries tend to come together to make use of the advantages offered by the urban centres known as **agglomeration economies**. Gradually, a large industrial agglomeration takes place.

In the pre-Independence period, most manufacturing units were located in places from the point of view of overseas trade such as Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai, etc. Consequently, there emerged certain pockets of industrially developed urban centres surrounded by a huge agricultural rural hinterland.

Industry – Market Linkage

Fig. 6.1

The key to decision of the factory location is the least cost. Government policies and specialised labour also influence the location of industry.

Ideal Location of an Industry

Fig. 6.2

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Classification of Industries

List the various manufactured products you use in your daily life such as – transistors, electric bulbs, vegetable oil, cement, glassware, petrol, matches, scooters, automobiles, medicines and so on. If we classify the various industries based on a particular criterion then we would be able to understand their manufacturing better. Industries may be classified as follows:

On the basis of source of raw materials used:

- Agro based: cotton, woollen, jute, silk textile, rubber and sugar, tea, coffee, edible oil.
- Mineral based: iron and steel, cement, aluminium, machine tools, petrochemicals.

According to their main role:

- Basic or key industries are those which supply their products as raw materials to manufacture other goods e.g. iron and steel and copper smelting, aluminum smelting.
- Consumer industries that produce goods for direct use by consumers – sugar, toothpaste, paper, sewing machines, fans etc.

On the basis of capital investment:

- A small scale industry is defined with reference to the maximum investment allowed on the assets of a unit. This limit has changed over a period of time. At present the maximum investment allowed is rupees one crore.

On the basis of ownership:

- Public sector, owned and operated by government agencies – BHEL, SAIL etc.
- Private sector industries owned and operated by individuals or a group of individuals –TISCO, Bajaj Auto Ltd., Dabur Industries.
- Joint sector industries which are jointly run by the state and individuals or a group of individuals. Oil India Ltd. (OIL) is jointly owned by public and private sector.
- Cooperative sector industries are owned and operated by the producers or suppliers of raw materials, workers or both. They pool in the resources and share the profits or losses proportionately. Such examples are the sugar industry in Maharashtra, the coir industry in Kerala.

Based on the bulk and weight of raw material and finished goods:

- Heavy industries such as iron and steel
- Light industries that use light raw materials and produce light goods such as electrical goods industries.

Activity

Classify the following into two groups on the basis of bulk and weight of raw material and finished goods.

(i) Oil	(vi) Sewing Machines
(ii) Knitting needles	(vii) Shipbuilding
(iii) Brassware	(viii) Electric Bulbs
(iv) Fuse wires	(ix) Paint brushes
(v) Watches	(x) Automobiles

Agro-based Industries

Cotton, jute, silk, woollen textiles, sugar and edible oil, etc. industries are based on agricultural raw materials.

Textile Industry: The textile industry occupies unique position in the Indian economy, because it contributes significantly to industrial production (14 per cent), employment generation (35 million persons directly – the second largest after agriculture) and foreign exchange earnings (about 24.6 per cent). It contributes 4 per cent towards GDP. It is the only industry in the country, which is self-reliant and complete in the value chain i.e., from raw material to the highest value added products.

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Fig. 6.3: *Value addition in the textile industry*

Cotton Textiles: In ancient India, cotton textiles were produced with hand spinning and handloom weaving techniques. After the 18th century, power-looms came into use. Our traditional industries suffered a setback during the colonial period because they could not compete with the mill-made cloth from England.

- The first successful textile mill was established in Mumbai in 1854.
- The two world wars were fought in Europe, India was a British colony. There was a demand for cloth in U.K. hence, they gave a boost to the development of the cotton textile industry.

As on 30 November 2011, there were 1946 cotton and human-made fibre textile mill in the country. About 80 per cent of these are in the private sector and the rest in the public and cooperative sectors. Apart from these, there are several thousand small factories with four to ten looms.

In the early years, the cotton textile industry was concentrated in the cotton growing belt of Maharashtra and Gujarat. Availability of raw cotton, market, transport including accessible port facilities, labour, moist climate, etc. contributed towards its localisation. This industry has close links with agriculture and provides a living to farmers, cotton boll pluckers and workers engaged in ginning, spinning, weaving, dyeing, designing, packaging, tailoring and sewing. The industry by creating demands supports many other industries, such as, chemicals and dyes, packaging materials and engineering works.

While spinning continues to be centralised in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Tamil Nadu, weaving is highly decentralised to provide scope for incorporating traditional skills and designs of weaving in cotton, silk, zari, embroidery, etc. India has world class production in spinning, but weaving supplies low quality of fabric as it cannot use much of the high quality yarn produced in the country. Weaving is done by handloom, powerloom and in mills.

The handspun khadi provides large scale employment to weavers in their homes as a cottage industry.

Why did Mahatma Gandhi lay emphasis on spinning yarn and weaving khadi?

Table 6.1: India: Production of Fabrics in India

Sector	2009-10	2010-11* (Provisional)
Mill Sector	3.3	3.5
Powerlooms (in Hosiery)	84.1	84.1
Handlooms	11.3	11.1
Others	1.3	1.3
Total	**100%**	**100%**

Source: *Office of Textile Commissioner, Mumbai, Economic Survey, 2011-12.*

Note: *90 per cent of the weaving, cutting and processing is in decentralised sector.*

Study the figures above and note the share of mills in the production of fabric.

Why is it important for our country to keep the mill sector loomage lower than power loom and handloom?

India exports yarn to Japan. Other importers of cotton goods from India are U.S.A., U.K., Russia, France, East European countries, Nepal, Singapore, Sri Lanka, and African countries.

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India: *Distribution of cotton, woollen and silk industries*

India has the second largest installed capacity of spindles in the world, with 43.13 million spindles (2011-12) after China. Since the mid-eighties, the spinning sector has received a lot of attention.

We have a large share in the world trade of cotton yarn, accounting for one fourth of the total trade. However, our trade in garments is only 4 per cent of the world's total. Our spinning mills are competitive at the global level and capable of using all the fibres we produce. The weaving, knitting and processing units cannot use much of the high quality yarn that is produced in the country. There are some large and modern factories in these segments, but most of the production is in fragmented small units, which cater to the local market. This mismatch is a major drawback for the industry. As a result, many of our spinners export cotton yarn while apparel/garment manufactures have to import fabric.

Suppose that yarn is sold at Rs. 85 per kg. If it is sold as a trouser it fetches Rs 800 per kg. Value is added at every stage from fibre to yarn to fabric and to garment.

Why is it important for us to improve our weaving sector instead of exporting yarn in large quantities?

Although, we have made significant increase in the production of good quality long staple cotton (301.5 lakh bales of 170 kgs each during 2015–16), the need to import is still felt. Power supply is erratic and machinery needs to be upgraded in the weaving and processing sectors in particular. Other problems are the low output of labour and stiff competition with the synthetic fibre industry.

Jute Textiles

India is the largest producer of raw jute and jute goods and stands at second place as an exporter after Bangladesh. There were about 80 jute mills in India in 2010-11. Most of these are located in West Bengal, mainly along the banks of the Hugli river, in a narrow belt (98 km long and 3 km wide).

The first jute mill was set up near Kolkata in 1855 at Rishra. After Partition in 1947, the jute mills remained in India but three-fourth of the jute producing area went to Bangladesh (erstwhile East Pakistan).

Factors responsible for their location in the Hugli basin are: proximity of the jute producing areas, inexpensive water transport, supported by a good network of railways, roadways and waterways to facilitate movement of raw material to the mills, abundant water for processing raw jute, cheap labour from West Bengal and adjoining states of Bihar, Odisha and Uttar Pradesh. Kolkata as a large urban centre provides banking, insurance and port facilities for export of jute goods.

In 2010-11 the jute industry was supporting 3.7 lakh workers directly and another 40 lakhs small and marginal farmers who were engaged in cultivation of jute and mesta. Many more people were associated indirectly.

Challenges faced by the industry include stiff competition in the international market from synthetic substitutes and from other competitors like Bangladesh, Brazil, Philippines, Egypt and Thailand. However, the internal demand has been on the increase due to the Government policy of mandatory use of jute packaging. To stimulate demand, the products need to be diversified. In 2005, National Jute Policy was formulated with the objective of increasing productivity, improving quality, ensuring good prices to the jute farmers and enhancing the yield per hectare. The main markets are U.S.A., Canada, Ghana, Saudi Arabia, U.K. and Australia. The growing global concern for environment friendly, biodegradable materials, has once again opened the opportunity for jute products.

Sugar Industry

India stands second as a world producer of sugar but occupies the first place in the

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production of *gur* and *khandsari.* The raw material used in this industry is bulky, and in haulage its sucrose content reduces. Where should the mills be ideally located? In 2010-11 there were over 662 sugar mills in the country spread over Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat along with Punjab, Haryana and Madhya Pradesh. Sixty per cent mills are in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. This industry is seasonal in nature so, it is ideally suited to the cooperative sector. Can you explain why this is so?

In recent years, there is a tendency for the mills to shift and concentrate in the southern and western states, especially in Maharashtra, This is because the cane produced here has a higher sucrose content. The cooler climate also ensures a longer crushing season. Moreover, the cooperatives are more successful in these states.

Major challenges include the seasonal nature of the industry, old and inefficient methods of production, transport delay in reaching cane to factories and the need to maximise the use of baggase.

Mineral-based Industries

Industries that use minerals and metals as raw materials are called mineral-based industries. Can you name some industries that would fall in this category?

Iron and Steel Industry

The iron and steel industry is the basic industry since all the other industries — heavy, medium and light, depend on it for their machinery. Steel is needed to manufacture a variety of engineering goods, construction material, defence, medical, telephonic, scientific equipment and a variety of consumer goods.

Activity

Make a list of all such goods made of steel that you can think of.

Production and consumption of steel is often regarded as the index of a country's development. Iron and steel is a heavy industry because all the raw materials as well as finished goods are heavy and bulky entailing heavy transportation costs. Iron ore, coking coal and lime stone are required in the ratio of approximately 4 : 2 : 1. Some quantities of manganese, are also required to harden the steel. Where should the steel plants be ideally located? Remember that the finished products also need an efficient transport network for their distribution to the markets and consumers.

In 2016 with 95.6 million tonnes of crude steel production, India ranked 3rd among the world crude steel producers. It is the largest producer of sponge iron. In 2016 per capita consumption of steel in the country was only around 63 kg per annum against the world average of 208 kg.

Processes of Manufacture of Steel

Fig. 6.4

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India: *Iron and Steel Plants*

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Activity

Table 6.2: Total production of finished steel in India

Year	Production (in metric tonnes per annum)
2010–11	68.62
2011–12	75.70
2012–13	81.68
2013–14	87.67
2014–15	92.16
2015–16	91.00
2016–17	101.3

Source: Ministry of Steel, Government of India

Why is the per capita consumption of steel so low in India?

Activity

Collect information about products of steel plants in India.

Mini steel plants are smaller, have electric furnaces, use steel scrap and sponge iron. They have re-rollers that use steel ingots as well. They produce mild and alloy steel of given specifications.

An integrated steel plant is large, handles everything in one complex – from putting together raw material to steel making, rolling and shaping.

Most of the public sector undertakings market their steel through Steel Authority of India Ltd. (SAIL).

In the 1950s China and India produced almost the same quantity of steel. Today, China is the largest producer of steel. China is also the world's largest consumer of steel.

Chhotanagpur plateau region has the maximum concentration of iron and steel industries. It is largely, because of the relative advantages this region has for the development of this industry. These include, low cost of iron ore, high grade raw materials in proximity, cheap labour and vast growth potential in the home market. Though, India is an important iron and steel producing country in the world yet, we are not able to perform to our full potential largely due to: (a) High costs and limited availability of coking

Fig. 6.5: *Crude Steel Production in India and China*

Source: *World Steel Association, website: www.worldsteel.org*

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coal (b) Lower productivity of labour (c) Irregular supply of energy and (d) Poor infrastructure.

We also import good quality steel from other countries. However, the overall production of steel is sufficient to meet our domestic demand.

Liberalisation and Foreign Direct Investment have given a boost to the industry with the efforts of private entrepreneurs. There is a need to allocate resources for research and development to produce steel more competitively.

Activity

Have you read about the Kalinganagar controversy? Collect information from different sources and discuss.

Aluminium Smelting

Aluminium smelting is the second most important metallurgical industry in India. It is light, resistant to corrosion, a good conductor of heat, malleable and becomes strong when it is mixed with other metals. It is used to manufacture aircraft, utensils and wires. It has gained popularity as a substitute of steel, copper, zinc and lead in a number of industries.

Aluminium smelting plants in the country are located in Odisha, West Bengal, Kerala, Uttar Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu. In 2014–15 India produced about 3.96 million tonnes of aluminium.

Fig. 6.6: Strip coasting mill at smelter of NALCO

Bauxite, the raw material used in the smelters is a very bulky, dark reddish coloured rock. The flow chart given below shows the process of manufacturing aluminium. Regular supply of electricity and an assured source of raw material at minimum cost are the two prime factors for location of the industry.

Activity

A factory produces aluminium saucepans with plastic handles. It obtains aluminium from a smelter and a plastic component from

4 to 6 tonnes of bauxite → 2 tonnes of alumina → 1 tonne of aluminium

Fig. 6.7

Process of Manufacturing in Aluminium Industry

Fig. 6.8

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another factory. All the manufactured saucepans are sent to a warehouse:

1. (a) Which raw material is likely to be most expensive to transport and why?
   (b) Which raw material is likely to be the cheapest to transport and why?
2. Do you think the cost of transporting the finished products after packaging is likely to be cheaper or more expensive than the cost of transporting aluminium and plastic? Why?

Chemical Industries

The Chemical industry in India is fast growing and diversifying. It contributes approximately 3 per cent of the GDP. It is the third largest in Asia and occupies the twelfth place in the world in term of its size. It comprises both large and small scale manufacturing units. Rapid growth has been recorded in both inorganic and organic sectors. Inorganic chemicals include sulphuric acid (used to manufacture fertilisers, synthetic fibres, plastics, adhesives, paints, dyes stuffs), nitric acid, alkalies, soda ash (used to make glass, soaps and detergents, paper) and caustic soda. These industries are widely spread over the country.

Why do you think it is so?

Organic chemicals include petrochemicals, which are used for manufacturing of synthetic fibers, synthetic rubber, plastics, dye-stuffs, drugs and pharmaceuticals. Organic chemical plants are located near oil refineries or petrochemical plants.

The chemical industry is its own largest consumer. Basic chemicals undergo processing to further produce other chemicals that are used for industrial application, agriculture or directly for consumer markets. Make a list of the products you are aware of.

Fertiliser Industry

The fertiliser industry is centred around the production of nitrogenous fertilisers (mainly urea), phosphatic fertilisers and ammonium phosphate (DAP) and complex fertilisers which have a combination of nitrogen (N), phosphate (P), and potash (K). The third, i.e. potash is entirely imported as the country does not have any reserves of commercially usable potash or potassium compounds in any form. India is the third largest producer of nitrogenous fertilisers. There are 57 fertiliser units manufacturing nitrogenous and complex nitrogenous fertilisers, 29 for urea and 9 for producing ammonium sulphate as a by-product and 68 other small units produce single superphosphate. There are 10 public sector undertakings and one in cooperative sector at Hazira in Gujarat under the Fertiliser Corporation of India.

After the Green Revolution the industry expanded to several other parts of the country. Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, Punjab and Kerala contribute towards half of the fertiliser production. Other significant producers are Andhra Pradesh, Odisha, Rajasthan, Bihar, Maharashtra, Assam, West Bengal, Goa, Delhi, Madhya Pradesh and Karnataka.

Cement Industry

Cement is essential for construction activity such as building houses, factories, bridges, roads, airports, dams and for other commercial establishments. This industry requires bulky and heavy raw materials like limestone, silica and gypsum. Coal and electric power are needed apart from rail transportation.

Activity

Where would it be economically viable to set up the cement manufacturing units?

The industry has strategically located plants in Gujarat that have suitable access to the market in the Gulf countries.

Activity

Find out where the plants are located in other States of India. Find their names.

The first cement plant was set up in Chennai in 1904. After Independence the industry expanded. Decontrol of price and distribution since 1989 and other policy reforms led the cement industry to make rapid strides in capacity, process, technology and production.

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Improvement in the quality has found the produce a readily available market in East Asia, Middle East, Africa and South Asia apart from a large demand within the country. This industry is doing well in terms of production as well as export. Efforts are being made to generate adequate domestic demand and supply in order to sustain this industry.

Automobile Industry

Automobiles provide vehicle for quick transport of good services and passengers. Trucks, buses, cars, motor cycles, scooters, three-wheelers and multi-utility vehicles are manufactured in India at various centres. After the liberalisation, the coming in of new and contemporary models stimulated the demand for vehicles in the market, which led to the healthy growth of the industry including passenger cars, two and three-wheelers. This industry had experienced a quantum jump in less than 15 years. Foreign Direct Investment brought in new technology and aligned the industry with global developments. At present, there are 15 manufacturers of passenger cars and multi-utility vehicles, 9 of commercial vehicles, 14 of the two and three-wheelers. The industry is located around Delhi, Gurugram, Mumbai, Pune, Chennai, Kolkata, Lucknow, Indore, Hyderabad, Jamshedpur and Bengaluru.

Information Technology and Electronics Industry

The electronics industry covers a wide range of products from transistor sets to television, telephones, cellular telecom, pagers, telephone exchange, radars, computers and many other equipments required by the telecommunication industry. Bengaluru has emerged as the electronic capital of India. Other important centres for electronic goods are Mumbai, Delhi, Hyderabad, Pune, Chennai, Kolkata, Lucknow and Coimbatore. By 2010-11 (STPI) Software Technology Parks of India have come up across 46 locations at different centres of India. However, the major industry concentration is at Bengaluru, Noida, Mumbai, Chennai, Hyderabad and Pune. A major impact of this industry has been on employment generation. It is encouraging to know that 30 per cent of the people employed in this sector are *women*. This industry has been a major foreign exchange earner in the last two or three years because of its fast growing Business Processes Outsourcing (BPO) sector. The continuing growth in the hardware and software is the key to the success of IT industry in India.

Fig. 6.9: *Cable manufacturing facilities at HCL, Rupnarainpur (West Bengal)*

Fig. 6.10: *Gas turbine rotor an assembly bed at BHEL, Hyderabad*

Industrial Pollution and Environmental Degradation

Although industries contribute significantly to India's economic growth and development, the increase in pollution of land, water, air, noise and resulting degradation of environment that they have caused, cannot be overlooked. Industries are responsible for four types of

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India: *Some Software Technology Parks*

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pollution: (a) Air (b) Water (c) Land (d) Noise. The polluting industries also include thermal power plants.

Air pollution is caused by the presence of high proportion of undesirable gases, such as sulphur dioxide and carbon monoxide. Air-borne particulate materials contain both solid and liquid particles like dust, sprays mist and smoke. Smoke is emitted by chemical and paper factories, brick kilns, refineries and smelting plants, and burning of fossil fuels in big and small factories that ignore pollution norms. Toxic gas leaks can be very hazardous with long-term effects. Are you aware of the Bhopal Gas tragedy that occurred? Air pollution adversely affects human health, animals, plants, buildings and the atmosphere as a whole.

Water pollution is caused by organic and inorganic industrial wastes and affluents discharged into rivers. The main culprits in this regard are paper, pulp, chemical, textile and dyeing, petroleum refineries, tanneries and electroplating industries that let out dyes, detergents, acids, salts and heavy metals like lead and mercury pesticides, fertilisers, synthetic chemicals with carbon, plastics and rubber, etc. into the water bodies. Fly ash, phospo- gypsum and iron and steel slags are the major solid wastes in India.

Thermal pollution of water occurs when hot water from factories and thermal plants is drained into rivers and ponds before cooling. What would be the effect on aquatic life?

Wastes from nuclear power plants, nuclear and weapon production facilities cause cancers, birth defects and miscarriages. Soil and water pollution are closely related. Dumping of wastes specially glass, harmful chemicals, industrial effluents, packaging, salts and garbage renders the soil useless. Rain water percolates to the soil carrying the pollutants to the ground and the ground water also gets contaminated.

Noise pollution not only results in irritation and anger, it can also cause hearing impairment, increased heart rate and blood pressure among other physiological effects. Unwanted sound is an irritant and a source of stress. Industrial and construction activities, machinery, factory equipment, generators, saws and pneumatic and electric drills also make a lot of noise.

Control of Environmental Degradation

Every litre of waste water discharged by our industry pollutes eight times the quantity of freshwater. How can the industrial pollution of fresh water be reduced? Some suggestions are-

(i) minimising use water for processing by reusing and recycling it in two or more successive stages

(ii) harvesting of rainwater to meet water requirements

(iii) treating hot water and effluents before releasing them in rivers and ponds. Treatment of industrial effluents can be done in three phases

(a) Primary treatment by mechanical means. This involves screening, grinding, flocculation and sedimentation.

(b) Secondary treatment by biological process

(c) Tertiary treatment by biological, chemical and physical processes. This involves recycling of wastewater.

Overdrawing of ground water reserves by industry where there is a threat to ground water resources also needs to be regulated legally. Particulate matter in the air can be reduced by fitting smoke stacks to factories with electrostatic precipitators, fabric filters, scrubbers and inertial separators. Smoke can be reduced by using oil or gas instead of coal in factories. Machinery and equipment can be used and generators should be fitted with silencers. Almost all machinery can be redesigned to increase energy efficiency and reduce noise. Noise absorbing material may be used apart from personal use of earplugs and earphones.

Fig. 6.11: *Sewage Treatment plant under Yamuna action plan at Faridabad*

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The challenge of sustainable development requires integration of economic development with environmental concerns.

NTPC shows the way

NTPC is a major power providing corporation in India. It has ISO certification for EMS (Environment Management System) 14001. The corporation has a proactive approach for preserving the natural environment and resources like water, oil and gas and fuels in places where it is setting up power plants. This has been possible through-

(a) Optimum utilisation of equipment adopting latest techniques and upgrading existing equipment.

(b) Minimising waste generation by maximising ash utilisation.

(c) Providing green belts for nurturing ecological balance and addressing the question of special purpose vehicles for afforestation.

(d) Reducing environmental pollution through ash pond management, ash water recycling system and liquid waste management.

(e) Ecological monitoring, reviews and on-line database management for all its power stations.

Fig. 6.12: Ramagundam plant

Exercises Exercises Exercises Exercises Exercises

1. Multiple choice questions.

(i) Which one of the following industries uses limestone as a raw material.
(a) Aluminium (b) Cement (c) Plastic (d) Automobile

(ii) Which one of the following agencies markets steel for the public sector plants?
(a) HAIL (b) SAIL (c) TATA Steel (d) MNCC

(iii) Which one of the following industries uses bauxite as a raw material?
(a) Aluminium Smelting (b) Cement (c) Paper (d) Steel

(iv) Which one of the following industries manufactures telephones, computer, etc.
(a) Steel (c) Aluminium Smelting
(b) Electronic (d) Information Technology

2. Answer the following briefly in not more than 30 words.

(i) What is manufacturing?
(ii) Name any three physical factors for the location of the industry.
(iii) Name any three human factors for the location of an industry.
(iv) What are basic industries? Give an example.
(v) Name the important raw materials used in the manufacturing of cement?

3. Write the answers of the following questions in 120 words.

(i) How are integrated steel plants different from mini steel plants? What problems does the industry face? What recent developments have led to a rise in the production capacity?

(ii) How do industries pollute the environment?

(iii) Discuss the steps to be taken to minimise environmental degradation by industry?

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Activity

Give one word for each of the following with regard to industry. The number of letters in each word are hinted in brackets.

(i)	Used to drive machinery	(5)	P.....
(ii)	People who work in a factory	(6)	W.....
(iii)	Where the product is sold	(6)	M.....
(iv)	A person who sells goods	(8)	R.....
(v)	Thing produced	(7)	P.....
(vi)	To make or produce	(11)	M.....
(vii)	Land, Water and Air degraded	(9)	P.....

Project Work

Select one agro-based and one mineral-based industry in your area.

(i) What are the raw materials they use?

(ii) What are the other inputs in the process of manufacturing that involve transportation cost?

(iii) Are these factories following environmental norms?

Activity

Solve the puzzle by following your search horizontally and vertically to find the hidden answers.

G	G	G	P	V	A	R	A	N	A	S	I
U	O	J	I	P	G	X	K	M	Q	W	V
K	S	U	G	A	R	C	A	N	E	E	N
O	T	T	O	N	O	Z	V	O	P	T	R
A	U	E	L	U	B	H	I	L	A	I	U
T	K	O	C	R	A	Q	N	T	R	L	N
E	I	R	O	N	S	T	E	E	L	S	J
E	N	A	N	O	E	P	I	T	L	R	Y
G	A	N	U	J	D	R	A	G	D	T	A
N	T	A	R	P	O	A	P	U	E	P	Y
A	S	N	A	E	N	J	D	I	Y	S	K
S	M	H	V	L	I	A	J	H	S	K	G

1. Textiles, sugar, vegetable oil and plantation industries deriving raw materials from agriculture are called...
2. The basic raw material for sugar industry.
3. This fibre is also known as the 'Golden Fibre'.
4. Iron-ore, coking coal, and limestone are the chief raw materials of this industry.
5. A public sector steel plant located in Chhattisgarh.
6. Railway diesel engines are manufactured in Uttar Pradesh at this place.

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7 LIFELINES OF NATIONAL ECONOMY

We use different materials and services in our daily life. Some of these are available in our immediate surroundings, while other requirements are met by bringing things from other places. Goods and services do not move from supply locales to demand locales on their own. The movement of these goods and services from their supply locations to demand locations necessitates the need for transport. Some people are engaged in facilitating these movements. These are known to be traders who make the products come to the consumers by transportation. Thus, the pace of development of a country depends upon the production of goods and services as well as their movement over space. Therefore, efficient means of transport are prerequisites for fast development.

Movement of these goods and services can be over three important domains of our earth i.e. land, water and air. Based on these, transport can also be classified into land, water and air transport.

expanded far and wide. Today, the world has been converted into a large village with the help of efficient and fast moving transport. Transport has been able to achieve this with the help of equally developed communication system. Therefore, transport, communication and trade are complementary to each other.

Today, India is well-linked with the rest of the world despite its vast size, diversity and linguistic and socio-cultural plurality. Railways, airways, waterways, newspapers, radio, television, cinema and internet, etc. have been contributing to its socio-economic progress in many ways. The trades from local to international levels have added to the vitality of its economy. It has enriched our life and added substantially to growing amenities and facilities for the comforts of life.

In this chapter, you will see how modern means of transport and communication serve as lifelines of our nation and its modern

Fig. 7.1

For a long time, trade and transport were restricted to a limited space. With the development in science and technology, the area of influence of trade and transport

economy. It is thus, evident that a dense and efficient network of transport and communication is a prerequisite for local, national and global trade of today.

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Transport

Roadways

India has one of the largest road networks in the world, aggregating to about 54.7 lakh km (2014–15). In India, roadways have preceded railways. They still have an edge over railways in view of the ease with which they can be built and maintained. The growing importance of road transport vis-à-vis rail transport is rooted in the following reasons; (a) construction cost of roads is much lower than that of railway lines, (b) roads can traverse comparatively more dissected and undulating topography, (c) roads can negotiate higher gradients of slopes and as such can traverse mountains such as the Himalayas, (d) road transport is economical in transportation of few persons and relatively smaller amount of goods over short distances, (e) it also provides door-to-door service, thus the cost of loading and unloading is much lower, (f) road transport is also used as a feeder to other modes of transport such as they provide a link between railway stations, air and sea ports.

In India, roads are classified in the following six classes according to their capacity. Look at the map of the National Highways and find out about the significant role played by these roads.

- ***Golden Quadrilateral Super Highways:*** The government has launched a major road development project linking Delhi-Kolkata-Chennai-Mumbai and Delhi by six-lane Super Highways. The North-South corridors linking Srinagar (Jammu & Kashmir) and Kanniyakumari (Tamil Nadu), and East-West Corridor connecting Silchar (Assam) and Porbander (Gujarat) are part of this project. The major objective of these Super Highways is to reduce the time and distance between the mega cities of India. These highway projects are being implemented by the National Highway Authority of India (NHAI).
- ***National Highways:*** National Highways link extreme parts of the country. These are the primary road systems and are laid and maintained by the Central Public Works Department (CPWD). A number of major National Highways run in North-South and East-West directions. The historical Sher-Shah Suri Marg is called National Highway No.1, between Delhi and Amritsar.

Fig.7.2: Ahmedabad- Vadodara Expressway

Activity

Find out places linked by the National Highway 2 and 3.

Do you Know?

Do you know that National Highway-7 is the longest and traverses 2, 369 km between Varanasi and Kanniyakumari via Jabalpur, Nagpur, Hyderabad, Bengaluru and Madurai. Delhi and Mumbai are connected by National Highway-8, while National Highway-15 covers most of Rajasthan.

- ***State Highways:*** Roads linking a state capital with different district headquarters are known as State Highways. These roads are constructed and maintained by the State Public Works Department (PWD) in State and Union Territories.
- ***District Roads:*** These roads connect the district headquarters with other places of the district. These roads are maintained by the Zila Parishad.
- ***Other Roads:*** Rural roads, which link rural areas and villages with towns, are classified under this category. These roads received special impetus under the *Pradhan Mantri Grameen Sadak Yojana*. Under this scheme special provisions are made so that every village in the country is linked to a major town in the country by an all season motorable road.

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India: *National Highways*

- ***Border Roads:*** Apart from these, Border Roads Organisation a Government of India undertaking constructs and maintains roads in the bordering areas of the country. This organisation was established in 1960 for the development of the roads of strategic importance in the northern and north-eastern border areas. These roads have improved accessibility in areas of difficult terrain and have helped in the economic development of these area.

Fig. 7.3: *Hilly Tracts*

Fig. 7.4: *Traffic on north-eastern border road (Arunachal Pradesh)*

Roads can also be classified on the basis of the type of material used for their construction such as metalled and unmetalled roads. Metalled roads may be made of cement, concrete or even bitumen of coal, therefore, these are all weather roads. Unmetalled roads go out of use in the rainy season.

Road Density

The length of road per 100 sq. km of area is known as density of roads. Distribution of road is not uniform in the country. Density of all roads varies from only 12.14 km in Jammu and Kashmir to 517.77 km in Kerala (as on 31 March 2011) with the national average of 142.68 km (31 March 2011). Road transportation in India faces a number of problems. Keeping in view the volume of traffic and passengers, the road network is inadequate. About half of the roads are unmetalled and this limits their usage during the rainy season. The National Highways are inadequate too. Moreover, the roadways are highly congested in cities and most of the bridges and culverts are old and narrow. However, in recent years fast development of road network has taken place in different parts of the country

Railways

Railways are the principal mode of transportation for freight and passengers in India. Railways also make it possible for people to conduct multifarious activities like business, sightseeing, pilgrimage along with transportation of goods over longer distances. Apart from an important means of transport the Indian Railways have been a great integrating force for more than 150 years. Railways in India bind the economic life of the country as well as accelerate the development of the industry and agriculture. The Indian Railway have a network of 7,137 stations spread over a route length of 66,687 km with a fleet of 11,122 locomotives, 54,506 passenger service vehicles, 6,899 other coach vehicles and 2,51,256 wagons as on March 2016.

The Indian Railways is the largest public sector undertaking in the country. The first train steamed off from Mumbai to Thane in 1853, covering a distance of 34 km.

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Table 7.1: India: Railway Track

The Indian Railway network runs on multiple gauge operations extending over 66,687 km (excluding Metro Kolkata)

Gauge in metres	Route (Km)	Running Track (Km)	Total Track (Km.)
Broad Gauge (1.676)	60,510	85,614	1,12,388
Metre Gauge (1.000)	3,880	4,170	4,747
Narrow Gauge (0.762 and 0.610)	2,297	2,297	2,495
Total	**66,687**	**92,081**	**1,19,630**

Source: Railway Yearbook 2015–16, Ministry of Railways, Government of India. Website: www.indianrailways.gov.in

The Indian Railway is now reorganised into 16 zones.

Activity

Find out the current Railway zones and their headquarters. Also locate the headquarters of Railway zones on the map of India.

The distribution pattern of the Railway network in the country has been largely influenced by physiographic, economic and administrative factors. The northern plains with their vast level land, high population density and rich agricultural resources provided the most favourable condition for their growth. However, a large number of rivers requiring construction of bridges across their wide beds posed some obstacles. In the hilly terrains of the peninsular region, railway tracts are laid through low hills, gaps or tunnels. The Himalayan mountainous regions too are unfavourable for the construction of railway lines due to high relief, sparse population and lack of economic opportunities. Likewise, it was difficult to lay railway lines on the sandy plain of western Rajasthan, swamps of Gujarat, forested tracks of Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Odisha and Jharkhand. The contiguous stretch of Sahyadri could be crossed only through gaps or passes (Ghats). In recent times, the development of the Konkan railway along the west coast has facilitated the movement of passengers and goods in this most important economic region of India. It has also faced a number of problem such as sinking of track in some stretches and landslides.

Today, the railways have become more important in our national economy than all other means of transport put together. However, rail transport suffers from certain problems as well. Many passengers travel without tickets. Thefts and damaging of railway property has not yet stopped completely. People stop the trains, pull the chain unnecessarily and this causes heavy damage to the railway. Think over it, how we can help our railway in running as per the scheduled time?

Pipelines

Pipeline transport network is a new arrival on the transportation map of India. In the past, these were used to transport water to cities and industries. Now, these are used for transporting crude oil, petroleum products and natural gas from oil and natural gas fields to refineries, fertilizer factories and big thermal power plants. Solids can also be transported through a pipeline when converted into slurry. The far inland locations of refineries like Barauni, Mathura, Panipat and gas based fertilizer plants could be thought of only because of pipelines. Initial cost of laying pipelines is high but subsequent running costs are minimal. It rules out trans-shipment losses or delays.

There are three important networks of pipeline transportation in the country.

- From oil field in upper Assam to Kanpur (Uttar Pradesh), via Guwahati, Barauni and Allahabad. It has branches from Barauni to Haldia, via Rajbandh, Rajbandh to Maurigram and Guwahati to Siliguri.

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Activity

Railway line has been extended from Banihal to Baramula in the Kashmir Valley. Locate these two towns on the map of India.

- From Salaya in Gujarat to Jalandhar in Punjab, via Viramgam, Mathura, Delhi and Sonipat. It has branches to connect Koyali (near Vadodara, Gujarat) Chakshu and other places.
- Gas pipeline from Hazira in Gujarat connects Jagdishpur in Uttar Pradesh, via Vijaipur in Madhya Pradesh. It has branches to Kota in Rajasthan, Shahajahanpur, Babrala and other places in Uttar Pradesh.

Waterways

Since the ancient period, India was one of the seafaring countries. Its seamen sailed far and near, thus, carrying and spreading Indian commerce and culture. Waterways are the cheapest means of transport. They are most suitable for carrying heavy and bulky goods. It is a fuel-efficient and environment friendly mode of transport. India has inland navigation waterways of 14,500 km in length. Out of these only 5685 km are navigable by mechanised vessels. The following waterways have been declared as the National Waterways by the Government.

Fig. 7.5: Inland waterways widely used in north-eastern states

- The Ganga river between Allahabad and Haldia (1620 km)-N.W. No.1
- The Brahmaputra river between Sadiya and Dhubri (891 km)-N.W. No.2
- The West-Coast Canal in Kerala (Kottapurma-Kollam, Udyogamandal and Champakkara canals-205 km) – N.W. No.3
- Specified stretches of Godavari and Krishna rivers along with Kakinada Puducherry stretch of canals (1078 km) – N.W. No.4
- Specified stretches of river Brahmani along with Matai river, delta channels of Mahanadi and Brahmani rivers and East Coast Canal (588 km) – N.W. No.5

There are some other inland water ways on which substantial transportation takes place. These are Mandavi, Zuari and Cumberjua, Sunderbans, Barak and backwaters of Kerala.

Apart from these, India's trade with foreign countries is carried from the ports located along the coast. 95 per cent of the country's trade volume (68 per cent in terms of value) is moved by sea.

Major Sea Ports

With a long coastline of 7,516.6 km, India is dotted with 12 major and 200 notified non-majors (minor/intermediate) ports. These major ports handle 95 per cent of India's foreign trade.

Kandla in Kuchchh was the first port developed soon after Independence to ease the volume of trade on the Mumbai port, in the wake of loss of Karachi port to Pakistan after the Partition. Kandla is a tidal port. It caters to the convenient handling of exports and imports of highly productive granary and industrial belt

Fig. 7.6: Trucks being driven into the vessel at Mumbai port

stretching across the states of Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan and Gujarat.

Mumbai is the biggest port with a spacious natural and well-sheltered harbour. The Jawaharlal Nehru port was planned with a view to decongest the Mumbai port and serve as a hub port for this region. Marmagao port (Goa)

2018-19

Fig. 7.7: Tanker discharging crude oil at New Mangalore port

is the premier iron ore exporting port of the country. This port accounts for about fifty per cent of India's iron ore export. New Mangalore port, located in Karnataka caters to the export of iron ore concentrates from Kudremukh mines. Kochchi is the extreme south-western port, located at the entrance of a lagoon with a natural harbour.

Moving along the east coast, you would see the extreme south-eastern port of Tuticorin, in Tamil Nadu. This port has a natural harbour and rich hinterland. Thus, it has a flourishing trade handling of a large variety of cargoes to even our neighbouring countries like Sri Lanka, Maldives, etc. and the coastal regions of India. Chennai is one of the oldest artificial ports of the country. It is ranked next to Mumbai in terms of the volume of trade and cargo. Vishakhapatnam is the deepest landlocked and well-protected port. This port was, originally, conceived as an outlet for iron ore exports. Paradwip port located in Odisha, specialises in the export of iron ore. Kolkata is an inland

Fig. 7.8: Handling of oversize cargo at Tuticorin port

riverine port. This port serves a very large and rich hinterland of Ganga- Brahmaputra basin. Being a tidal port, it requires constant dredging of Hoogly. Haldia port was developed as a subsidiary port, in order to relieve growing pressure on the Kolkata port.

Airways

The air travel, today, is the fastest, most comfortable and prestigious mode of transport. It can cover very difficult terrains like high mountains, dreary deserts, dense forests and also long oceanic stretches with great ease. Think of the north-eastern part of the country, marked with the presence of big rivers, dissected relief, dense forests and frequent

Why is air travel preferred in the north-eastern states?

Fig. 7.9

floods and international frontiers, etc. in the absence of air transport. Air travel has made access easier.

The air transport was nationalised in 1953. On the operational side, Indian Airlines, Alliance Air (subsidiary of Indian Airlines), private scheduled airlines and non- scheduled operators provide domestic air services. Air India provides international air services. Pawanhans Helicopters Ltd. provides helicopter services to Oil and Natural Gas Corporation in its off-shore operations, to inaccessible areas and difficult terrains like the north-eastern states and the interior parts of Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand. Indian Airlines operations also extend to the neighbouring countries of South and south-east Asia and the Middle east.

Find out the names of the countries connected by Indian Airlines.

Air travel is not within the reach of the common people. It is only in the north-eastern states that special provisions are made to extend the services to the common people.

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India: *Major Ports and Some International Airports*

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Communication

Ever since humans appeared on the earth, they have used different means of communication. But, the pace of change, has been rapid in modern times. Long distance communication is far easier without physical movement of the communicator or receiver. Personal communication and mass communication including television, radio, press, films, etc. are the major means of communication in the country. The Indian postal network is the largest in the world. It handles parcels as well as personal written communications. Cards and envelopes are considered first-class mail and are airlifted between stations covering both land and air. The second-class mail includes book packets, registered newspapers and periodicals. They are carried by surface mail, covering land and water transport. To facilitate quick delivery of mails in large towns and cities, six mail channels have been introduced recently. They are called Rajdhani Channel, Metro Channel, Green Channel, Business Channel, Bulk Mail Channel and Periodical Channel.

Do you know?

Digital India is an umbrella programme to prepare India for a knowledge based transformation. The focus of Digital India Programme is on being transformative to realise – IT (Indian Talent) + IT (Information Technology)=IT (India Tomorrow) and is on making technology central to enabling change.

Fig.7.10 : Emergency call box on NH-8

India has one of the largest telecom networks in Asia. Excluding urban places more than two-thirds of the villages in India have already been covered with Subscriber Trunk Dialling (STD) telephone facility. In order to strengthen the flow of information from the grassroot to the higher level, the government has made special provision to extend twenty-four hours STD facility to every village in the country. There is a uniform rate of STD facilities all over India. It has been made possible by integrating the development in space technology with communication technology.

Mass communication provides entertainment and creates awareness among people about various national programmes and policies. It includes radio, television, newspapers, magazines, books and films. All India Radio (Akashwani) broadcasts a variety of programmes in national, regional and local languages for various categories of people, spread over different parts of the country. Doordarshan, the national television channel of India, is one of the largest terrestrial networks in the world. It broadcasts a variety of programmes from entertainment, educational to sports, etc. for people of different age groups.

India publishes a large number of newspapers and periodicals annually. They are of different types depending upon their periodicity. Newspapers are published in about 100 languages and dialects. Did you know that the largest number of newspapers published in the country are in Hindi, followed by English and Urdu? India is the largest producer of feature films in the world. It produces short films; video feature films and video short films. The Central Board of Film Certification is the authority to certify both Indian and foreign films.

International Trade

The exchange of goods among people, states and countries is referred to as trade. The market is the place where such exchanges take place. Trade between two countries is called international trade. It may take place through sea, air or land routes. While local trade is carried in cities, towns and villages, state level trade is carried between two or more states. Advancement of international trade of a country is an index to its economic prosperity. It is, therefore, considered the economic barometer for a country.

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As the resources are space bound, no country can survive without international trade. Export and import are the components of trade. The balance of trade of a country is the difference between its export and import. When the value of export exceeds the value of imports, it is called a favourable balance of trade. On the contrary, if the value of imports exceeds the value of exports, it is termed as unfavourable balance of trade.

India has trade relations with all the major trading blocks and all geographical regions of the world. Among the commodities in export the share of agriculture and allied products has been 8.64 per cent, base metals 6.91 per cent, gems and jewellery 17.02 per cent, chemicals and related products 12.06 per cent in 2016-17.

The commodities imported to India include petroleum crude and products (22.4 per cent),gems and jewellery (12.8 per cent), chemicals and related products (9.76 per cent), base metals (5.95 per cent), electronic items (10.94%) machinery (8.9 per cent), agriculture and allied products (5.84 per cent) in 2016–17*. International trade has undergone a sea change in the last decades. Exchange of commodities and goods have been superseded by the exchange of information and knowledge. India has emerged as a software giant at the international level and it is earning large foreign exchange through the export of information technology.

Tourism as a Trade

Tourism in India has grown substantially over the last three decades. Foreign tourist's arrivals in the country witnessed an increase of 4.5 per cent during the year 2015 as against the year 2014, contributing ₹1,35,193 crore of foreign exchange in 2015.

8.03 million foreign tourists visited India in 2015. More than 15 million people are

Prepare a project on the heritage tourism in India.

***Source:** Annual Report 2016–17, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Government of India.*

directly engaged in the tourism industry. Tourism also promotes national integration, provides support to local handicrafts and cultural pursuits. It also helps in the development of international understanding about our culture and heritage. Foreign tourists visit India for heritage tourism, eco tourism, adventure tourism, cultural tourism, medical tourism and business tourism.

There is a vast potential for development of tourism in all parts of the country. Efforts are being made to promote different types of tourism for this upcoming industry.

Activity

On the map of India show important tourist places of your State/UT and its connectivity with other parts of the country by railways/ roadways/airways.

Discuss in the class:

- What type of tourism may be developed in your state/UT and why?
- Which areas in your state/UT you find more attractive for development of tourism and why?
- How tourism may be helpful for the economic development of a region adopting sustainable development approach?

Exercises Exercises Exercises Exercises Exercises

1. Multiple choice questions.

(i) Which two of the following extreme locations are connected by the east-west corridor?

(a) Mumbai and Nagpur (c) Mumbai and Kolkata
(b) Silchar and Porbandar (d) Nagpur and Siligudi

(ii) Which mode of transportation reduces trans-shipment losses and delays?

(a) Railways (c) Pipeline
(b) Roadways (d) Waterways

(iii) Which one of the following states is not connected with the H.V.J. pipeline?

(a) Madhya Pradesh (c) Gujarat
(b) Maharashtra (d) Uttar Pradesh

(iv) Which one of the following ports is the deepest land-locked and well-protected port along the east coast?

(a) Chennai (c) Tuticorin
(b) Paradwip (d) Vishakhapatnam

(v) Which one of the following is the most important modes of transportation in India?

(a) Pipeline (c) Roadways
(b) Railways (d) Airways

(vi) Which one of the following terms is used to describe trade between two or more countries?

(a) Internal trade (c) External trade
(b) International trade (d) Local trade

2. Answer the following questions in about 30 words.

(i) State any three merits of roadways.

(ii) Where and why is rail transport the most convenient means of transportation?

(iii) What is the significance of the border roads?

(iv) What is meant by trade? What is the difference between international and local trade?

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3. Answer the following questions in about 120 words.
   (i) Why are the means of transportation and communication called the lifelines of a nation and its economy?
   (ii) Write a note on the changing nature of the international trade in the last fifteen years.

Quiz Drive

1. Northern terminal of the North-south corridor.
2. The name of National Highway No.2.
3. The headquarter of the southern railway zone.
4. The rail gauge with a track width of 1.676 m.
5. The southern terminal of the National Highway No.7.
6. A Riverine Port.
7. Busiest railway junction in Northern India.

Activity

Start your search vertically, horizontally or diagonally and reach various destinations across the country!

S	H	E	R	S	H	A	H	S	U	R	I	M	A	R	G
A	R	T	P	R	N	X	E	L	A	T	A	D	L	A	Y
J	M	M	X	I	P	O	R	A	Y	M	P	G	H	T	X
Y	C	H	E	N	N	N	A	I	I	K	M	C	A	I	M
O	D	C	D	A	L	M	C	S	O	T	P	O	R	C	P
A	P	T	R	G	S	K	J	M	J	L	E	A	N	E	R
R	A	E	T	A	J	P	O	R	M	W	M	A	S	X	O
I	L	S	B	R	O	A	D	G	A	U	G	E	L	O	T
A	S	N	L	C	M	E	C	U	K	Z	M	A	A	J	E
L	M	U	G	H	A	L	S	A	R	A	I	B	S	N	A
G	O	E	T	V	R	A	Y	F	T	O	R	E	A	J	M
K	Q	A	I	P	M	N	Y	R	Y	A	Y	H	L	I	N
Q	K	O	L	K	A	T	A	E	U	I	T	W	B	E	A
N	I	T	N	K	D	E	M	O	U	R	P	N	P	J	D

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APPENDIX-I

Websites you can see

Bombay Natural History Society: http://www.bnhs.org/

Birding in India and South Asia: http://www.birding.in/

Website of Project Tiger: http://projecttiger.nic.in/

Nature Conservation Foundation: http://www.ncf-india.org/

Wildlife Conservation Society of India: http://www.wildlife.in/

Wildlife Trust of India: http://www.wildlifetrustofindia.org/

Kalpavriksh Environment Action Group: http://www.kalpavriksh.org/

Down to Earth Magazine: http://www.downtoearth.org.in/

Centre for Environment Education, India: http://www.ceeindia.org/cee/index.html

World Steel Association : http://www.worldsteel.org

India Tourism Statistics, 2010, http://tourism.gov.in

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APPENDIX-II

Production of Iron ore, 2009-10 showing statewise share in per cent

State	% of total production
Odisha	33
Karnataka	11
Chhattisgarh	19
Jharkhand	28
Others	09
Total	**100**

Source: *Ministry of Mines, Government of India, Annual Report 2009-10*

Production of Manganese ore, 2009-10 showing statewise share in per cent

State	% of total production
Madhya Pradesh	24.28
Odisha	24.75
Karnataka	22.00
Others	28.07
Total	**100**

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Production of Copper, 2009-10 showing statewise share in per cent

State	% of total production
Madhya Pradesh	29
Rajasthan	48
Sikkim	16
Total	**100**

Source: *Ministry of Mines, Government of India, Annual Report 2009-10*

Production of Limestone, 2009-10 showing statewise share in per cent

State	% of total production
Andhra Pradesh	20
Karnataka	30
Others	50
Total	**100**

Source: *Ministry of Mines, Government of India, Annual Report 2009-10*

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APPENDIX-III

Steel Plants	Year of Establishment	Collaborating Country	Location
IISCO	1870-1913 (Private initially)	(Nationalised in 1972)	Kulti and Burnpur (W.B.)
TISCO	1907 (Private ownership)	Jamshedji Tata	Jamshedpur (Jharkhand)
VISL	1923 Private as MISCO	Nationalised later	Bhadravati (Karnataka)
Bhilai	1959 (Public Sector)	Soviet Union	Bhilai (M.P.)
Bokaro	1972 (Public Sector)	Soviet Union	Bokaro (Jharkhand)
Durgapur	1959 (Public Sector)	U.K.	Durgapur (W.B.)
Rourkela	— (Public Sector)	Germany	Rourkela (Odisha)
Vishakhapatnam	— (Public Sector)	—	Vishakhapatnam Andhra Pradesh
Salem	— (Public Sector)	—	Salem (T. Nadu)
Vijay Nagar	— Public Sector	—	Karnataka

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GLOSSARY

Anticline: A fold in sedimentary strata that resembles an arch.

Gross Domestic Product: It is a monetary measure of the value of goods and services produced within a natural economy at a given period of time. Normally it is one year.

Geologist: A scientist who studies the composition, structure and history of the earth.

Geothermal Gradient: The gradual increase in temperature with depth in the crust. The average is 30°C per kilometer in the upper crust.

Humus: Dead and decayed organic matter adds to the fertility of the top soil.

Igneous Rocks: Rocks which have solidified from molten magma.

Manganese Nodules: A type of sediment scattered on the ocean floor, consisting mainly of manganese and iron, and usually containing small amounts of copper, nickel and cobalt.

Metamorphic Rocks: Rocks which were originally igneous or sedimentary, but have changed in character and appearance.

Oil Trap: A geological structure that allows for significant amounts of oil and gas to accumulate.

Rock: A consolidated mixture of minerals

Sedimentary Rocks: Rocks which have been deposited as beds and layers of sediments.

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OFFICES OF THE PUBLICATION DIVISION, NCERT

NCERT Campus
Sri Aurobindo Marg
New Delhi 110 016 Phone : 011-26562708

108, 100 Feet Road
Hosdakere Halli Extension
Banashankari III Stage
Bangalore 560 085 Phone : 080-26725740

Navjivan Trust Building
P.O.Navjivan
Ahmedabad 380 014 Phone : 079-27541446

CWC Campus
Opp. Dhankal Bus Stop
Panihati
Kolkata 700 114 Phone : 033-25530454

CWC Complex
Maligaon
Guwahati 781 021 Phone : 0361-2674869

Publication Team

Head, Publication Division	:	*N. K. Gupta*
Chief Production Officer	:	*Kalyan Banerjee*
Chief Editor	:	*Shveta Uppal*
Chief Business Manager	:	*Gautam Ganguly*
Production Officer	:	*Arun Chitkara*

Cover and Layout
Parthiv Shah with Shroboni

Illustrations
Irfaan

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Foreword

The National Curriculum Framework (NCF), 2005, recommends that children's life at school must be linked to their life outside the school. This principle marks a departure from the legacy of bookish learning which continues to shape our system and causes a gap between the school, home and community. The syllabi and textbooks developed on the basis of NCF signify an attempt to implement this basic idea. They also attempt to discourage rote learning and the maintenance of sharp boundaries between different subject areas. We hope these measures will take us significantly further in the direction of a child-centred system of education outlined in the National Policy on Education (1986).

The success of this effort depends on the steps that school principals and teachers will take to encourage children to reflect on their own learning and to pursue imaginative activities and questions. We must recognise that given space, time and freedom, children generate new knowledge by engaging with the information passed on to them by adults. Treating the prescribed textbook as the sole basis of examination is one of the key reasons why other resources and sites of learning are ignored. Inculcating creativity and initiative is possible if we perceive and treat children as participants in learning, not as receivers of a fixed body of knowledge.

These aims imply considerable change in school routines and mode of functioning. Flexibility in the daily timetable is as necessary as rigour in implementing the annual calendar so that the required number of teaching days is actually devoted to teaching. The methods used for teaching and evaluation will also determine how effective this textbook proves for making children's life at school a happy experience, rather than a source of stress or boredom. Syllabus designers have tried to address the problem of curricular burden by restructuring and reorienting knowledge at different stages with greater consideration for child psychology and the time available for teaching. The textbook attempts to enhance this endeavour by giving higher priority and space to opportunities for contemplation and wondering, discussion in small groups, and activities requiring hands-on experience.

The National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) appreciates the hard work done by the textbook development committee responsible for this book. We wish to thank the Chairperson of the advisory group in Social Sciences, Professor Hari Vasudevan. We also wish to thank the Chief Advisors for this book, Professors Yogendra Yadav and Suhas Palshikar along with Advisor for this book, Professor K. C. Suri for guiding the work of this committee. Several teachers contributed to the development of this textbook; we are grateful to their principals for making this possible. We are indebted to the institutions and organisations which have generously permitted us to draw upon their resources, material and personnel. We are especially grateful to the members of the National Monitoring Committee, appointed by the Department of

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Secondary and Higher Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development under the Chairmanship of Professor Mrinal Miri and Professor G.P. Deshpande, for their valuable time and contribution. As an organisation committed to systemic reform and continuous improvement in the quality of its products, NCERT welcomes comments and suggestions which will enable us to undertake further revision and refinement.

Director
National Council of Educational
Research and Training

New Delhi
20 November 2006

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2015-16(19/01/2015)

A Letter for You

Dear students, teachers and parents,

Political Science textbooks for Class IX and Class X together form an integrated whole. That is why we called them Democratic Politics-I and Democratic Politics-II. This book begins where the Political Science textbook stopped last year in Class IX. Last year the tour of democracy introduced you mainly to some basic ideas, institutions and rules of democracy. This year the focus shifts from the institutions to the process. The book introduces you to how democracy works in practice and what can be expected of it.

As a result of this shift, you would read much more directly about politics in this book. Politics is about how thinking human beings determine and change the way they live together. This involves ideas and ideals, cooperation and coordination. This also involves conflict and competition, self and collective interest. Therefore much of democratic politics is about power sharing.

This forms the subject matter of the first six chapters in this book. In these chapters, we explore various forms of sharing and shaping of power in a democracy. Chapters One and Two constitute the first unit that presents the idea of power sharing and elaborates it in the context of power sharing between different levels of government. The second unit, comprising chapters three and four, is about power sharing and accommodation among different social groups. The next two chapters make up the third unit. It tells us how different political organisations and movements are important in democratic politics. The seventh and the eighth chapters take up the larger questions with which we began our tour last year. Thus, what democracies have achieved and what is yet to be achieved is discussed in the seventh chapter on outcomes. This leads us, in the last chapter, to the challenges democracy faces in our times and the ways in which we can overcome them. Thus ends the tour of democracy we began last year. As we travel through the different chapters, the meaning of democracy expands.

This book is a continuation of the Class IX textbook in another sense as well. Last year the textbook had introduced a different style and form. Since we have had a very positive feedback from many of you regarding these features, we continue the experiment this year as well. This book also interacts with the students with the help of stories, illustrations, puzzles and cartoons. This time we have increased the visual elements and introduced a new feature called 'Plus Box'. Do read about all the old and new features in the 'How to Use this Book'. Above all, this book does not seek to teach and preach about democracy. It seeks to engage in a conversation with you. You would agree that this is a democratic way of thinking about democracy.

We were fortunate this year as well that some of the leading political scientists of the country agreed to join the Textbook Development Committee. We would like to express our deep appreciation of the support we received in preparing this textbook from Professor Krishna Kumar and Professor Hari Vasudevan and the advice received from the National Monitoring Committee. We would like to thank Professor Satish Deshpande for reading specific chapters and giving comments. A group of teachers and educationists comprising Anuradha Sen, Suman Lata, Manish Jain, Radhika Menon,

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Malini Ghose, Alex M. George and Pankaj Pushkar read the drafts and made valuable suggestions. We would like to make a special mention of the untiring efforts of Alex and Pankaj, the two 'super advisors' of this book, to ensure that what is presented in the book was accurate, interesting and communicative. Parthiv Shah and Shroboni gave the book its attractive look. Irfan Khan once again created new-look Unni and Munni for you. Ahmed Raza of ARK Grafix provided with informative and appealing graphics and maps. We are highly thankful to the *Lokniti* and Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) for providing a congenial home for the textbook development committee, for sparing space and resources for this enterprise during the last two years.

At the end of this academic year, you will be taking the Board examinations. We wish you all the best in your examinations. We wish and hope that the tour of democracy undertaken in these two books will help you overcome two most common reactions: that Political Science is boring and that politics is disgusting. We hope you will continue to take interest in a critical and balanced understanding of democratic politics either by opting for Political Science as a subject or by acting as a responsible citizen in future.

K. C. Suri
Advisor

Yogendra Yadav, Suhas Palshikar
Chief Advisors

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How to use this book

This book retains several features with which you are familiar. These were introduced in your Political Science textbook for Class IX. This book also has some new features that you might wish to know about.

Overview comes at the beginning of every chapter. It tells you about the purpose of the chapter and what is covered in it. Please read the overview before and after reading the chapter.

Section and sub-section headings: Each chapter is divided into sections and sub-sections. A section heading spreads over both columns on the page. This indicates the beginning a major part of the chapter and often covers a topic specified in the syllabus. The sub-section heading in a column indicates one point under the section concerned.

Graphics, Collages, Photographs and Posters occupy more space in this textbook than they did in your textbook for Class IX. You would continue to find a wide range of political **Cartoons**. These images provide visual relief and some fun. But you should not merely 'see' these images and turn the page. You are expected to 'read' the meaning of these images. Very often politics is carried out not through words but through images. The captions and questions that often accompany these images help you to read these images.

Munni and Unni are back with you. Like you, they have also grown up a little since you met them in Class IX. They keep popping up and asking questions that you may have wished to ask. Do stop to engage with their questions. And don't hesitate to ask similar questions to your teachers and parents.

Plus boxes contain supplementary information related to the theme of the chapter. Sometimes the plus box has a story that invites you to reflect on the dilemmas concerning our social and political life. You are supposed to read and discuss these. But you need not memorise the information and contents of the plus box. Nor is there a 'correct' answer to some of the moral questions posed there. These are just meant to help you think hard. Each plus box carries a special + sign.

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Let us watch television, Let us listen to radio, Let us read newspaper, Let us debate, Let's find out or **Let's do it** give students some activity in or outside the classroom. These activities become more meaningful when the students present their findings to the entire class and have the space for discussion. Where necessary, please feel free to substitute one type of media with another.

Glossary appears at the margin of the page in which an unfamiliar word or expression comes in the text. Such a word is highlighted in the text. Remember, you don't need to learn the definition by heart. You just need to understand the word.

Let us revise usually comes at the end of every section. The questions invite you to apply the points learnt in that section to a specific situation. Teachers can come up with more such in-text exercises and use these to check the progress that everyone has made.

Exercises come at the end of every chapter. You would notice that we have introduced some new kinds of exercises, particularly in multiple choice format, which require reasoning and application of mind. Once you become familiar with the format, you would enjoy the challenge.

Maps are essential not just for understanding geography but also for history and politics. That is why some of the information is presented by way of maps in this book. You are not expected to draw the maps, but understand patterns depicted here.

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Textbook Development Committee

Chairperson, Advisory Committee for Textbooks at the Secondary Level

Hari Vasudevan, *Professor*, Department History, University of Calcutta, Kolkata

Chief Advisors

Yogendra Yadav, *Senior Fellow*, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi

Suhas Palshikar, *Professor*, Department of Politics and Public Administration, University of Pune, Pune

Advisor

K. C. Suri, *Professor*, Department of Political Science, University of Hyderabad, Hyderabad

Members

Sanjyot Apte, *Senior Lecturer*, Department of Politics, S. P. College, Pune

Rajeev Bhargava, *Senior Fellow*, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi

Peter R. deSouza, *Senior Fellow*, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi

Alex M. George, *Independent Researcher*, Eruvatty, District Kannur, Kerala

Malini Ghose, Nirantar, Center for Gender and Education, New Delhi

Manish Jain, *Researcher*, University of Delhi, Delhi

Suman Lata, *Senior Lecturer*, Department of Education, Gargi College, University of Delhi, Delhi

Pratap Bhanu Mehta, *President and Chief Executive*, Center for Policy Research, New Delhi

Nivedita Menon, *Reader*, Department of Political Science, Faculty of Arts, University of Delhi, Delhi

Radhika Menon, *Lecturer*, Department of Education, Mata Sunderi College, University of Delhi, Delhi

Sanjeeb Mukherjee, *Senior Lecturer*, Department of Political Science, Calcutta University, Kolkata

Priyavadan Patel, *Professor*, Department of Political Science, M. S. University, Vadodara

Malla V. S. V. Prasad, *Lecturer*, DESSH, NCERT, New Delhi

Pankaj Pushkar, *Senior Lecturer*, Lokniti, Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, Delhi

Madan Lal Sawhney, *PGT* (Pol. Sc.), Govt. Sr. Sec. School, Sec. VII, R.K. Puram, New Delhi

Anuradha Sen, *Principal*, The Srijan School, Model Town III, Delhi

Meenakshi Tandon, *PGT* (Pol. Sc.), Sardar Patel Vidyalaya, Lodhi Road, New Delhi

Coordinator

Sanjay Dubey, *Reader*, DESSH, NCERT, New Delhi

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REQUEST FOR FEEDBACK

How did you like this textbook? What was your experience in reading or using this? What were the difficulties you faced? What changes would you like to see in the next version of this book? Write to us on all these and any other matter related to this textbook. You could be a teacher, a parent, a student or just a general reader. We value any and every feedback.

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2015-16(19/01/2015)

THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a [1]**[SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC]** and to secure to all its citizens :

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the [2][unity and integrity of the Nation];

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949 do **HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.**

---

1. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec.2, for "Sovereign Democratic Republic" (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)
2. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec.2, for "Unity of the Nation" (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)

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Publication Team

Head, Publication Division	:	*N. K. Gupta*
Chief Production Officer	:	*Kalyan Banerjee*
Chief Editor	:	*Shveta Uppal*
Chief Business Manager	:	*Gautam Ganguly*
Production Officer	:	*Arun Chitkara*

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Irfaan

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Power-sharing

Chapter I

Overview

With this chapter, we resume the tour of democracy that we started last year. We noted last year that in a democracy all power does not rest with any one organ of the government. An intelligent sharing of power among legislature, executive and judiciary is very important to the design of a democracy. In this and the next two chapters, we carry this idea of power-sharing forward. We start with two stories from Belgium and Sri Lanka. Both these stories are about how democracies handle demands for power-sharing.The stories yield some general conclusions about the need for power-sharing in democracy. This allows us to discuss various forms of power-sharing that will be taken up in the following two chapters.

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Belgium and Sri Lanka

I have a simple equation in mind. Sharing power = dividing power = weakening the country. Why do we start by talking of this?

Belgium is a small country in Europe, smaller in area than the state of Haryana. It has borders with France, the Netherlands, Germany and Luxembourg. It has a population of a little over one crore, about half the population of Haryana. The ETHNIC composition of this small country is very complex. Of the country's total population, 59 per cent lives in the Flemish region and speaks Dutch language. Another 40 per cent people live in the Wallonia region and speak French. Remaining one per cent of the Belgians speak German. In the capital city Brussels, 80 per cent people speak French while 20 per cent are Dutch-speaking.

The minority French-speaking community was relatively rich and powerful. This was resented by the Dutch-speaking community who got the benefit of economic development and education much later. This led to tensions between the Dutch-speaking and French-speaking communities during the 1950s and 1960s. The tension between the two communities was more acute in Brussels. Brussels presented a special problem: the Dutch-speaking people constituted a majority in the country, but a minority in the capital.

Let us compare this to the situation in another country. Sri Lanka is an island nation, just a few kilometres off the southern coast of Tamil Nadu. It has about two crore people, about the same as in Haryana. Like other nations in the South Asia region, Sri Lanka has a diverse population. The major social groups are the Sinhala-speakers (74 per cent) and the Tamil-speakers (18 per cent). Among Tamils there are two sub-groups. Tamil natives of the country

Communities and regions of Belgium

Look at the maps of Belgium and Sri Lanka. In which region, do you find concentration of different communities?

Glossary

Ethnic: A social division based on shared culture. People belonging to the same ethnic group believe in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of culture or both. They need not always have the same religion or nationality.

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are called 'Sri Lankan Tamils' (13 per cent). The rest, whose forefathers came from India as plantation workers during colonial period, are called 'Indian Tamils'. As you can see from the map, Sri Lankan Tamils are concentrated in the north and east of the country. Most of the Sinhala-speaking people are Buddhists, while most of the Tamils are Hindus or Muslims. There are about 7 per cent Christians, who are both Tamil and Sinhala.

Just imagine what could happen in situations like this. In Belgium, the Dutch community could take advantage of its numeric majority and force its will on the French and German-speaking population. This would push the conflict among communities further. This could lead to a very messy partition of the country; both the sides would claim control over Brussels. In Sri Lanka, the Sinhala community enjoyed an even bigger majority and could impose its will on the entire country. Now, let us look at what happened in both these countries.

Majoritarianism in Sri Lanka

Sri Lanka emerged as an independent country in 1948. The leaders of the Sinhala community sought to secure dominance over government by virtue of their majority. As a result, the democratically elected government adopted a series of MAJORITARIAN measures to establish Sinhala supremacy.

In 1956, an Act was passed to recognise Sinhala as the only official language, thus disregarding Tamil. The governments followed preferential policies that favoured Sinhala applicants for university positions and government jobs. A new constitution stipulated that the state shall protect and foster Buddhism.

All these government measures, coming one after the other, gradually increased the feeling of alienation among the Sri Lankan Tamils. They felt that none of the major political parties led by the Buddhist Sinhala leaders was sensitive to their language and culture. They felt that the constitution and government policies denied them equal political rights, discriminated against them in getting jobs and other opportunities and ignored their interests. As a result, the relations

Glossary

Majoritarianism: A belief that the majority community should be able to rule a country in whichever way it wants, by disregarding the wishes and needs of the minority.

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What's wrong if the majority community rules? If Sinhalas don't rule in Sri Lanka, where else will they rule?

between the Sinhala and Tamil communities strained over time.

The Sri Lankan Tamils launched parties and struggles for the recognition of Tamil as an official language, for regional autonomy and equality of opportunity in securing education and jobs. But their demand for more autonomy to provinces populated by the Tamils was repeatedly denied. By 1980s several political organisations were formed demanding an independent Tamil Eelam (state) in northern and eastern parts of Sri Lanka.

The distrust between the two communities turned into widespread conflict. It soon turned into a CIVIL WAR. As a result thousands of people of both the communities have been killed. Many families were forced to leave the country as refugees and many more lost their livelihoods. You have read (Chapter 1 of Economics textbook, Class X) about Sri Lanka's excellent record of economic development, education and health. But the civil war has caused a terrible setback to the social, cultural and economic life of the country.

Accommodation in Belgium

The Belgian leaders took a different path. They recognised the existence of regional differences and cultural diversities. Between 1970 and 1993, they amended their constitution four times so as to work out an arrangement that would enable everyone to live together within the same country. The arrangement they worked out is different from any other country and is very innovative. Here are some of the elements of the Belgian model:

- Constitution prescribes that the number of Dutch and French-speaking ministers shall be equal in the central government. Some special laws require the support of majority of members from each linguistic group. Thus, no single community can make decisions unilaterally.
- Many powers of the central government have been given to state governments of the two regions of the country. The state governments are not subordinate to the Central Government.
- Brussels has a separate government in which both the communities have equal representation. The French-speaking people accepted equal representation in Brussels because the Dutch-speaking community has accepted equal representation in the Central Government.

Glossary

Civil war: A violent conflict between opposing groups within a country that becomes so intense that it appears like a war.

What kind of a solution is this? I am glad our Constitution does not say which minister will come from which community.

© Wikipedia

The photograph here is of a street address in Belgium. You will notice that place names and directions in two languages – French and Dutch.

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- Apart from the Central and the State Government, there is a third kind of government. This 'community government' is elected by people belonging to one language community – Dutch, French and German-speaking – no matter where they live. This government has the power regarding cultural, educational and language-related issues.

You might find the Belgian model very complicated. It indeed is very complicated, even for people living in Belgium. But these arrangements have worked well so far. They helped to avoid civic strife between the two major communities and a possible division of the country on linguistic lines. When many countries of Europe came together to form the European Union, Brussels was chosen as its headquarters.

European Union Parliament in Belgium

Read any newspaper for one week and make clippings of news related to ongoing conflicts or wars. A group of five students could pool their clippings together and do the following:

- Classify these conflicts by their location (your state, India, outside India).
- Find out the cause of each of these conflicts. How many of these are related to power sharing disputes?
- Which of these conflicts could be resolved by working out power sharing arrangements?

What do we learn from these two stories of Belgium and Sri Lanka? Both are democracies. Yet, they dealt with the question of power sharing differently. In Belgium, the leaders have realised that the unity of the country is possible only by respecting the feelings and interests of different communities and regions. Such a realisation resulted in mutually acceptable arrangements for sharing power. Sri Lanka shows us a contrasting example. It shows us that if a majority community wants to force its dominance over others and refuses to share power, it can undermine the unity of the country.

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The cartoon at the left refers to the problems of running the Germany's grand coalition government that includes the two major parties of the country, namely the Christian Democratic Union and the Social Democratic Party. The two parties are historically rivals to each other. They had to form a coalition government because neither of them got clear majority of seats on their own in the 2005 elections. They take divergent positions on several policy matters, but still jointly run the government.

Why power sharing is desirable?

Thus, two different sets of reasons can be given in favour of power sharing. Firstly, power sharing is good because it helps to reduce the possibility of conflict between social groups. Since social conflict often leads to violence and political instability, power sharing is a good way to ensure the stability of political order. Imposing the will of majority community over others may look like an attractive option in the short run, but in the long run it undermines the unity of the nation. Tyranny of the majority is not just oppressive for the minority; it often brings ruin to the majority as well.

There is a second, deeper reason why power sharing is good for democracies. Power sharing is the very spirit of democracy. A democratic rule involves sharing power with those affected by its exercise, and who have to live with its effects. People have a right to be consulted on how they are to be governed. A legitimate government is one where citizens, through participation, acquire a stake in the system.

Let us call the first set of reasons PRUDENTIAL and the second moral. While prudential reasons stress that power sharing will bring out better outcomes, moral reasons emphasise the very act of power sharing as valuable.

Let us revise

Glossary

Prudential: Based on prudence, or on careful calculation of gains and losses. Prudential decisions are usually contrasted with decisions based purely on moral considerations.

Annette studies in a Dutch medium school in the northern region of Belgium. Many French-speaking students in her school want the medium of instruction to be French. Selvi studies in a school in the northern region of Sri Lanka. All the students in her school are Tamil-speaking and they want the medium of instruction to be Tamil.

- If the parents of Annette and Selvi were to approach respective governments to realise the desire of the child who is more likely to succeed? And why?

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Khalil's dilemma

As usual, Vikram was driving the motorbike under a vow of silence and Vetal was the pillion rider. As usual, Vetal started telling Vikram a story to keep him awake while driving. This time the story went as follows:

"In the city of Beirut there lived a man called Khalil. His parents came from different communities. His father was an Orthodox Christian and mother a Sunni Muslim. This was not so uncommon in this modern, cosmopolitan city. People from various communities that lived in Lebanon came to live in its capital, Beirut. They lived together, intermingled, yet fought a bitter civil war among themselves. One of Khalil's uncles was killed in that war.

At the end of this civil war, Lebanon's leaders came together and agreed to some basic rules for power sharing among different communities. As per these rules, the country's President must belong to the Maronite sect of Catholic Christians. The Prime Minister must be from the Sunni Muslim community. The post of Deputy Prime Minister is fixed for Orthodox Christian sect and that of the Speaker for Shi'a Muslims. Under this pact, the Christians agreed not to seek French protection and the Muslims agreed not to seek unification with the neighbouring state of Syria.When the Christians and Muslims came to this agreement, they were nearly equal in population. Both sides have continued to respect this agreement though now the Muslims are in clear majority.

Khalil does not like this system one bit. He is a popular man with political ambition. But under the present system the top position is out of his reach. He does not practise either his father's or his mother's religion and does not wish to be known by either. He cannot understand why Lebanon can't be like any other 'normal' democracy. "Just hold an election, allow everyone to contest and whoever wins maximum votes becomes the president, no matter which community he comes from. Why can't we do that, like in other democracies of the world?" he asks. His elders, who have seen the bloodshed of the civil war, tell him that the present system is the best guarantee for peace..."

The story was not finished, but they had reached the TV tower where they stopped every day. Vetal wrapped up quickly and posed his customary question to Vikram: "If you had the power to rewrite the rules in Lebanon, what would you do? Would you adopt the 'regular' rules followed everywhere, as Khalil suggests? Or stick to the old rules? Or do something else?" Vetal did not forget to remind Vikram of their basic pact: "If you have an answer in mind and yet do not speak up, your mobike will freeze, and so will you!"

Can you help poor Vikram in answering Vetal?

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Forms of power-sharing

The idea of power-sharing has emerged in opposition to the notions of undivided political power. For a long time it was believed that all power of a government must reside in one person or group of persons located at one place. It was felt that if the power to decide is dispersed, it would not be possible to take quick decisions and to enforce them. But these notions have changed with the emergence of democracy. One basic principle of democracy is that people are the source of all political power. In a democracy, people rule themselves through institutions of self-government. In a good democratic government, due respect is given to diverse groups and views that exist in a society. Everyone has a voice in the shaping of public policies. Therefore, it follows that in a democracy political power should be distributed among as many citizens as possible.

In modern democracies, power sharing arrangements can take many forms. Let us look at some of the most common arrangements that we have or will come across.

1 Power is shared **among different organs of government,** such as the legislature, executive and judiciary. Let us call this horizontal distribution of power because it allows different organs of government placed at the same level to exercise different powers. Such a separation ensures that none of the organs can exercise unlimited power. Each organ checks the others. This results in a balance of power among various institutions. Last year, we studied that in a democracy, even though ministers and government officials exercise power, they are responsible to the Parliament or State Assemblies. Similarly, although judges are appointed by the executive, they can check the functioning of executive or laws made by the legislatures. This arrangement is called a system of checks and balances.

2 Power can be shared **among governments at different levels –** a general government for the entire country and governments at the provincial or regional level. Such a general government for the entire country is usually called federal government. In India, we refer to it as the Central or Union Government. The governments at the provincial or regional level are called by different names in different countries. In India,

Reigning the Reins

© Olle Johansson - Sweden, Cagle Cartoons Inc., 25 Feb. 2005

In 2005, some new laws were made in Russia giving more powers to its president. During the same time the US president visited Russia. What, according to this cartoon, is the relationship between democracy and concentration of power? Can you think of some other examples to illustrate the point being made here?

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we call them State Governments. This system is not followed in all countries. There are many countries where there are no provincial or state governments. But in those countries like ours, where there are different levels of government, the constitution clearly lays down the powers of different levels of government. This is what they did in Belgium, but was refused in Sri Lanka. This is called federal division of power. The same principle can be extended to levels of government lower than the State government, such as the municipality and panchayat. Let us call division of powers involving higher and lower levels of government vertical division of power. We shall study these at some length in the next chapter.

3 Power may also be shared **among different social groups** such as the religious and linguistic groups. 'Community government' in Belgium is a good example of this arrangement. In some countries there are constitutional and legal arrangements whereby socially weaker sections and women are represented in the legislatures and administration. Last year, we studied the system of 'reserved constituencies' in assemblies and the parliament of our country. This type of arrangement is meant to give space in the government and administration to diverse social groups who otherwise would feel alienated from the government. This method is used to give minority communities a fair share in power. In Unit II, we shall look at various ways of accommodating social diversities.

4 Power sharing arrangements can also be seen in the way **political parties, pressure groups and movements** control or influence those in power. In a democracy, the citizens must have freedom to choose among various contenders for power. In contemporary democracies, this takes the form of competition among different parties. Such competition ensures that power does not remain in one hand. In the long run, power is shared among different political parties that represent different ideologies and social groups. Sometimes this kind of sharing can be direct, when two or more parties form an alliance to contest elections. If their alliance is elected, they form a coalition government and thus share power. In a democracy, we find interest groups such as those of traders, businessmen, industrialists, farmers and industrial workers. They also will have a share in governmental power, either through participation in governmental committees or bringing influence on the decision-making process. In Unit III, we shall study the working of political parties, pressure groups and social movements.

In my school, the class monitor changes every month. Is that what you call a power sharing arrangement?

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Here are some examples of power sharing. Which of the four types of power sharing do these represent? Who is sharing power with whom?

- The Bombay High Court ordered the Maharashtra state government to immediately take action and improve living conditions for the 2,000-odd children at seven children's homes in Mumbai.
- The government of Ontario state in Canada has agreed to a land claim settlement with the aboriginal community. The Minister responsible for Native Affairs announced that the government will work with aboriginal people in a spirit of mutual respect and cooperation.
- Russia's two influential political parties, the Union of Right Forces and the Liberal Yabloko Movement, agreed to unite their organisations into a strong right-wing coalition. They propose to have a common list of candidates in the next parliamentary elections.
- The finance ministers of various states in Nigeria got together and demanded that the federal government declare its sources of income. They also wanted to know the formula by which the revenue is distributed to various state governments.

Exercises

1. What are the different forms of power sharing in modern democracies? Give an example of each of these.
2. State one prudential reason and one moral reason for power sharing with an example from the Indian context.
3. After reading this chapter, three students drew different conclusions. Which of these do you agree with and why? Give your reasons in about 50 words.

   Thomman - Power sharing is necessary only in societies which have religious, linguistic or ethnic divisions.

   Mathayi – Power sharing is suitable only for big countries that have regional divisions.

   Ouseph – Every society needs some form of power sharing even if it is small or does not have social divisions.
4. The Mayor of Merchtem, a town near Brussels in Belgium, has defended a ban on speaking French in the town's schools. He said that the ban would help all non-Dutch speakers integrate in this Flemish town. Do you think that this measure is in keeping with the spirit of Belgium's power sharing arrangements? Give your reasons in about 50 words.

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5. Read the following passage and pick out any one of the prudential reasons for power sharing offered in this.

"We need to give more power to the panchayats to realise the dream of Mahatma Gandhi and the hopes of the makers of our Constitution. Panchayati Raj establishes true democracy. It restores power to the only place where power belongs in a democracy – in the hands of the people. Giving power to Panchayats is also a way to reduce corruption and increase administrative efficiency. When people participate in the planning and implementation of developmental schemes, they would naturally exercise greater control over these schemes. This would eliminate the corrupt middlemen. Thus, Panchayati Raj will strengthen the foundations of our democracy."

6. Different arguments are usually put forth in favour of and against power sharing. Identify those which are in favour of power sharing and select the answer using the codes given below? Power sharing:

A. reduces conflict among different communities
B. decreases the possibility of arbitrariness
C. delays decision making process
D. accommodates diversities
E. increases instability and divisiveness
F. promotes people's participation in government
G. undermines the unity of a country

(a)	A	B	D	F
(b)	A	C	E	F
(c)	A	B	D	G
(d)	B	C	D	G

7. Consider the following statements about power sharing arrangements in Belgium and Sri Lanka.

A. In Belgium, the Dutch-speaking majority people tried to impose their domination on the minority French-speaking community.
B. In Sri Lanka, the policies of the government sought to ensure the dominance of the Sinhala-speaking majority.
C. The Tamils in Sri Lanka demanded a federal arrangement of power sharing to protect their culture, language and equality of opportunity in education and jobs.
D. The transformation of Belgium from unitary government to a federal one prevented a possible division of the country on linguistic lines.

Which of the statements given above are correct?

(a) A, B, C and D (b) A, B and D (c) C and D (d) B, C and D

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8. Match List I (forms of power sharing) with List II (forms of government) and select the correct answer using the codes given below in the lists:

	List I	**List II**
1.	Power shared among different organs of government	A. Community government
2.	Power shared among governments at different levels	B. Separation of powers
3.	Power shared by different social groups	C. Coalition government
4.	Power shared by two or more political parties	D. Federal government

	1	2	3	4
(a)	D	A	B	C
(b)	B	C	D	A
(c)	B	D	A	C
(d)	C	D	A	B

9. Consider the following two statements on power sharing and select the answer using the codes given below:
   A. Power sharing is good for democracy.
   B. It helps to reduce the possibility of conflict between social groups.

   Which of these statements are true and false?

(a) A is true but B is false
(b) Both A and B are true
(c) Both A and B are false
(d) A is false but B is true

Exercises

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Federalism

Chapter 2

Overview

In the previous chapter, we noted that vertical division of power among different levels of government is one of the major forms of power-sharing in modern democracies. In this chapter, we focus on this form of power-sharing. It is most commonly referred to as federalism. We begin by describing federalism in general terms. The rest of the chapter tries to understand the theory and practice of federalism in India. A discussion of the federal constitutional provisions is followed by an analysis of the policies and politics that has strengthened federalism in practice. Towards the end of the chapter, we turn to the local government, a new and third tier of Indian federalism.

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What is federalism?

Let us get back to the contrast between Belgium and Sri Lanka that we saw in the last chapter. You would recall that one of the key changes made in the Constitution of Belgium was to reduce the power of the Central Government and to give these powers to the regional governments. Regional governments existed in Belgium even earlier. They had their roles and powers. But all these powers were given to these governments and could be withdrawn by the Central Government. The change that took place in 1993 was that the regional governments were given constitutional powers that were no longer dependent on the central government. Thus, Belgium shifted from a unitary to a federal form of government. Sri Lanka continues to be, for all practical purposes, a unitary system where the national government has all the powers. Tamil leaders want Sri Lanka to become a federal system.

Federalism is a system of government in which the power is divided between a central authority and various constituent units of the country. Usually, a federation has two levels of government. One is the government for the entire country that is usually responsible for a few subjects of common national interest. The others are governments at the level of provinces or states that look after much of the day-to-day administering of their state. Both these levels of governments enjoy their power independent of the other.

Source: Montreal and Kingston, *Handbook of Federal Countries: 2002*, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.

Though only 25 of the world's 192 countries have federal political systems, their citizens make up 40 per cent of the world's population. Most of the large countries of the world are federations. Can you notice an exception to this rule in this map?

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In this sense, federations are contrasted with unitary governments. Under the unitary system, either there is only one level of government or the sub-units are subordinate to the central government. The central government can pass on orders to the provincial or the local government. But in a federal system, the central government cannot order the state government to do something. State government has powers of its own for which it is not answerable to the central government. Both these governments are separately answerable to the people.

Let us look at some of the key features of federalism :

1 There are two or more levels (or tiers) of government.

2 Different tiers of government govern the same citizens, but each tier has its own JURISDICTION in specific matters of legislation, taxation and administration.

3 The jurisdictions of the respective levels or tiers of government are specified in the constitution. So the existence and authority of each tier of government is constitutionally guaranteed.

4 The fundamental provisions of the constitution cannot be unilaterally changed by one level of government. Such changes require the consent of both the levels of government.

5 Courts have the power to interpret the constitution and the powers of different levels of government. The highest court acts as an umpire if disputes arise between different levels of government in the exercise of their respective powers.

6 Sources of revenue for each level of government are clearly specified to ensure its financial autonomy.

7 The federal system thus has dual objectives: to safeguard and promote unity of the country, while at the same time accommodate regional diversity. Therefore, two aspects are crucial for the institutions and practice of federalism. Governments at different levels should agree to some rules of power-sharing. They should also trust that each would abide by its part of the agreement. An ideal federal system has both aspects : mutual trust and agreement to live together.

The exact balance of power between the central and the state government varies from one federation to another. This balance depends mainly on the historical context in which the federation was formed. There are two kinds of routes through which federations have been formed. The first route involves independent States coming together on their own to form a bigger unit, so that by pooling sovereignty and retaining identity they can increase their security. This type of **'coming together' federations** include the USA, Switzerland and Australia. In this first category of federations, all the constituent States usually have equal power and are strong vis-à-vis the federal government.

The second route is where a large country decides to divide its power between the constituent States and the national government. India, Spain and Belgium are examples of this kind of **'holding together' federations.** In this second category, the central government tends to be more powerful vis-à-vis the States. Very often different constituent units of the federation have unequal powers. Some units are granted special powers.

GlOssary

Jurisdiction: The area over which someone has legal authority. The area may be defined in terms of geographical boundaries or in terms of certain kinds of subjects.

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Some Nepalese citizens were discussing the proposals on the adoption of federalism in their new constitution. This is what some of them said:

Khag Raj: I don't like federalism. It would lead to reservation of seats for different caste groups as in India.

Sarita: Ours in not a very big country. We don't need federalism.

Babu Lal: I am hopeful that the Terai areas will get more autonomy if they get their own state government.

Ram Ganesh: I like federalism because it will mean that powers that were earlier enjoyed by the king will now be exercised by our elected representatives.

If you were participating in this conversation what would be your response to each of these? Which of these reflect a wrong understanding of what federalism is? What makes India a federal country?

What makes India a federal country?

We have earlier seen how small countries like Belgium and Sri Lanka face so many problems of managing diversity. What about a vast country like India, with so many languages, religions and regions? What are the power sharing arrangements in our country?

Isn't that strange? Did our constitution makers not know about federalism? Or did they wish to avoid talking about it?

Let us begin with the Constitution. India had emerged as an independent nation after a painful and bloody partition. Soon after Independence, several princely states became a part of the country. The Constitution declared India as a Union of States. Although it did not use the word federation, the Indian Union is based on the principles of federalism.

Let us go back to the seven features of federalism mentioned above. We can see that all these features apply to the provisions of the Indian Constitution. The Constitution originally provided for a two-tier system of government, the Union Government or what we call the Central Government, representing the Union of India and the State governments. Later, a third tier of federalism was added in the form of Panchayats and Municipalities. As in any federation, these different tiers enjoy separate jurisdiction. The Constitution clearly provided a three-fold distribution of legislative powers between the Union Government and the State Governments. Thus, it contains three lists:

- **Union List** includes subjects of national importance such as defence of the country, foreign affairs, banking, communications and currency. They are included in this list because we need a uniform policy on these matters throughout the country. The Union Government alone can make laws relating to the subjects mentioned in the Union List.
- **State List** contains subjects of State and local importance such as police, trade, commerce, agriculture and irrigation. The State Governments

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alone can make laws relating to the subjects mentioned in the State List.

- **Concurrent List** includes subjects of common interest to both the Union Government as well as the State Governments, such as education, forest, trade unions, marriage, adoption and succession. Both the Union as well as the State Governments can make laws on the subjects mentioned in this list. If their laws conflict with each other, the law made by the Union Government will prevail.

What about subjects that do not fall in any of the three lists? Or subjects like computer software that came up after the constitution was made? According to our constitution, the Union Government has the power to legislate on these 'residuary' subjects.

We noted above that most federations that are formed by 'holding together' do not give equal power to its constituent units. Thus, all States in the Indian Union do not have identical powers. Some States enjoy a special status. Jammu and Kashmir has its own Constitution. Many provisions of the Indian Constitution are not applicable to this State without the approval of the State Assembly. Indians who are not permanent residents of this State cannot buy land or house here. Similar special provisions exist for some other States of India as well.

There are some units of the Indian Union which enjoy very little power. These are areas which are too small to become an independent State but which could not be merged with any of the existing States. These areas, like Chandigarh, or Lakshadweep or the capital city of Delhi, are called Union Territories. These territories do not have the powers of a State. The Central Government has special powers in running these areas.

This sharing of power between the Union Government and the State governments is basic to the structure of the Constitution. It is not easy to make changes to this power sharing arrangement. The Parliament cannot on its own change this arrangement. Any change to it has to be first passed by both the Houses of Parliament with at least two-thirds majority. Then it has to be ratified by the legislatures of at least half of the total States.

The judiciary plays an important role in overseeing the implementation of constitutional provisions and procedures. In case of any dispute about the division of powers, the High Courts and the Supreme Court make a decision. The Union and State governments have the power to raise resources by levying taxes in order to carry on the government and the responsibilities assigned to each of them.

If agriculture and commerce are state subjects, why do we have ministers of agriculture and commerce in the Union cabinet?

Listen to one national and one regional news bulletin broadcast by All India Radio daily for one week. Make a list of news items related to government policies or decisions by classifying these into the following categories:

- News items that relate only to the Central Government,
- News items that relate only to your or any other State Government,
- News items about the relationship between the Central and State Governments.

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- Pokharan, the place where India conducted its nuclear tests, lies in Rajasthan. Suppose the Government of Rajasthan was opposed to the Central Government's nuclear policy, could it prevent the Government of India from conducting the nuclear tests?
- Suppose the Government of Sikkim plans to introduce new textbooks in its schools. But the Union Government does not like the style and content of the new textbooks. In that case, does the state government need to take permission from the Union Government before these textbooks can be launched?
- Suppose the Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh, Chhattisgarh and Orissa have different policies on how their state police should respond to the naxalites. Can the Prime Minister of India intervene and pass an order that all the Chief Ministers will have to obey?

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How is federalism practised?

Constitutional provisions are necessary for the success of federalism but these are not sufficient. If the federal experiment has succeeded in India, it is not merely because of the clearly laid out constitutional provisions. The real success of federalism in India can be attributed to the nature of democratic politics in our country. This ensured that the spirit of federalism, respect for diversity and desire for living together became shared ideals in our country. Let us look at some of the major ways in which this happened.

Linguistic States

The creation of linguistic States was the first and a major test for democratic politics in our country. If you look at the political map of India when it began its journey as a democracy in 1947 and that of 2013, you will be surprised by the extent of the changes. Many old States have vanished and many new States have been created. Areas, boundaries and names of the States have been changed.

In 1947, the boundaries of several old States of India were changed in order to create new States. This was done to ensure that people who spoke the same language lived in the same State. Some States were created not on the basis of language but to recognise differences based on culture, ethnicity or geography. These include States like Nagaland, Uttarakhand and Jharkhand.

Note: Telangana became the 29th State of India on the 2nd June, 2014, after the reorganisation of the State of Andhra Pradesh.

- *Has your village / town / city remained under the same State since Independence? If not, what was the name of the earlier State?*
- *Can you identify names of three States in 1947 that have been changed later?*
- *Identify any three States which have been carved out of bigger States.*

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When the demand for the formation of States on the basis of language was raised, some national leaders feared that it would lead to the disintegration of the country. The Central Government resisted linguistic States for some time. But the experience has shown that the formation of linguistic States has actually made the country, more united. It has also made administration easier.

Why Hindi? Why not Bangla or Telugu?

Language policy

A second test for Indian federation is the language policy. Our Constitution did not give the status of national language to any one language. Hindi was identified as the official language. But Hindi is the mother tongue of only about 40 per cent of Indians. Therefore, there were many safeguards to protect other languages. Besides Hindi, there are 21 other languages recognised as Scheduled Languages by the Constitution. A candidate in an examination conducted for the Central Government positions may opt to take the examination in any of these languages. States too have their own official languages. Much of the government work takes place in the official language of the concerned State.

Unlike Sri Lanka, the leaders of our country adopted a very cautious attitude in spreading the use of Hindi. According to the Constitution, the use of English for official purposes was to stop in 1965. However, many non-Hindi speaking States demanded that the use of English continue. In Tamil Nadu, this movement took a violent form. The Central Government responded by agreeing to continue the use of English along with Hindi for official purposes. Many critics think that this solution favoured the English-speaking elite. Promotion of Hindi continues to be the official policy of the Government of India. Promotion does not mean that the Central Government can impose Hindi on States where people speak a different language. The flexibility shown by Indian political leaders helped our country avoid the kind of situation that Sri Lanka finds itself in.

Centre-State relations

Restructuring the Centre-State relations is one more way in which federalism has been strengthened in practice. How the constitutional arrangements for sharing power work in reality depends to a large extent on how the ruling parties and leaders follow these arrangements. For a long time, the same party ruled both at the Centre and in most of the States. This meant that the State governments did not exercise their rights as autonomous federal units. As and when the ruling party at the State level was different, the parties that ruled at the Centre tried to undermine the power of the States. In those days, the Central Government would often misuse the Constitution to dismiss the State governments that were controlled by rival parties. This undermined the spirit of federalism.

All this changed significantly after 1990. This period saw the rise of regional political parties in many States of the country. This was also the beginning of the era of COALITION GOVERNMENTS at the Centre. Since no single party got a clear majority in the Lok Sabha, the major national parties had to enter into an alliance with many parties including several regional parties to form a government at the Centre. This led to a new culture of power sharing and respect for the autonomy of State Governments. This trend was

Glossary

Coalition government: A government formed by the coming together of at least two political parties. Usually partners in a coalition form a political alliance and adopt a common programme.

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The States Plead for More Powers

© Kutty - *Laughing with Kutty*

Perils of Running a Coalition Government

© Ajith Ninan - *India Today Book of Cartoons*

Here are two cartoons showing the relationship between Centre and States. Should the State go to the Centre with a begging bowl? How can the leader of a coalition keep the partners of government satisfied?

supported by a major judgement of the Supreme Court that made it difficult for the Central Government to dismiss state governments in an arbitrary manner. Thus, federal power sharing is more effective today than it was in the early years after the Constitution came into force.

Are you suggesting that regionalism is good for our democracy? Are you serious?

Linguistic diversity of India

How many languages do we have in India? The answer depends on how one counts it. The latest information that we have is from the Census of India held in 2001. This census recorded more than 1500 distinct languages which people mentioned as their mother tongues. These languages were grouped together under some major languages. For example languages like Bhojpuri, Magadhi, Bundelkhandi, Chhattisgarhi, Rajasthani, Bhili and many others were grouped together under 'Hindi'. Even after this grouping, the Census found 114 major languages. Of these 22 languages are now included in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution and are therefore called 'Scheduled Languages'. Others are called 'non-Scheduled Languages'. In terms of languages, India is perhaps the most diverse country in the world.

A look at the enclosed table makes it clear that no one language is the mother tongue of the majority of our population. The largest language, Hindi, is the mother tongue of only about 41 per cent Indians. If we add to that all those who knew Hindi as their second or third language, the total number was still less than 50 per cent in 2001. As for English, only 0.02 per cent Indians recorded it as their mother tongue. Another 11 per cent knew it as a second or third language.

Read this table carefully, but you need not memorise it. Just do the following:

- Make a bar or pie chart on the basis of this information.
- Prepare a map of linguistic diversity of India by shading the region where each of these languages is spoken on the map of India.
- Find out about any three languages that are spoken in India but are not included in this table.

Scheduled Languages of India

Language	Proportion of speakers (%)
Assamese	1.28
Bengali	8.11
Bodo	0.13
Dogri	0.22
Gujarati	4.48
Hindi	41.03
Kannada	3.69
Kashmiri	0.54
Konkani	0.24
Maithili	1.18
Malayalam	3.21
Manipuri	0.14
Marathi	6.99
Nepali	0.28
Oriya	3.21
Punjabi	2.83
Sanskrit	N
Santhali	0.63
Sindhi	0.25
Tamil	5.91
Telugu	7.19
Urdu	5.01

* The percentage of speakers of each language for 2001 has been worked out on the total population of India excluding the population of Mao-Maram, Paomata and Purul subdivisions of Senapati district of Manipur due to cancellation of census results.

N — Stands for negligible.

Source:http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/Census_Data_Online/Language/Statement4.htm

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Read the following excerpts from an article by noted historian, Ramachandra Guha, that appeared in the *Times of India* on November 1, 2006:

"The report of the States Reorganisation Commission (SRC), was implemented exactly 50 years ago, on November 1, 1956. This, in its own time and own way, has also transformed the political and institutional life of the nation. … Gandhi and other leaders promised their followers that when freedom came, the new nation would be based on a new set of provinces, these based on the principle of language. However, when India was finally freed in 1947, it was also divided...

Partition was the consequence of a primordial attachment to one's faith; how many more partitions would that other primordial loyalty, language, lead to? So ran the thinking of Nehru, Patel and Rajaji.

Far from undermining Indian unity, linguistic states have helped strengthen it. It has proved to be perfectly consistent to be Kannadiga and Indian, Bengali and Indian, Tamil and Indian, Gujarati and Indian. To be sure, these states based on language sometimes quarrel with one another.

While these disputes are not pretty, they could in fact have been far worse.

It is the formation of linguistic states that has allowed India to escape what might have been a worse fate still. If the sentiments of the native speakers of Telugu, Marathi, et. al. had been disregarded, what we might have here was: 'One language: 14 or 15 nations'."

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Take the example of your own state or any other state that was affected by linguistic reorganisation. Write a short note for or against the argument given by the author here on the basis of that example.

Decentralisation in India

So, we are like a three-tier coach in a train! I always prefer the lower berth!

We noted above that federal governments have two or more tiers of governments. We have so far discussed the two-tiers of government in our country. But a vast country like India cannot be run only through these two-tiers. States in India are as large as independent countries of Europe. In terms of population, Uttar Pradesh is bigger than Russia, Maharashtra is about as big as Germany. Many of these States are internally very diverse. There is thus a need for power sharing within these States. Federal power sharing in India needs another tier of government, below that of the State governments. This is the rationale for decentralisation of power. Thus, resulted a third-tier of government, called local government.

When power is taken away from Central and State governments and given to local government, it is called decentralisation. The basic idea behind decentralisation is that there are a large number of problems and issues which are best settled at the local level. People have better knowledge of problems in their localities. They also have better ideas on where to spend money and how to manage things more efficiently. Besides, at the local level it is possible for the people to directly participate in decision making. This helps to inculcate a habit of democratic participation. Local government is the best way to realise one important principle of democracy, namely local self-government.

The need for decentralisation was recognised in our Constitution. Since then, there have been several attempts to decentralise power to the level of villages and towns. Panchayats in villages and municipalities in urban areas were set up in all the States. But these were directly under the control of state governments. Elections to these local governments were not held regularly. Local governments did not have any powers or resources of their own. Thus, there was very little decentralisation in effective terms.

A major step towards decentralisation was taken in 1992. The Constitution was amended to make the third-tier of democracy more powerful and effective.

- Now it is constitutionally mandatory to hold regular elections to local government bodies.
- Seats are reserved in the elected bodies and the executive heads of these institutions for the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and Other Backward Classes.
- At least one-third of all positions are reserved for women.
- An independent institution called the State Election Commission has been created in each State to conduct panchayat and municipal elections.
- The State governments are required to share some powers and revenue with local government bodies. The nature of sharing varies from State to State.

Rural local government is popularly known by the name panchayati raj. Each village, or a group of villages in some States, has a gram panchayat. This is a council consisting of several ward members, often called panch, and a president or sarpanch. They are directly elected by all the adult population living in that ward

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or village. It is the decision-making body for the entire village. The panchayat works under the overall supervision of the gram sabha. All the voters in the village are its members. It has to meet at least twice or thrice in a year to approve the annual budget of the gram panchayat and to review the performance of the gram panchayat.

The local government structure goes right up to the district level. A few gram panchayats are grouped together to form what is usually called a panchayat samiti or block or mandal. The members of this representative body are elected by all the panchyat members in that area. All the panchayat samitis or mandals in a district together constitute the zilla (district) parishad. Most members of the zilla parishad are elected. Members of the Lok Sabha and MLAs of that district and some other officials of other district level bodies are also its members. Zilla parishad chairperson is the political head of the zilla parishad.

Similarly, local government bodies exist for urban areas as well. Municipalities are set up in towns. Big cities are constituted into municipal corporations. Both municipalities and municipal corporations are controlled by elected bodies consisting of people's representatives. Municipal chairperson is the political head of the municipality. In a municipal corporation such an officer is called the mayor.

Prime Minister runs the country. Chief Minister runs the state. Logically, then, the chairperson of Zilla Parishad should run the district. Why does the D.M. or Collector administer the district?

What do these newspaper clippings have to say about efforts of decentralisation in India?

2015-16(19/01/2015)

An experiment in Brazil

A city called Porto Alegre in Brazil has carried out an extraordinary experiment in combining decentralisation with participative democracy. The city has set up a parallel organisation operating alongside the municipal council, enabling local inhabitants to take real decisions for their city. The nearly 13 lakh people in this city get to participate in making the budget for their own city. The city is divided into many sectors or what we call wards. Each sector has a meeting, like that of the gram sabha, in which anyone living in that area can participate. There are some meetings to discuss issues that affect the entire city. Any citizen of the city can participate in those meetings. The budget of the city is discussed in these meetings. The proposals are put to the municipality that takes a final decision about it.

About 20,000 people participate in this decision making exercise every year. This method has ensured that the money cannot be spent only for the benefit of the colonies where rich people live. Buses now run to the poor colonies and builders cannot evict slum-dwellers without resettling them.

In our own country, a similar experiment has taken place in some areas in Kerala. Ordinary people have participated in making a plan for the development of their locality.

This new system of local government is the largest experiment in democracy conducted anywhere in the world. There are now about 36 lakh elected representatives in the panchayats and municipalities etc., all over the country. This number is bigger than the population of many countries in the world. Constitutional status for local government has helped to deepen democracy in our country. It has also increased women's representation and voice in our democracy. At the same time, there are many difficulties. While elections are held regularly and enthusiastically, gram sabhas are not held regularly. Most state governments have not transferred significant powers to the local governments. Nor have they given adequate resources. We are thus still a long way from realising the ideal of self-government.

Find out about the local government in the village or town you live in.

If you live in a village, find out the names of the following: your panch or ward member, your sarpanch, your panchayat samiti, the chairperson of your zilla parishad. Also find out when did the last meeting of the gram sabha take place and how many people took part in that.

If you live in urban areas, find out the name of your municipal councillor, and the municipal chairperson or mayor. Also find out about the budget of your municipal corporation, municipality and the major items on which money was spent.

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Exercises

1. Locate the following States on a blank outline political map of India: Manipur, Sikkim, Chhattisgarh and Goa.
2. Identify and shade three federal countries (other than India) on a blank outline political map of the world.
3. Point out one feature in the practice of federalism in India that is similar to and one feature that is different from that of Belgium.
4. What is the main difference between a federal form of government and a unitary one? Explain with an example.
5. State any two differences between the local government before and after the Constitutional amendment in 1992.
6. Fill in the blanks:

   Since the United States is a _____ type of federation, all the constituent States have equal powers and States are _____vis-à-vis the federal government. But India is a _____ type of federation and some States have more power than others. In India, the _____ government has more powers.
7. Here are three reactions to the language policy followed in India. Give an argument and an example to support any of these positions.

   Sangeeta: The policy of accommodation has strengthened national unity.

   Arman: Language-based States have divided us by making everyone conscious of their language.

   Harish: This policy has only helped to consolidate the dominance of English over all other languages.
8. The distinguishing feature of a federal government is:

   (a) National government gives some powers to the provincial governments.

   (b) Power is distributed among the legislature, executive and judiciary.

   (c) Elected officials exercise supreme power in the government.

   (d) Governmental power is divided between different levels of government.
9. A few subjects in various Lists of the Indian Constitution are given here. Group them under the Union, State and Concurrent Lists as provided in the table below.

   A. Defence; B. Police; C. Agriculture; D. Education;

   E. Banking; F. Forests; G. Communications; H. Trade; I. Marriages

Union List	
State List	
Concurrent List	

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10. Examine the following pairs that give the level of government in India and the powers of the government at that level to make laws on the subjects mentioned against each. Which of the following pairs is not correctly matched?

(a) State government	State List
(b) Central government	Union List
(c) Central and State governments	Concurrent List
(d) Local governments	Residuary powers

11. Match List I with List II and select the correct answer using the codes given below the lists:

List I	List II
1. Union of India	A. Prime Minister
2. State	B. Sarpanch
3. Municipal Corporation	C. Governor
4. Gram Panchayat	D. Mayor

	1	2	3	4
(a)	D	A	B	C
(b)	B	C	D	A
(c)	A	C	D	B
(d)	C	D	A	B

12. Consider the following two statements.
    A. In a federation the powers of the federal and provincial governments are clearly demarcated.
    B. India is a federation because the powers of the Union and State Governments are specified in the Constitution and they have exclusive jurisdiction on their respective subjects.
    C. Sri Lanka is a federation because the country is divided into provinces.
    D. India is no longer a federation because some powers of the States have been devolved to the local government bodies.

    Which of the statements given above are correct?

    (a) A, B and C (b) A, C and D (c) A and B only (d) B and C only

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Democracy and Diversity

Chapter 3

Overview

In the last chapter, we saw how power can be distributed to accommodate linguistic and regional diversities. But language and region are not the only features that give a distinct identity to people. Sometimes, people also identify themselves and relate with others on the basis of their physical appearance, class, religion, gender, caste, tribe, etc. In this chapter, we study how democracy responds to social differences, divisions and inequalities. We begin with an example of public expression of social divisions. We then draw some general lessons about how social differences can take various forms. We then turn to how democratic politics affects and is affected by these social diversities.

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A Story from Mexico Olympics

My salute to Carlos and Smith! Will I ever have the courage to do what they did?

The pictures on this page depict an important landmark in the history of the CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES. These represent the medal ceremony of the 200 metres race in the 1968 Olympics held at Mexico City. The two men standing with clenched fists upraised and heads bowed, while the American national anthem was played, are the US athletes, Tommie Smith and John Carlos. They are AFRICAN-AMERICANS. They had won the gold and bronze medals respectively. They received their medals wearing black socks and no shoes to represent Black poverty. With this gesture, they tried to draw international attention to racial discrimination in the United States. The black-gloved and raised clenched fists were meant to symbolise BLACK POWER. The silver medallist, white Australian athlete, Peter Norman, wore a human rights badge on his shirt during the ceremony to show his support to the two Americans.

Do you think that Carlos and Smith should have raised an internal matter of American society in an international forum? Would you say that what they did was political? Why do you think Peter Norman, who was neither Black nor American, joined in the gesture of protest? If you were in Norman's place what would you do?

Glossary

Civil Rights Movement in the USA (1954-1968) refers to a set of events and reform movements aimed at abolishing legal racial discrimination against African-Americans. Led by Martin Luther King Jr., this movement practiced non-violent methods of civil disobedience against racially discriminatory laws and practices.

African-American, Afro-American, Black American, or Black are the terms used to refer mainly to the descendants of Africans who were brought into America as slaves between the 17th century and early 19th century.

The Black Power movement emerged in 1966 and lasted till 1975, which was a more militant anti-racist movement, advocating even violence if necessary to end racism in the US.

In 2005, the San Jose State University installed a 20-foot high sculpture representing the protest by Tommie Smith and John Carlos. A photograph of the original medal ceremony in 1968 is on the top.

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The International Olympic Association held Carlos and Smith guilty of violating the Olympic spirit by making a political statement. Their medals were taken back. Back home, they were subjected to a lot of criticism. Norman too suffered for his action and was not included in the Australian team for the next Olympic. But their action succeeded in gaining international attention for the Civil Rights Movement in the US. Recently, the San Jose (pronounced 'Saan Hoze') State University, of which they were former students, honoured them and installed their statue in the University campus. When Norman died in 2006, Smith and Carlos were pallbearers at his funeral.

Let Us DEBATE

Some *Dalit* groups decided to participate in the UN Conference Against Racism in Durban in 2001, demanding the inclusion of caste in the agenda of this conference. Here are three reactions to this move:

Amandeep Kaur (a government official): Our Constitution declares caste discrimination to be illegal. If some caste discrimination continues, it is an internal matter. I am opposed to this being raised in an international forum.

Oinam (a sociologist): I am opposed to this because caste and race are not similar divisions. Caste is a social division, while race is a biological one. Raising caste in this conference on racism would mean equating the two.

Ashok (a *Dalit* activist): The argument about internal matter is a way of preventing open discussion of oppression and discrimination. Race is not purely biological. It is as much a legal and sociological category as caste. Caste discrimination must be raised in this conference.

Which of the three opinions do you agree with most and why?

I met this group of girls from Pakistan and felt that I had more in common with them than many girls from other parts of my own country. Is this anti-national to feel so?

Differences, similarities, divisions

The athletes in the example above were responding to social divisions and social inequalities. But does that happen only in societies which have racial divisions? In the previous two chapters we have already noted some other forms of social divisions. The examples of Belgium and Sri Lanka show both regional and social divisions. In the case of Belgium we noted that people who live in different regions speak different languages. In Sri Lanka, we noted linguistic as well as religious differences. Thus social diversity can take different forms in different societies.

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Origins of social differences

These social differences are mostly based on accident of birth. Normally we don't choose to belong to our community. We belong to it simply because we were born into it. We all experience social differences based on accident of birth in our everyday lives. People around us are male or female, they are tall and short, have different kinds of complexions, or have different physical abilities or disabilities. But all kinds of social differences are not based on accident of birth. Some of the differences are based on our choices. For example, some people are atheists. They don't believe in God or any religion. Some people choose to follow a religion other than the one in which they were born. Most of us choose what to study, which occupation to take up and which games or cultural activities to take part in. All these lead to formation of social groups that are based on our choices.

Every social difference does not lead to social division. Social differences divide similar people from one another, but they also unite very different people. People belonging to different social groups share differences and similarities cutting across the boundaries of their groups. In the instance above, Carlos and Smith were similar in one way (both were African-American) and thus different from Norman who was white. But they were also all similar in other ways – they were all athletes who stood against racial discrimination.

It is fairly common for people belonging to the same religion to feel that they do not belong to the same community, because their caste or sect is very different. It is also possible for people from different religions to have the same caste and feel close to each other. Rich and poor persons from the same family often do not keep close relations with each other for they feel they are very different. Thus, we all have more than one identity and can belong to more than one social group. We have different identities in different contexts.

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A cartoon like this can be read by different people to mean different things. What does this cartoon mean to you? How do other students in your class read this?

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Overlapping and cross-cutting differences

Social division takes place when some social difference overlaps with other differences. The difference between the Blacks and Whites becomes a social division in the US because the Blacks tend to be poor, homeless and discriminated against. In our country *Dalits* tend to be poor and landless. They often face discrimination and injustice. Situations of this kind produce social divisions, when one kind of social difference becomes more important than the other and people start feeling that they belong to different communities.

If social differences cross cut one another, it is difficult to pit one group of people against the other. It means that groups that share a common interest on one issue are likely to be in different sides on a different issue. Consider the cases of Northern Ireland and the Netherlands. Both are predominantly Christian but divided between Catholics and Protestants. In Northern Ireland, class and religion overlap with each other. If you are Catholic, you are also more likely to be poor, and you may have suffered a history of discrimination. In the Netherlands, class and religion tend to cut across each other. Catholics and Protestants are about equally likely to be poor or rich. The result is that Catholics and Protestants have had conflicts in Northern Ireland, while they do not do so in the Netherlands. Overlapping social differences create possibilities of deep social divisions and tensions. Cross-cutting social differences are easier to accommodate.

Read these two poems by Dalit *writers. Why do you think the poster is titled 'Hidden Apartheid' ?*

Social divisions of one kind or another exist in most countries. It does not matter whether the country is small or big. India is a vast country with many communities. Belgium is a small country with many communities. Even those countries such as Germany and Sweden, that were once highly HOMOGENEOUS, are undergoing rapid change with influx of people from other parts of the world. MIGRANTS bring with them their own culture and tend to form a different social community. In this sense most countries of the world are multi-cultural.

Glossary

Homogeneous society: A society that has similar kinds of people, especially where there are no significant ethnic differences.

Migrant: Anybody who shifts from one region or country to another region within a country or to another country, usually for work or other economic opportunities.

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Imrana is a student of Class X, section B. She and all her classmates are planning to help students of Class XI in giving a farewell party to the students of Class XII. Last month she played for section team in a game of kho-kho against the team of Class X, section A. She goes back home in a bus and joins all the students from various classes. They all come from trans-Yamuna area in Delhi. Back home, she often joins her elder sister, Naima, in complaining against her brother who does no work at home, while the sisters are asked to help their mother. Her father is looking for a good match for her elder sister, from a Muslim family with a similar economic status from their own 'biradari'.

Can you list the various kinds of identities Imrana has?

At home	she is	a girl
In terms of religion	she is	.....
In the school	she is	.....
.....	she is	.....
.....	she is	.....

Politics of social divisions

How do these social divisions affect politics? What does politics do to these social divisions? At first sight, it would appear that the combination of politics and social divisions is very dangerous and explosive. Democracy involves competition among various political parties. Their competition tends to divide any society. If they start competing in terms of some existing social divisions, it can make social divisions into political divisions and lead to conflict, violence or even disintegration of a country. This has happened in many countries.

Range of outcomes

Take the case of Northern Ireland that we referred to above. This region of the United Kingdom has been for many years the site of a violent and bitter ethno-political conflict. Its population is divided into two major sects of Christianity: 53 per cent are Protestants, while 44 per cent are Roman Catholics. The Catholics were represented by Nationalist parties who demanded that Northern Ireland be unified with the Republic of Ireland, a predominantly Catholic country. The Protestants were represented by Unionists who wanted to remain with the UK, which is predominantly protestant. Hundreds of civilians, militants and security forces were killed in the fight between Unionists and Nationalists and between the security forces of the UK and the Nationalists. It was only in 1998, that the UK government and the Nationalists

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Bulgaria, Romania or India?

Ganesh had come back from his trip and was talking to Mahashweta about the Roma people who live in many countries of Eastern Europe. He met Yordanka who works as a nurse in Bulgaria. This is what she has to say about Roma people:

"Being a nurse you can't refuse to look after some people, but these Roma people are very dirty. Even when something small happens to any one in their family, all the family and even the neighbours just march to our hospital. And once they are in the hospital they don't know how to keep quiet. They talk aloud, smoke and drop ashes all over and spit on the wall! They have no patience, and they just start pestering our doctors! And when they are just hanging out like that any way they look so aggressive. After all these dark skinned people don't look like us. They have a strange sense of colour. Look at their dress, why can't they try to look like everyone else in the country? And we all know they are thieves. I have heard people say that these Roma people live by selling their blood. None of them can afford the hospital fees. But when they are ill they just rush to hospital at the cost of good Bulgarians who pay their taxes!"

"That sounds familiar' said Mahashweta.

Ganesh went on to talk about Modruzeni, a Romani who lives in Romania. When she was eighteen years old, she went to the hospital, to give birth to her first child. She had no money to pay to the doctor or nurse. Though she was in the hospital, nobody bothered to come and take care of her. Finally the sweeper, who was also a Romani, helped her give birth to a boy. And then the nurse appeared on the scene and said, "Here we have another criminal". Talking about how the Roma people are treated in public hospitals, she says: "These doctors keep us waiting outside their cabins. On one occasion one doctor asked me to take a bath if I needed to be examined! Of course, I smelled. During the pregnancy I ate from the garbage containers, because I was so hungry all the time. My husband had left me. I had two children, and I was pregnant with the third.

The social worker refused my request for food assistance. My neighbour helped me to deliver the baby. I often feel it is better not to visit these hospitals."

Mahashweta heard him out and said, "Ganesh, why do you have to travel halfway across the world to find this out? This is not a story about Romania and Bulgaria or about the Roma people. This is as much a story about our own country and about our people who are branded as criminals by our system."

- Do you think Mahashweta is right? Do you know of some community in your area that is treated like the Romas?
- Have you heard people say things similar to what Yordanka or Modruzeni say here? If yes, try to think of what the story would sound like if you heard it from the other side?

Do you think the Bulgarian government should try to ensure that the Roma people dress and behave like other people from Bulgaria?

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reached a peace treaty after which the latter suspended their armed struggle. In Yugoslavia, the story did not have a happy ending. Political competition along religious ending ethnic lines led to the disintegration of Yugoslavia into six independent countries.

Such examples lead some people to conclude that politics and social divisions must not be allowed to mix. They think that it would be best if there are no social divisions in any country. If social divisions do exist in a country, they must never be expressed in politics.

At the same time every expression of social divisions in politics does not lead to such disasters. We have already seen that social divisions of one kind or another exist in most countries of the world. Wherever they exist, these divisions are reflected in politics. In a democracy it is only natural that political parties would talk about these divisions, make different promises to different communities, look after due representation of various communities and make policies to redress the grievances of the disadvantaged communities. Social divisions affect voting in most countries. People from one community tend to prefer some party more than others. In many countries there are parties that focus only on one community. Yet all this does not lead to disintegration of the country.

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In some societies of Northern Ireland, the colonies of Protestant and Catholic communities are divided by walls. These walls are sometimes filled with graffiti as you can see here. The Irish Republican Army and British Government signed an agreement in 2005. What does the graffiti here tell about the conflict in the society?

Three determinants

Three factors are crucial in deciding the outcome of politics of social divisions. First of all, the outcome depends on how people perceive their identities. If people see their identities in singular and exclusive terms, it becomes very difficult to accommodate. As long as people in Northern Ireland saw themselves as only Catholic or Protestant, their differences were difficult to reconcile. It is much easier if the people see that their identities are multiple and are complementary with the national identity. A majority of Belgians now feel that they are as much Belgian as they are Dutch or German-speaking. This helps them to stay together. This is how most people in our country see their identity: they think of themselves as Indian as well as belonging to a state or a language group or a social or religious community.

Second, it depends on how political leaders raise the demands of any community. It is easier to accommodate demands that are within the constitutional framework and are not at the cost of another community.

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The demand for 'only Sinhala' was at the cost of the interest and identity of the Tamil community in Sri Lanka. In Yugoslavia, the leaders of different ethnic communities presented their demands in such a way that these could not be accommodated within a single country.

Third, it depends on how the government reacts to demands of different groups. As we saw in the examples of Belgium and Sri Lanka, if the rulers are willing to share power and accommodate the reasonable demands of minority community, social divisions become less threatening for the country. But if they try to suppress such a demand in the name of national unity, the end result is often quite the opposite. Such attempts at forced integration often sow the seeds of disintegration.

Thus the assertion of social diversities in a country need not be seen as a source of danger. In a democracy, political expression of social divisions is very normal and can be healthy. This allows various disadvantaged and marginal social groups to express their grievances and get the government to attend to these. Expression of various kinds of social divisions in politics often results in their cancelling one another out and thus reducing their intensity. This leads to strengthening of a democracy.

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But a positive attitude towards diversity and a willingness to accommodate it do not come about easily. People who feel marginalised, deprived and discriminated have to fight against the injustices. Such a fight often takes the democratic path, voicing their demands in a peaceful and constitutional manner and seeking a fair position through elections. Sometimes social differences can take the form of unacceptable level of social inequality and injustice. The struggle against such inequalities sometimes takes the path of violence and defiance of state power. However history shows that democracy is the best way to fight for recognition and also to accommodate diversity.

Draw or collect some images of social divisions in different aspects of life. Can you think of some examples of social division or discrimination in the field of sports?

So, you are saying that too many small divisions are better than a single big division? Are you also saying that politics is a force of unity?

Exercises

1. Discuss three factors that determine the outcomes of politics of social divisions.
2. When does a social difference become a social division?
3. How do social divisions affect politics? Give two examples.
4. _____ social differences create possibilities of deep social divisions and tensions. _____ social differences do not usually lead to conflicts.

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Exercises

5. In dealing with social divisions which one of the following statements is NOT correct about democracy?
   (a) Due to political competition in a democracy, social divisions get reflected in politics.
   (b) In a democracy it is possible for communities to voice their grievances in a peaceful manner.
   (c) Democracy is the best way to accommodate social diversity.
   (d) Democracy always leads to disintegration of society on the basis of social divisions.

6. Consider the following three statements.
   A. Social divisions take place when social differences overlap.
   B. It is possible that a person can have multiple identities.
   C. Social divisions exist in only big countries like India.

   Which of the statements is/are correct?

   (a) A, B and C (b) A and B (c) B and C (d) Only C

7. Arrange the following statements in a logical sequence and select the right answers by using the code given below.
   A. But all political expression of social divisions need not be always dangerous.
   B. Social divisions of one kind or the other exist in most countries.
   C. Parties try to win political support by appealing to social divisions.
   D. Some social differences may result in social divisions.

   (a) D, B, C, A (b) D, B, A, C (c) D, A, C, B (d) A, B, C, D

8. Among the following, which country suffered disintegration due to political fights on the basis of religious and ethnic identities?

   (a) Belgium (b) India (c) Yugoslavia (d) Netherlands

9. Read the following passage from a famous speech by Martin Luther King Jr. in 1963. Which social division is he talking about? What are his aspirations and anxieties? Do you see a relationship between this speech and the incident in Mexico Olympics mentioned in this chapter?

   "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin but by the content of their character. Let freedom ring. And when this happens, and when we allow freedom ring—when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children—black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics—will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual: 'Free at last! Free at last! Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!' I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal'."

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Gender, Religion and Caste

Chapter 4

Overview

In the previous chapter we noted that the existence of social diversity does not threaten democracy. Political expression of social differences is possible and sometimes quite desirable in a democratic system. In this chapter we apply these ideas to the practice of democracy in India. We look at three kinds of social differences that can take the form of social divisions and inequalities. These are social differences based on gender, religion and caste. In each case we look at the nature of this division in India and how it gets expressed in politics. We also ask whether different expressions based on these differences are healthy or otherwise in a democracy.

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Gender and politics

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A poster from Bengal affirming women's strength.

Glossary

Sexual division of labour: A system in which all work inside the home is either done by the women of the family, or organised by them through the domestic helpers.

Let us begin with gender division. This is a form of hierarchical social division seen everywhere, but is rarely recognised in the study of politics. The gender division tends to be understood as natural and unchangeable. However, it is not based on biology but on social expectations and stereotypes.

Why are we discussing things like household work in this textbook on Political Science? Is this politics?

Why not? If politics is about power, then surely male dominance in the household should be considered political.

Public/private division

Boys and girls are brought up to believe that the main responsibility of women is housework and bringing up children. This is reflected in a SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR in most families: women do all work inside the home such as cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, tailoring, looking after children, etc., and men do all the work outside the home. It is not that men cannot do housework; they simply think that it is for women to attend to these things. When these jobs are paid for, men are ready to take up these works. Most tailors or cooks in hotels are men. Similarly, it is not that women do not work outside their home. In villages, women fetch water, collect fuel and work in the fields. In urban areas, poor women work as domestic helper in middle class homes, while middle class women work in offices. In fact the majority of women do some sort of paid work in addition to domestic labour. But their work is not valued and does not get recognition.

The result of this division of labour is that although women constitute half of the humanity, their role in public life, especially politics, is minimal in most societies. Earlier, only men were allowed to participate in public affairs, vote and contest for public offices. Gradually the gender issue was raised in politics. Women in different parts of the world organised and agitated for equal rights. There were agitations in different countries for the extension of voting rights to women. These agitations demanded enhancing the political and legal status of women and improving

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their educational and career opportunities. More radical women's movements aimed at equality in personal and family life as well. These movements are called FEMINIST movements.

Political expression of gender division and political mobilisation on this question helped to improve women's role in public life. We now find women working as scientists, doctors, engineers, lawyers, managers and college and university teachers which were earlier not considered suitable for women. In some parts of the world, for example in

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Discuss all these perceptions of an ideal woman that prevail in our society. Do you agree with any of these? If not, what is your image of an ideal woman?

Glossary

Feminist: A woman or a man who believes in equal rights and opportunities for women and men.

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Scandinavian countries such as Sweden, Norway and Finland, the participation of women in public life is very high.

In our country, women still lag much behind men despite some improvement since Independence. Ours is still a male-dominated, PATRIARCHAL society. Women face disadvantage, discrimination and oppression in various ways:

- The literacy rate among women is only 54 per cent compared with 76 per cent among men. Similarly, a smaller

A 'time use survey' was conducted in six states of our country. It shows that an average woman works every day for a little over seven and half hours while an average man works for six and a half hours. Yet the work done by men is more visible because most of their work leads to generation of income. Women also do a lot of direct income generating work, but the bulk of their work is household related. This work remains unpaid and invisible.

Daily time use (hours: minutes)

Activities	Men	Women
Income generating work	6:00	2:40
Household and related work	0:30	5:00
Talking, Gossip	1:25	1:20
No work/ Leisure	3:40	3:50
Sleep, self-care, reading etc.	12:25	11:10

Source: Government of India, *Time Use Survey*, 1998-99.

You can conduct a similar time use survey in your own household. Observe all the adult male and female members of your family for one week. Every day note down the number of hours each of them spends on the following activities: income generating activity (working at the office or shop or factory or field, etc.), household related activity (cooking, cleaning, washing, fetching water, looking after children or elders, etc.), reading and recreation, talking/gossiping, self-care, taking rest or sleeping. If necessary make new categories. Add up the time taken on each activity for a week and calculate the daily average for each activity for each member. Do women work more in your family as well?

Glossary

Patriarchy: Literally, rule by father, this concept is used to refer to a system that values men more and gives them power over women.

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proportion of girl students go for higher studies. When we look at school results, girls perform as well as boys, if not better in some places. But they drop out because parents prefer to spend their resources for their boys' education rather than spending equally on their sons and daughters.

- No wonder the proportion of women among the highly paid and valued jobs is still very small. On an average an Indian woman works one hour more than an average man every day. Yet much of her work is not paid and therefore often not valued.

- The Equal Remuneration Act, 1976 provides that equal wages should be paid to equal work. However in almost all areas of work, from sports and cinema, to factories and fields, women are paid less than men, even when both do exactly the same work.

- In many parts of India parents prefer to have sons and find ways to have the girl child aborted before she is born. Such sex-selective abortion led to a decline in child sex ratio (number of girl children per thousand boys) in the country to merely 914. As the map

Mummy always says to outsiders: "I don't work. I am a housewife." But I see her working non-stop all the time. If what she does is not work, what else is work?

Can you identify your district on this map? What is the child sex ratio in it? How is it different from others with a different colour?

Identify the States where most districts have child sex ratio below 850.

Compare this map with the poster on the next page. How do the two of them tell us about the same issue?

Source: UNFPA, Missing... *Mapping the Adverse Child Sex Ratio in India*, 2005, p.3.

Map not to scale

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shows, this ratio has fallen below 850 or even 800 in some places.

There are reports of various kinds of harassment, exploitation and violence against women. Urban areas have become particularly unsafe for women. They are not safe even within their own home from beating, harassment and other forms of domestic violence.

Women's political representation

All this is well known. Yet issues related to women's well being or otherwise are not given adequate attention. This has led many feminists and women's movements to the conclusion that unless women control power, their problems will not get adequate attention. One way to ensure this is to have more women as elected representatives.

In India, the proportion of women in legislature has been very low. For example, the percentage of elected women members in Lok Sabha has crossed 10 per cent of its total strength for the first time in 2009. Their share in the state assemblies is less than 5 per cent. In this respect, India is among the bottom group of nations in the world (see the graph below). India is behind the

*Europe – OSCE (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe) member countries excluding Nordic countries.

Note: Figures are for the per cent of women in the directly elected chambers of parliament as on 31 December 2011.
Source: http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm

Could you think of some reasons why women's representation is so low in India? Do you think America's and Europe have achieved a satisfactory level of women's representation?

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averages for several developing countries of Africa and Latin America. In the government, cabinets are largely all-male even when a woman becomes the Chief Minister or the Prime Minister.

One way to solve this problem is to make it legally binding to have a fair proportion of women in the elected bodies. This is what the Panchayati Raj has done in India. One-third of seats in local government bodies – in panchayats and municipalities – are now reserved for women. Now there are more than 10 lakh elected women representatives in rural and urban local bodies.

Women's organisations and activists have been demanding a similar reservation of at least one-third of seats in the Lok Sabha and State Assemblies for women. A bill with this proposal has been pending before the Parliament for more than a decade. But there is no consensus over this among all the political parties. The bill has not been passed.

Gender division is an example that some form of social division needs to be expressed in politics. This also shows that disadvantaged groups do benefit when social divisions become a political issue. Do you think that women could have made the gains we noted above if their unequal treatment was not raised in the political domain?

If casteism and communalism are bad, what makes feminism a good thing? Why don't we oppose all those who divide the society on any lines – caste, religion or gender?

© Surender - The Hindu

This cartoon offers an understanding of why the Women's Reservation Bill has not been passed in the Parliament. Do you agree with this reading?

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Religion, communalism and politics

Let us now turn to a very different kind of social division, the division based on religious differences. This division is not as universal as gender, but religious diversity is fairly widespread in the world today. Many countries including India have in their population, followers of different religions. As we noticed in the case of Northern Ireland, even when most of the people belong to the same religion, there can be serious differences about the way people practice that religion. Unlike gender differences, the religious differences are often expressed in the field of politics.

Consider the following:

- Gandhiji used to say that religion can never be separated from politics. What he meant by religion was not any particular religion like Hinduism or Islam but moral values that inform all religions. He believed that politics must be guided by ethics drawn from religion.
- Human rights groups in our country have argued that most of the victims of communal riots in our country are people from religious minorities. They have demanded that the government take special steps to protect religious minorities.
- Women's movement has argued that FAMILY LAWS of all religions discriminate against women. So they have demanded that government should change these laws to make them more equitable.

All these instances involve a relationship between religion and politics.

I am not religious. Why should I bother about communalism and secularism?

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But they do not seem very wrong or dangerous. Ideas, ideals and values drawn from different religions can and perhaps should play a role in politics. People should be able to express in politics their needs, interests and demands as a member of a religious community. Those who hold political power should sometimes be able to regulate the practice of religion so as to prevent discrimination and oppression. These political acts are not wrong as long as they treat every religion equally.

Communalism

The problem begins when religion is seen as the basis of the nation. The example of Northern Ireland in Chapter 3 shows the dangers of such an approach to nationalism. The problem becomes more acute when religion is expressed in politics in exclusive and partisan terms, when one religion and its followers are pitted against another. This happens when beliefs of one religion are presented as superior to those of other religions, when the demands of one religious group are formed in opposition to another and when state power is used to establish domination of one religious group over the rest. This manner of using religion in politics is communal politics.

Communal politics is based on the idea that religion is the principal basis of social community. Communalism involves thinking along the following lines. The followers of a particular religion must belong to one community. Their fundamental interests are the same. Any difference that they may have is irrelevant or trivial for community life. It also follows that people who follow different religions cannot belong to the same social community. If the followers of different religion have some commonalities these are superficial and immaterial. Their interests are bound to be different and involve a conflict. In its extreme form communalism leads to the belief that people belonging to different religions cannot live as equal citizens within one nation. Either, one of them has to dominate the rest or they have to form different nations.

This belief is fundamentally flawed. People of one religion do not have the same interests and aspirations in every context. Everyone has several other roles, positions and identities. There are many voices inside every community. All these voices have a right to be heard. Therefore any attempt to bring all followers of one religion together in context other than religion is bound to suppress many voices within that community.

Communalism can take various forms in politics:

- The most common expression of communalism is in everyday beliefs. These routinely involve religious prejudices, stereotypes of religious communities and belief in the superiority of one's religion over other religions. This is so common that we often fail to notice it, even when we believe in it.
- A communal mind often leads to a quest for political dominance of one's own religious community. For those belonging to majority community, this takes the form of majoritarian dominance. For those belonging to the minority community, it can take the form of a desire to form a separate political unit.
- Political mobilisation on religious lines is another frequent form of

Glossary

Family laws: Those laws that deal with family related matters such as marriage, divorce, adoption, inheritance, etc. In our country, different family laws apply to followers of different religions.

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We remain strangers
Even after so many meetings
Blood stains remain
Even after so many rains
'Faiz'

communalism. This involves the use of sacred symbols, religious leaders, emotional appeal and plain fear in order to bring the followers of one religion together in the political arena. In electoral politics this often involves special appeal to the interests or emotions of voters of one religion in preference to others.

- Sometimes communalism takes its most ugly form of communal violence, riots and massacre. India and Pakistan suffered some of the worst communal riots at the time of the Partition. The post-Independence period has also seen large scale communal violence.

Secular state

Communalism was and continues to be one of the major challenges to democracy in our country. The makers of our Constitution were aware of this challenge. That is why they chose the model of a secular state. This choice was reflected in several constitutional provisions that we studied last year:

- There is no official religion for the Indian state. Unlike the status of Buddhism in Sri Lanka, that of Islam in Pakistan and that of Christianity in England, our Constitution does not give a special status to any religion.

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- The Constitution provides to all individuals and communities freedom to profess, practice and propagate any religion, or not to follow any.
- The Constitution prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion.
- At the same time, the Constitution allows the state to intervene in the matters of religion in order to ensure equality within religious communities. For example, it bans untouchability.

Understood in this sense, secularism is not just an ideology of some parties or persons. This idea constitutes one of the foundations of our country. Communalism should not be seen as a threat to some people in India. It threatens the very idea of India. That is why communalism needs to be combated. A secular Constitution like ours is necessary but not sufficient to combat communalism. Communal prejudices and propaganda need to be countered in everyday life and religion-based mobilisation needs to be countered in the arena of politics.

© Ajith Ninan - *The Times of India*

This chair is for the CM-designate, to prove his secular credentials... There will be plenty of rocking!

Caste and politics

We have seen two instances of the expression of social divisions in the arena of politics, one largely positive and the other largely negative. Let us turn to our final case, that of caste and politics, that has both positive and the negative aspects.

Caste inequalities

Unlike gender and religion, caste division is special to India. All societies have some kind of social inequality and some form of division of labour. In most societies, occupations are passed on from one generation to another. Caste system is an extreme form of this. What makes it different from other societies is that in this system, hereditary occupational division was sanctioned by rituals. Members of the same caste group were supposed to form a social community that practiced the same or similar occupation, married within the caste group and did not eat with members from other caste groups.

Caste system was based on exclusion of and discrimination against the 'outcaste' groups. They were subjected to the inhuman practice of untouchability about which you have studied in Class IX. That is why political leaders and social reformers like Jotiba Phule, Gandhiji, B.R. Ambedkar and Periyar Ramaswami

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Social and Religious Diversity of India

The Census of India records the religion of each and every Indian after every ten years. The person who fills the Census form visits every household and records the religion of each member of that household exactly the way each person describes it. If someone says she has 'no religion' or that he is an 'atheist', this is exactly how it is recorded. Thus we have reliable information on the proportion of different religious communities in the country and how it has changed over the years. The pie chart below presents the population proportion of six major religious groups in the country. Since Independence, the total population of each group has increased substantially but their proportion in the country's population has not changed much. In percentage terms, the population of the Hindus, Jains and Christians has declined marginally since 1961. The proportion of Muslim, Sikh and Buddhist population has increased slightly. There is a common but mistaken impression that the proportion of the Muslims in the country's population is going to overtake other religious groups. Expert estimates done for the Prime Minister's High Level Committee (popularly known as Sachar Committee) show that the proportion of the Muslims is expected to go up a little, by about 3 to 4 per cent, in the next 50 years. It proves that in overall terms, the population balance of different religious groups is not likely to change in a big way.

The same is true of the major caste groups. The Census of India counts two social groups: the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. Both these broad groups include hundreds of castes or tribes whose names are listed in an official Schedule. Hence the prefix 'Scheduled' in their name. The Scheduled Castes, commonly known as *Dalits*, include those that were previously regarded as 'outcaste' in the Hindu social order and were subjected to exclusion and untouchability. The Scheduled Tribes, often referred to as *Adivasis*, include those communities that led a secluded life usually in hills and forests and did not interact much with the rest of society. In 2001, the Scheduled Castes were 16.2 per cent and the Scheduled Tribes were 8.2 per cent of the country's population.

The Census does not yet count the Other Backward Classes, the group we discussed in class IX. Hence there are some differences about their proportion in the country's population. The National Sample Survey of 2004-05 estimates their population to be around 41 per cent. Thus the SC, ST and the OBC together account for about two-thirds of the country's population and about three-fourths of the Hindu population.

Population of different religious group in India, 2001

Source: Census of India, 2001

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Naicker advocated and worked to establish a society in which caste inequalities are absent.

Partly due to their efforts and partly due to other socio-economic changes, castes and caste system in modern India have undergone great changes. With economic development, large scale URBANISATION, growth of literacy and education, OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY and the weakening of the position of landlords in the villages, the old notions of CASTE HIERARCHY are breaking down. Now, most of the times, in urban areas it does not matter much who is walking along next to us on a street or eating at the next table in a restaurant. The Constitution of India prohibited any caste-based discrimination and laid the foundations of policies to reverse the injustices of the caste system. If a person who lived a century ago were to return to India, she would be greatly surprised at the change that has come about in the country.

Yet caste has not disappeared from contemporary India. Some of the older aspects of caste have persisted. Even now most people marry within their own caste or tribe. Untouchability has not ended completely, despite constitutional prohibition. Effects of centuries of advantages and disadvantages continue to be felt today. The caste groups that had access to education under the old system have done very well in acquiring modern education as well. Those groups that did not have access to education or were prohibited from acquiring it have naturally lagged behind. That is why there is a disproportionately large presence of 'upper caste' among the urban middle classes in our country. Caste continues to be closely linked to economic status. (See Plus Box on Page 52.)

Caste in politics

As in the case of communalism, casteism is rooted in the belief that caste is the sole basis of social community. According to this way of thinking, people belonging to the same caste belong to a natural social community and have the same interests which they do not share with anyone from another caste. As we saw in the case of communalism, such a belief is not borne out by our experience. Caste is one aspect of our experience but it is not the only relevant or the most important aspect.

Caste can take various forms in politics:

- When parties choose candidates in elections, they keep in mind the caste composition of the electorate and nominate candidates from different castes so as to muster necessary support to win elections. When governments are formed, political parties usually take care that representatives of different castes and tribes find a place in it.

Glossary

Urbanisation: Shift of population from rural areas to urban areas

Occupational mobility: Shift from one occupation to another, usually when a new generation takes up occupations other than those practiced by their ancestors.

Caste hierarchy: A ladder like formation in which all the caste groups are placed from the 'highest' to the 'lowest' castes.

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Caste inequality today

Caste is an important source of economic inequality because it regulates access to resources of various kinds. For example, in the past, the so-called 'untouchable' castes were denied the right to own land, while only the so-called 'twice born' castes had the right to education. Although this kind of explicit and formalised inequality based on caste is now outlawed, the effects of centuries of accumulated advantages and disadvantages continue to be felt. Moreover, new kinds of inequalities have also developed.

The relationship between caste and economic status has certainly changed a lot. Today, it is possible to find very rich and very poor people in every caste, whether 'low' or 'high'. This was not true even twenty or thirty years ago – it was very rare indeed to find rich people among the 'lowest' castes. However, as this evidence from the National Sample Survey shows, caste continues to be very strongly linked to economic status in many important ways:

- The average economic status (measured by criteria like monthly consumption expenditure) of caste groups still follows the old hierarchy – the 'upper' castes are best off, the *Dalits* and *Adivasis* are worst off, and the backward classes are in between.
- Although every caste has some poor members, the proportion living in extreme poverty (below the official 'poverty line') is much higher for the lowest castes and much lower for the upper castes, with the backward classes once again in between.
- Although every caste has some members who are rich, the upper castes are heavily over-represented among the rich while the lower castes are severely under-represented.

Percentage of poulation living below the poverty line, 1999-2000

Caste and Community groups	Rural	Urban
Scheduled Tribes	45.8	35.6
Scheduled Castes	35.9	38.3
Other Backward Classes	27.0	29.5
Muslim Upper Castes	26.8	34.2
Hindu Upper Castes	11.7	9.9
Christian Upper Castes	9.6	5.4
Sikh Upper Castes	0.0	4.9
Other Upper Castes	16.0	2.7
All Groups	27.0	23.4

Note: 'Upper Caste' here means those who are not from SC, ST, or OBC. Below the poverty line means those who spent Rs 327 or less per person per month in rural and Rs 454 or less per person per month in urban areas.
Source: *National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO), Government of India,* 55th *Round*, 1999-2000

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- Political parties and candidates in elections make appeals to caste sentiment to muster support. Some political parties are known to favour some castes and are seen as their representatives.
- Universal adult franchise and the principle of one-person-one-vote compelled political leaders to gear up to the task of mobilising and securing political support. It also brought new consciousness among the people of castes that were hitherto treated as inferior and low.

The focus on caste in politics can sometimes give an impression that elections are all about caste and nothing else. That is far from true. Just consider these:

- No parliamentary constituency in the country has a clear majority of one single caste. So, every candidate and party needs to win the confidence of more than one caste and community to win elections.
- No party wins the votes of all the voters of a caste or community. When people say that a caste is a 'vote bank' of one party, it usually means that a large proportion of the voters from that caste vote for that party.
- Many political parties may put up candidates from the same caste (if that caste is believed to dominate the electorate in a particular constituency). Some voters have more than one candidate from their caste while many voters have no candidate from their caste.
- The ruling party and the sitting MP or MLA frequently lose elections in our country. That could not have happened if all castes and communities were frozen in their political preferences.

Clearly, while caste matters in electoral politics, so do many other factors. The voters have strong attachment to political parties which is often stronger than their attachment to their caste or community. People within the same caste or community have different interests depending on their economic condition. Rich and poor or men and women from the same caste often vote very differently. People's assessment of the performance of the government and the popularity rating of the leaders matter and are often decisive in elections.

Politics in caste

We have so far looked at what caste does to politics. But it does not mean that there is only a one-way relation between caste and politics. Politics too influences the caste system and caste identities by bringing them into the political arena.

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Do you think that political leaders are right to treat people belonging to a caste as 'vote banks'?

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Thus, it is not politics that gets caste-ridden, it is the caste that gets politicised. This takes several forms:

- Each caste group tries to become bigger by incorporating within it neighbouring castes or sub-castes which were earlier excluded from it.
- Various caste groups are required to enter into a coalition with other castes or communities and thus enter into a dialogue and negotiation.
- New kinds of caste groups have come up in the political arena like 'backward' and 'forward' caste groups.

Thus, caste plays different kinds of roles in politics. In some situations, expression of caste differences in politics gives many disadvantaged communities the space to demand their share of power. In this sense-caste politics has helped people from *Dalits* and OBC castes to gain better access to decision making. Several political and non-political organisations have been demanding and agitating for an end to discrimination against particular castes, for more dignity and more access to land, resources and opportunities.

At the same time exclusive attention to caste can produce negative results as well. As in the case of religion, politics based on caste identity alone is not very healthy in a democracy. It can divert attention from other pressing issues like poverty, development and corruption. In some cases caste division leads to tensions, conflict and even violence.

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Exercises

1. Mention different aspects of life in which women are discriminated or disadvantaged in India.
2. State different forms of communal politics with one example each.
3. State how caste inequalities are still continuing in India.
4. State two reasons to say that caste alone cannot determine election results in India.
5. What is the status of women's representation in India's legislative bodies?
6. Mention any two constitutional provisions that make India a secular state.
7. When we speak of gender divisions, we usually refer to:
   (a) Biological difference between men and women
   (b) Unequal roles assigned by the society to men and women
   (c) Unequal child sex ratio
   (d) Absence of voting rights for women in democracies
8. In India seats are reserved for women in
   (a) Lok Sabha
   (b) State legislative assemblies
   (c) Cabinets
   (d) Panchayati Raj bodies
9. Consider the following statements on the meaning of communal politics. Communal politics is based on the belief that:
   A. One religion is superior to that of others.
   B. People belonging to different religions can live together happily as equal citizens.
   C. Followers of a particular religion constitute one community.
   D. State power cannot be used to establish the domination of one religious group over others.

   Which of the statements is/are correct?

   (a) A, B, C, and D (b) A, B, and D (c) A and C (d) B and D
10. Which among the following statements about India's Constitution is wrong? It
    (a) prohibits discrimination on grounds of religion.
    (b) gives official status to one religion.
    (c) provides to all individuals freedom to profess any religion.
    (d) ensures equality of citizens within religious communities.
11. Social divisions based on _____ are peculiar to India.

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12. Match List I with List II and select the correct answer using the codes given below the Lists:

	List I	List II
1.	A person who believes in equal rights and opportunities for women and men	A. Communalist
2.	A person who says that religion is the principal basis of community	B. Feminist
3.	A person who thinks that caste is the principal basis of community	C. Secularist
4.	A person who does not discriminate others on the basis of religious beliefs	D. Castiest

	1	2	3	4
(a)	B	C	A	D
(b)	B	A	D	C
(c)	D	C	A	B
(d)	C	A	B	D

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Popular Struggles and Movements

Overview

In the earlier chapters we discussed why power sharing is important in a democracy and how different tiers of government and various social groups share power. In this chapter we will carry this discussion further and see how those who exercise power are constrained by the influence and pressure exerted on them. Democracy almost invariably involves conflict of interests and viewpoints. These differences are often expressed in organised ways. Those who are in power are required to balance these conflicting demands and pressures. We begin this chapter with a discussion of how struggles around conflicting demands and pressures shape democracy. This leads to an analysis of the different ways and organisations through which ordinary citizen can play a role in democracy. In this chapter, we look at the indirect ways of influencing politics, through pressure groups and movements. This leads us in the next chapter to the direct ways of controlling political power in the form of political parties.

Chapter 5

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Popular struggles in Nepal and Bolivia

Do you remember the story of the triumph of democracy in Poland? We studied it last year in the first chapter of class IX. The story reminded us about the role played by the people in the making of democracy. Let us read two recent stories of that kind and see how power is exercised in democracy.

Movement for democracy in Nepal

Nepal witnessed an extraordinary popular movement in April 2006. The movement was aimed at restoring democracy. Nepal, you might recall, was one of the 'third wave' countries that had won democracy in 1990. Although the king formally remained the head of the state, the real power was exercised by popularly elected representatives. King Birendra, who has accepted this transition from absolute monarchy to constitutional monarchy, was killed in a mysterious massacre of the royal family in 2001. King Gyanendra, the new king of Nepal, was not prepared to accept democratic rule. He took advantage of the weakness and unpopularity of the democratically elected government. In February 2005, the king dismissed the then Prime Minister and dissolved the popularly elected Parliament. The movement of April 2006 was aimed at regaining popular control over the government from the king.

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Political parties and people of Nepal in a rally demanding restoration of democracy in their country

All the major political parties in the parliament formed a Seven Party Alliance (SPA) and called for a four-day strike in Kathmandu, the country's capital. This protest soon turned into an indefinite strike in which MAOIST insurgents and various other organisations joined hands. People defied curfew and took to the streets. The security forces found themselves unable to take on more than a lakh people who gathered almost every day to demand restoration of democracy. The number of protesters reached between three and five lakhs on 21 April and they served an ultimatum to the king. The leaders of the movement rejected the half-hearted concessions made by the king. They stuck to their demands for restoration of parliament, power to an all-party government and a new constituent assembly.

On 24 April 2006, the last day of the ultimatum, the king was forced to concede all the three demands. The SPA chose Girija Prasad Koirala as the new Prime Minister of the interim government. The restored parliament met and passed laws taking away most of the powers of the king. The SPA and the Maoists came to an understanding about how the new Constituent Assembly was going to be elected. This struggle came to be known as Nepal's second movement for democracy. The struggle of the Nepali people is a source of inspiration to democrats all over the world.

GLOssary

Maoists: Those communists who believe in the ideology of Mao, the leader of the Chinese Revolution. They seek to overthrow the government through an armed revolution so as to establish the rule of the peasants and workers.

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Bolivia's Water War

The story of Poland and that of Nepal apply to the struggle for establishing or restoring democracy. But the role of popular struggles does not come to an end with the establishment of democracy. People's successful struggle against privatisation of water in Bolivia reminds us that popular struggles are integral to the working of democracy.

Bolivia is a poor country in Latin America. The World Bank pressurised the government to give up its control of municipal water supply. The government sold these rights for the city of Cochabamba to a multi-national company (MNC). The company immediately increased the price of water by four times. Many people received monthly water bill of Rs 1000 in a country where average income is around Rs 5000 a month. This led to a spontaneous popular protest.

In January 2000, a new alliance of labour, human rights and community leaders organised a successful four-day general strike in the city. The government agreed to negotiate and the strike was called off. Yet nothing happened. The police resorted to brutal repression when the agitation was started again in February. Another strike followed in April and the government imposed martial law. But the power of the people forced the officials of the MNC to flee the city and made the government concede to all the demands of the protesters. The contract with the MNC was cancelled and water supply was restored to the municipality at old rates. This came to be known as Bolivia's water war.

Are you suggesting that strike, dharna, bandh and demonstration are good for democracy?

Democracy and popular struggles

These two stories are from very different contexts. The movement in Nepal was to establish democracy, while the struggle in Bolivia involved claims on an elected, democratic government. The popular struggle in Bolivia was about one specific policy, while the struggle in Nepal was about the foundations of the country's politics. Both these struggles were successful but their impact was at different levels.

Despite these differences, both the stories share some elements which are relevant to the study of the past and future of democracies. Both these are instances of political conflict that led to popular struggles. In both cases the struggle involved mass mobilisation. Public demonstration of mass support clinched the dispute. Finally, both instances involved critical role of political organisations. If you recall the first chapter of Class IX textbook, this is how democracy has evolved all over the world. We can, therefore, draw a few conclusions from these examples:

- Democracy evolves through popular struggles. It is possible that some significant decisions may take place through consensus and may not involve any conflict at all. But that would be an exception. Defining moments of democracy usually involve conflict between those groups who have exercised power and those who aspire for a share in power. These moments come when the country is going through transition to democracy, expansion of democracy or deepening of democracy.
- Democratic conflict is resolved through mass mobilisation. Sometimes

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it is possible that the conflict is resolved by using the existing institutions like the parliament or the judiciary. But when there is a deep dispute, very often these institutions themselves get involved in the dispute. The resolution has to come from outside, from the people.

- These conflicts and mobilisations are based on new political organisations. True, there is an element of spontaneity in all such historic moments. But the spontaneous public participation becomes effective with the help of organised politics. There can be many agencies of organised politics. These include political parties, pressure groups and movement groups.

Does it mean that whichever side manages to mobilise a bigger crowd gets away with whatever it wants? Are we saying that 'Might is Right' in a democracy?

In 1984, the Karnataka government set up a company called Karnataka Pulpwood Limited. About 30,000 hectares of land was given virtually free to this company for 40 years. Much of this land was used by local farmers as grazing land for their cattle. However the company began to plant eucalyptus trees on this land, which could be used for making paper pulp. In 1987, a movement called *Kittiko-Hachchiko* (meaning, pluck and plant) started a non-violent protest, where people plucked the eucalyptus plants and planted saplings of trees that were useful to the people.

Suppose you belong to any of the following groups, what arguments would you put forward to defend your side: a local farmer, an environmental activist, a government official working in this company or just a consumer of paper.

Mobilisation and organisations

Let us go back to our two examples and look at the organisations that made these struggles successful. We noted that the call for indefinite strike was given by the SPA or the Seven Party Alliance in Nepal. This alliance included some big parties that had some members in the Parliament. But the SPA was not the only organisation behind this mass upsurge. The protest was joined by the Nepalese Communist Party (Maoist) which did not believe in parliamentary democracy. This party was involved in an armed struggle against the Nepali government and had established its control over large parts of Nepal.

The struggle involved many organisations other than political parties. All the major labour unions and their federations joined this movement. Many other organisations like the organisation of the indigenous people, teachers, lawyers and human rights groups extended support to the movement.

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The protest against water privatisation in Bolivia was not led by any political party. It was led by an organisation called FEDECOR. This organisation comprised local professionals, including engineers and environmentalists. They were supported by a federation of farmers who relied on irrigation, the confederation of factory workers' unions, middle class students from the the University of Cochabamba and the city's growing population of homeless street children. The movement was supported by the Socialist Party. In 2006, this party came to power in Bolivia.

From both these examples, we can see that in a democracy several different kinds of organisations work behind any big struggle. These organisations play their role in two ways. One obvious way of influencing the decisions in a democracy is direct participation in competitive politics. This is done by creating parties, contesting elections and forming governments. But every citizen does not participate so directly. They may not have the desire, the need or the skills to take part in direct political activity other than voting.

There are many indirect ways in which people can get governments to listen to their demands or their points of view. They could do so by forming an organisation and undertaking activities to promote their interests or their viewpoints. These are called interest groups or pressure groups. Sometimes people decide to act together without forming organisations.

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Governments initiate schemes and programmes to alleviate the suffering of the poor and meet their basic needs. But poverty remains in the country. What could be the reasons for such a situation?

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Can you identify the pressure groups functioning in the news clippings given here? What demand are they making?

Pressure groups and movements

Pressure groups are organisations that attempt to influence government policies. But unlike political parties, pressure groups do not aim to directly control or share political power. These organisations are formed when people with common occupation, interest, aspirations or opinions come together in order to achieve a common objective.

In the course of the discussion above we came across entities that are not quite an organisation. The struggle in Nepal was called a movement for democracy. We often hear the word people's movement to describe many forms of collective action: Narmada Bachao Andolan, Movement for Right to Information, Anti-liquor Movement, Women's Movement, Environmental Movement. Like an interest group, a movement also attempts to influence politics rather than directly take part in electoral competition. But unlike the interest groups, movements have a loose organisation. Their decision making is more informal and flexible. They depend much more on spontaneous mass participation than an interest group.

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Land rights protest: farmers of West Java, Indonesia. In June 2004, about 15,000 landless farmers from West Java, travelled to Jakarta, the capital city. They came with their families to demand land reform, to insist on the return of their farms. Demonstrators chanted, "No land, No vote" declaring that they would boycott Indonesia's first direct presidential election if no candidate backed land reform.

Sectional interest groups and public interest groups

Usually interest groups seek to promote the interests of a particular section or group of society. Trade unions, business associations and professional (lawyers, doctors, teachers, etc.) bodies are some examples of this type. They are sectional because they represent a section of society: workers, employees, business-persons, industrialists, followers of a religion, caste group, etc. Their principal concern is the betterment and well-being of their members, not society in general.

Sometimes these organisations are not about representing the interest of one section of society. They represent some common or general interest that needs to be defended. The members of the organisation may not benefit from the cause that the organisation represents. The Bolivian organisation, FEDECOR is an example of that kind of an organisation. In the context of Nepal, we noted the participation of human rights organisations. We read about these organisations in Class IX.

These second type of groups are called promotional groups or public interest groups. They promote collective rather than selective good. They aim to help groups other than their own members. For example, a group fighting against bonded labour fights not for itself but for those who are suffering under such bondage. In some instances the members of a public interest group may undertake activity that benefits them as well as others too. For example, BAMCEF (Backward and Minority Communities Employees Federation) is an organisation largely made up of government employees that campaigns against caste discrimination. It addresses

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the problems of its members who suffer discrimination. But its principal concern is with social justice and social equality for the entire society.

Movement groups

As in the case of interest groups, the groups involved with movements also include a very wide variety. The various examples mentioned above already indicate a simple distinction. Most of the movements are issue-specific movements that seek to achieve a single objective within a limited time frame. Others are more general or generic movements that seek to achieve a broad goal in the very long term.

The Nepalese movement for democracy arose with the specific objective of reversing the king's orders that led to suspension of democracy. In India, Narmada Bachao Andolan is a good example of this kind of movement. The movement started with the specific issue of the people displaced by the creation of Sardar Sarovar dam on the Narmada river. Its objective was to stop the dam from being constructed. Gradually it became a wider movement that questioned all such big dams and the model of development that required such dams. Movements of this kind tend to have a clear leadership and some organisation. But their active life is usually short.

These single-issue movements can be contrasted with movements that are long term and involve more than one issue. The environmental movement and the women's movement are examples of such movements. There is no single organisation that controls or guides such movements. Environmental movement is a label for a large number of organisations and issue-specific movements. All of these have separate organisations, independent leadership and often different views on policy

Social movements and pressure groups try to mobilise citizens in many ways. The collage here shows some of them.

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Many democratic governments provide the Right to Information (RTI) to the citizens. The RTI Act, 2005 is a landmark legislation passed by our Parliament. Under this Act, citizens can seek information from government offices pertaining to different activities.

Do you think the cartoon exaggerates the obstructionist role of bureaucracy in the implementation of the Act?

related matters. Yet all of these share a broad objective and have a similar approach. That is why they are called a movement. Sometimes these broad movements have a loose umbrella organisation as well. For example, the National Alliance for Peoples' Movements (NAPM) is an organisation of organisations. Various movement groups struggling on specific issues are constituents of this loose organisation which coordinates the activities of a large number of peoples' movements in our country.

How do they influence politics?

Pressure groups and movements exert influence on politics in a variety of ways:

- They try to gain public support and sympathy for their goals and their activities by carrying out information campaigns, organising meetings, filing petitions, etc. Most of these groups try to influence the media into giving more attention to these issues.
- They often organise protest activity like strikes or disrupting government

What are the social movements listed in these news clippings? What efforts are they making? Which sections are they trying to mobilise?

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programmes. Workers' organisations, employees' associations and most of the movement groups often resort to these tactics in order to force the government to take note of their demands.

- Business groups often employ professional lobbyists or sponsor expensive advertisements. Some persons from pressure groups or movement groups may participate in official bodies and committees that offer advice to the government.

While interest groups and movements do not directly engage in party politics, they seek to exert influence on political parties. Most of the movement groups take a political stance without being a party. They have political ideology and political position on major issues. The relationship between political parties and pressure groups can take different forms, some direct and others very indirect:

- In some instances, the pressure groups are either formed or led by the leaders of political parties or act as extended arms of political parties. For example, most trade unions and students' organisations in India are either established by, or affiliated to one or the other major political party. Most of the leaders of such pressure groups are usually activists and leaders of party.

- Sometimes political parties grow out of movements. For example, when the Assam movement led by students against the 'foreigners' came to an end, it led to the formation of the Asom Gana Parishad. The roots of parties like the DMK and the AIADMK in Tamil Nadu can be traced to a long-drawn social reform movement during the 1930s and 1940s.

- In most cases the relationship between parties and interest or movement groups is not so direct. They often take positions that are opposed to each other. Yet they are in dialogue and negotiation. Movement groups have raised new issues that have been taken up by political parties. Most of the new leadership of political parties comes from interest or movement groups.

Is their influence healthy?

It may initially appear that it is not healthy for groups that promote interest of one section to have influence in democracy. A democracy must look after the interests of all, not just one section. Also, it may seem that these groups wield power without responsibility. Political parties have to face the people in elections, but these groups are not accountable to the people. Pressure groups and movements may not get their funds and support

Follow the news on any news TV channel for one week. Make a note of news related to pressure groups or movements representing the following sectors or sections: farmers, traders, labour, industry, environment and women. Which of these are mentioned most on television news? Which sections or interests get mentioned the least? You may follow a newspaper if you don't have TV at home.

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Let us revise

The Green Belt Movement has planted 30 million trees across Kenya. Its leader Wangari Maathai is very disappointed with the response of government officials and politicians:

"In the 1970s and 1980s, as I was encouraging farmers to plant trees on their land, I also discovered that corrupt government agents were responsible for much of the deforestation by illegally selling off land and trees to well-connected developers. In the early 1990's, the livelihoods, the rights and even the lives of many Kenyans in the Rift Valley were lost when elements of President Daniel Arap Moi's government encouraged ethnic communities to attack one another over land. Supporters of the ruling party got the land, while those in the pro-democracy movement were displaced. This was one of the government's ways of retaining power; if communities were kept busy fighting over land, they would have less opportunity to demand democracy."

In the above passage what relationship do you see between democracy and social movements? How should this movement respond to the government?

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*This cartoon is called **'News and No News'**. Who is most often visible in the media? Whom are we most likely to hear about in newspapers?*

from the people. Sometimes, pressure groups with small public support but lots of money can hijack public discussion in favour of their narrow agenda.

On balance, however, pressure groups and movements have deepened democracy. Putting pressure on the rulers is not an unhealthy activity in a democracy as long as everyone gets this opportunity. Governments can often come under undue pressure from a small group of rich and powerful people. Public interest groups and movements perform a useful role of countering this undue influence and reminding the government of the needs and concerns of ordinary citizens.

Even the sectional interest groups play a valuable role. Where different groups function actively, no one single group can achieve dominance over society. If one group brings pressure on government to make policies in its favour, another will bring counter pressure not to make policies in the way the first group desires. The government gets to hear about what different sections of the population want. This leads to a rough balance of power and accommodation of conflicting interests.

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Exercises

1. In what ways do pressure groups and movements exert influence on politics?
2. Describe the forms of relationship between pressure groups and political parties?
3. Explain how the activities of pressure groups are useful in the functioning of a democratic government.
4. What is a pressure group? Give a few examples.
5. What is the difference between a pressure group and a political party?
6. Organisations that undertake activities to promote the interests of specific social sections such as workers, employees, teachers, and lawyers are called _____ groups.
7. Which among the following is the special feature that distinguishes a pressure group from a political party?
   (a) Parties take political stances, while pressure groups do not bother about political issues.
   (b) Pressure groups are confined to a few people, while parties involve larger number of people.
   (c) Pressure groups do not seek to get into power, while political parties do.
   (d) Pressure groups do not seek to mobilise people, while parties do.
8. Match List I (organisations and struggles) with List II and select the correct answer using the codes given below the lists:

	List I	**List II**
1.	Organisations that seek to promote the interests of a particular section or group	A. Movement
2.	Organisations that seek to promote common interest	B. Political parties
3.	Struggles launched for the resolution of a social problem with or without an organisational structure	C. Sectional interest groups
4.	Organisations that mobilise people with a view to win political power	D. Public interest groups

	1	2	3	4
(a)	C	D	B	A
(b)	C	D	A	B
(c)	D	C	B	A
(d)	B	C	D	A

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9. Match List I with List II and select the correct answer using the codes given below the lists:

	List I	List II
1.	Pressure group	A. Narmada Bachao Andolan
2.	Long-term movement	B. Asom Gana Parishad
3.	Single issue movement	C. Women's movement
4.	Political party	D. Fertilizer dealers' association

	1	2	3	4
(a)	D	C	A	B
(b)	B	A	D	C
(c)	C	D	B	A
(d)	B	D	C	A

10. Consider the following statements about pressure groups and parties.
    A. Pressure groups are the organised expression of the interests and views of specific social sections.
    B. Pressure groups take positions on political issues.
    C. All pressure groups are political parties.

    Which of the statements given above are correct?

    (a) A, B, and C (b) A and B (c) B and C (d) A and C

11. *Mewat is one of the most backward areas in Haryana. It used to be a part of two districts, Gurgaon and Faridabad. The people of Mewat felt that the area will get better attention if it were to become a separate district. But political parties were indifferent to this sentiment. The demand for a separate district was raised by Mewat Educational and Social Organisation and Mewat Saksharta Samiti in 1996. Later, Mewat Vikas Sabha was founded in 2000 and carried out a series of public awareness campaigns. This forced both the major parties, Congress and the Indian National Lok Dal, to announe their support for the new district before the assembly elections held in February 2005. The new district came into existence in July 2005.*

    In this example what is the relationship that you observe among movement, political parties and the government? Can you think of an example that shows a relationship different from this one?

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Political Parties

Chapter 6

Overview

In this tour of democracy, we have come across political parties several times. In Class IX, we noticed the role of political parties in the rise of democracies, in the formation of constitutional designs, in electoral politics and in the making and working of governments. In this textbook, we have glanced at political parties as vehicles of federal sharing of political power and as negotiators of social divisions in the arena of democratic politics. Before concluding this tour, let us take a close look at the nature and working of political parties, especially in our country. We begin by asking two common questions: Why do we need parties? How many parties are good for a democracy? In the light of these, we introduce the national and regional political parties in today's India and then look at what is wrong with political parties and what can be done about it.

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Why do we need political parties?

So, you agree with me. Parties are partial, partisan and lead to partitions. Parties do nothing but divide people. That is their real function!

Political parties are easily one of the most visible institutions in a democracy. For most ordinary citizens, democracy is equal to political parties. If you travel to remote parts of our country and speak to the less educated citizens, you could come across people who may not know anything about our Constitution or about the nature of our government. But chances are that they would know something about our political parties. At the same time this visibility does not mean popularity. Most people tend to be very critical of political parties. They tend to blame parties for all that is wrong with our democracy and our political life. Parties have become identified with social and political divisions.

Therefore, it is natural to ask – do we need political parties at all? About hundred years ago there were few countries of the world that had any political party. Now there are few that do not have parties. Why did political parties become so omnipresent in democracies all over the world? Let us first answer what political parties are and what they do, before we say why we need them.

Meaning

A political party is a group of people who come together to contest elections and hold power in the government. They agree on some policies and programmes for the society with a view to promote the collective good. Since there can be different views on what is good for all,

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

Election Commission has officially banned wall writing by parties during election times. Most political parties argue that was the cheapest way for their campaign. These election times used to create amazing graffiti on the walls. Here are some examples from Tamil Nadu.

© (1) M Govarthan (2) A Muralidharan (3) M Moorthy (4) T Singaravelou, *The Hindu*

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© RK Laxman - *Brushing up the years*

parties try to persuade people why their policies are better than others. They seek to implement these policies by winning popular support through elections.

Thus, parties reflect fundamental political divisions in a society. Parties are about a part of the society and thus involve PARTISANSHIP. Thus a party is known by which part it stands for, which policies it supports and whose interests it upholds. A political party has three components:

- the leaders,
- the active members and
- the followers

Functions

What does a political party do? Basically, political parties fill political offices and exercise political power. Parties do so by performing a series of functions:

1 Parties **contest elections**. In most democracies, elections are fought mainly among the candidates put up by political parties. Parties select their candidates in different ways. In some countries, such as the USA, members and supporters of a party choose its candidates. Now more and more countries are following this method. In other countries like India, top party leaders choose candidates for contesting elections.

2 Parties put forward different **policies and programmes** and the voters choose from them. Each of us may have different opinions and views on what policies are suitable for the society. But no government can handle such a large variety of views. In a democracy, a large number of similar opinions have to be grouped together to provide a direction in which policies can be formulated by the governments. This is what the parties do. A party reduces a vast multitude of opinions into

Glossary

Partisan: A person who is strongly committed to a party, group or faction. Partisanship is marked by a tendency to take a side and inability to take a balanced view on an issue.

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a few basic positions which it supports. A government is expected to base its policies on the line taken by the RULING PARTY.

3 Parties play a decisive role in **making laws** for a country. Formally, laws are debated and passed in the legislature. But since most of the members belong to a party, they go by the direction of the party leadership, irrespective of their personal opinions.

4 Parties **form and run governments**. As we noted last year, the big policy decisions are taken by political executive that comes from the political parties. Parties recruit leaders, train them and then make them ministers to run the government in the way they want.

5 Those parties that lose in the elections play the **role of opposition** to the parties in power, by voicing different views and criticising government for its failures or wrong policies. Opposition parties also mobilise opposition to the government.

6 Parties **shape public opinion**. They raise and highlight issues. Parties have lakhs of members and activists spread all over the country. Many of the pressure groups are the extensions of political parties among different sections of society. Parties sometimes also launch movements for the resolution of problems faced by people. Often opinions in the society crystallise on the lines parties take.

7 Parties provide people **access to government machinery and welfare schemes** implemented by governments. For an ordinary citizen it is easy to approach a local party leader than a government officer. That is why, they feel close to parties even when they do not fully trust them. Parties have to be responsive to people's needs and demands. Otherwise people can reject those parties in the next elections.

Okay, granted that we can't live without political parties. But tell me on what grounds do people support a political party?

Glossary

Ruling Party: Political party that runs government.

Necessity

This list of functions in a sense answers the question asked above: we need political parties because they perform all these functions. But we still need to ask why modern democracies cannot exist without political parties. We can understand the necessity of political parties by imagining a situation without parties. Every candidate in the elections will be independent. So no one will be able to make any promises to the people about any major policy changes. The government may be formed, but its utility will remain ever uncertain. Elected representatives will be accountable to their constituency for what they do in the locality. But no one will be responsible for how the country will be run.

We can also think about it by looking at the non-party based elections to the panchayat in many states. Although, the parties do not contest formally, it is generally noticed that the village gets split into more than one faction, each of which puts up a 'panel' of its candidates. This is exactly what the party does. That is the reason we find political parties in almost all countries of the world, whether these countries are big or small, old or new, developed or developing.

The rise of political parties is directly linked to the emergence of representative democracies. As we have seen, large societies need representative democracy. As societies became large and complex, they also needed some agency to gather different views on various issues and to present these to the government. They needed

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some ways, to bring various representatives together so that a responsible government could be formed. They needed a mechanism to support or restrain the government, make policies, justify or oppose them. Political parties fulfill these needs that every representative government has. We can say that parties are a necessary condition for a democracy.

Categorise these photographs by the functions of political parties they illustrate. Find one photograph or news clipping from your own area for each of the functions listed above.

© (1) C V Subrahmanyan (2) K Gopinathan (3) A Chakrabarty, *The Hindu*

***1**: Activists of BJP Mahila Morcha demonstrate against hike in prices of onions and LPG in Visakhapatnam.*
***2**: Minister distributes Rs One lakh cheque to the families of hooch victims at their houses.*
***3**: Activists of CPI (M), CPI, OGP and JD (S) take out a rally in Bhubaneswar to protest against POSCO, the Korean steel company for being permitted by the State Government to export iron ore from Orissa to feed steel plants in China and Korea.*

How many parties should we have?

In a democracy any group of citizens is free to form a political party. In this formal sense, there are a large number of political parties in each country. More than 750 parties are registered with the Election Commission of India. But not all these parties are serious contenders in the elections. Usually only a handful of parties are effectively in the race to win elections and form the government. So the question, then is: how many major or effective parties are good for a democracy?

In some countries, only one party is allowed to control and run the government. These are called one-party systems.

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A moral force in politics?

What did Kishenji mean by an alternative political *formation*? The question came up in a conversation between Sudha, Karuna, Shaheen and Gracy. All four women had led very powerful people's movements in different parts of the country. They were meeting in a village in Orissa, away from their day-to-day struggles, to think afresh the future of people's movements.

The discussion naturally turned to Kishenji, who was regarded as a friend, political philosopher and moral guide by all the movement groups in the country. He had argued that people's movement should embrace politics openly. His argument was simple yet powerful. Movements focused on a single issue are suitable as long as we wish to achieve limited changes in a particular aspect of life. But if we wish to bring about a fundamental social transformation, or basic change even in one aspect of life, we would need a political organisation. People's movement must establish a new political formation to act as a moral force in politics. This was an urgent task, he said, because all the existing political parties had become irrelevant for social transformation.

"But Kishenji never clarified what that organisation will be. He talked of an alternative political *formation* or a third *force* in politics. But did he mean a political party?" said Gracy. She felt that an old style political party was not the right instrument for social change.

Sudha agreed with her. "I have thought about it several times. I agree that all the struggles that we are involved with – the struggle against displacement, against globalisation, against caste and gender oppression and for an alternative kind of development – all this is political. But the moment we form a party, all the goodwill we have earned all these years will be lost. People will think of us as no different from other politicians."

© Zuban

"Besides", added Karuna, "we have seen that a lot can be achieved by putting pressure on the existing political parties. We tried putting up candidates in panchayat elections, but the results were not very encouraging. People respect our work, they even adore us, but when it comes to voting they go for the established political parties."

Shaheen did not agree with them: "Let us be very clear. Kishenji wanted all the people's movements to forge a new political party. Of course he wanted this party to be a different kind of a party. He was not for political alternatives, but for an alternative kind of politics."

Kishenji is no more. What would be your advice to these four activists? Should they form a new political party? Can a political party become a moral force in politics? What should that party be like?

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In Class IX, we noted that in China, only the Communist Party is allowed to rule. Although, legally speaking, people are free to form political parties, it does not happen because the electoral system does not permit free competition for power. We cannot consider one-party system as a good option because this is not a democratic option. Any democratic system must allow at least two parties to compete in elections and provide a fair chance for the competing parties to come to power.

In some countries, power usually changes between two main parties. Several other parties may exist, contest elections and win a few seats in the national legislatures. But only the two main parties have a serious chance of winning majority of seats to form government. Such a party system is called two-party system. The United States of America and the United Kingdom are examples of two-party system.

If several parties compete for power, and more than two parties have a reasonable chance of coming to power either on their own strength or in alliance with others, we call it a multiparty system. Thus in India, we have a multiparty system. In this system, the government is formed by various parties coming together in a coalition. When several parties in a multi-party system join hands for the purpose of contesting elections and winning power, it is called an alliance or a front. For example, in India there were three such major alliances in 2004 parliamentary elections– the National Democratic Alliance, the United Progressive Alliance and the Left Front. The multiparty system often appears very messy and leads to political instability. At the same time, this system allows a variety of interests and opinions to enjoy political representation.

So, which of these is better? Perhaps the best answer to this very common question is that this is not a very good question. Party system is not something any country can choose. It evolves over a long time, depending on the nature of society, its social and regional divisions, its history of politics and its system of elections. These cannot be changed very quickly. Each country develops a party system that is conditioned by its special circumstances. For example, if India has evolved a multiparty system, it is because the social and geographical diversity in such a large country is not easily absorbed by two or even three parties. No system is ideal for all countries and all situations.

I wonder how politicians manage these coalitions. I can't even remember the names of all the parties.

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Let us apply what we have learnt about party systems to the various states within India. Here are three major types of party systems that exist at the State level. Can you find the names of at least two States for each of these types?

- Two-party system
- Multiparty system with two alliances
- Multiparty system

Popular participation in political parties

It is often said that political parties are facing a crisis because they are very unpopular and the citizens are indifferent to political parties. The available evidence shows that this belief is only partly true for India. The evidence, based on a series of large sample surveys conducted over several decades, shows that:

- Political parties do not enjoy much trust among the people in South Asia. The proportion of those who say their trust in political parties is 'not much' or 'not at all' is more than those who have 'some' or 'great' trust.
- The same is true of most other democracies as well. Political parties are one of the least trusted institutions all over the world.
- Yet the level of participation in the activities of political parties was fairly high. The proportion of those who said they were members of some political party was higher in India than many advanced countries like Canada, Japan, Spain and South Korea.
- Over the last three decades the proportion of those who report to be members of political parties in India has gone up steadily.
- The proportion of those who say they feel 'close to a political party' has also gone up in India in this period.

Source: SDSA Team, *State of Democracy in South Asia*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007

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Does the cartoon reflect the data graphics shown on the previous page?

National political parties

Democracies that follow a federal system all over the world tend to have two kinds of political parties: parties that are present in only one of the federal units and parties that are present in several or all units of the federation. This is the case in India as well. There are some country-wide parties, which are called 'national parties'. These parties have their units in various states. But by and large, all these units follow the same policies, programmes and strategy that is decided at the national level.

Every party in the country has to register with the Election Commission. While the Commission treats all parties equally, it offers some special facilities to large and established parties. These parties are given a unique symbol – only the official candidates of that party can use that election symbol. Parties that get this privilege and some other special facilities are 'recognised' by the Election Commission for this purpose. That is why these parties are called, 'recognised political parties'. The Election Commission has laid down detailed criteria of the proportion of votes and seats that a party must get in order to be a recognised party. A party that secures at least six per cent of the total votes in an election to the Legislative Assembly of a State and wins at least two seats is recognised as a State party. A party that secures at least six per cent of the total votes in Lok Sabha elections or Assembly elections in four States and wins at least four seats in the Lok Sabha is recognised as a national party.

According to this classification, there were six national recognised parties in the country in 2006. Let us learn something about each of these parties.

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Indian National Congress (INC): Popularly known as the Congress Party. One of the oldest parties of the world. Founded in 1885 and has experienced many splits. Played a dominant role in Indian politics at the national and state level for several decades after India's Independence. Under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, the party sought to build a modern secular democratic republic in India. Ruling party at the centre till 1977 and then from 1980 to 1989. After 1989, its support declined, but it continues to be present throughout the country, cutting across social divisions. A centrist party (neither rightist nor leftist) in its ideological orientation, the party espouses secularism and welfare of weaker sections and minorities. Supports new economic reforms but with a human face. Emerged as the largest party with 145 members in the Lok Sabha elections held in 2004. Currently leads the ruling United Progressive Alliance coalition government at the Centre.

Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP): Founded in 1980 by reviving the erstwhile Bharatiya Jana Sangh. Wants to build a strong and modern India by drawing inspiration from India's ancient culture and values. Cultural nationalism (or 'Hindutva') is an important element in its conception of Indian nationhood and politics. Wants full territorial and political integration of Jammu and Kashmir with India, a uniform civil code for all people living in the country irrespective of religion, and ban on religious conversions. Its support base increased substantially in the 1990s. Earlier limited to north and west and to urban areas, the party expanded its support in the south, east, the north-east and to rural areas. Came to power in 1998 as the leader of the National Democratic Alliance including several state and regional parties. Lost elections in 2004 and is the principal opposition party in the Lok Sabha.

Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP): Formed in 1984 under the leadership of Kanshi Ram. Seeks to represent and secure power for the bahujan samaj which includes the *dalits*, *adivasis*, OBCs and religious minorities. Draws inspiration from the ideas and teachings of Sahu Maharaj, Mahatma Phule, Periyar Ramaswami Naicker and Babasaheb Ambedkar. Stands for the cause of securing the interests and welfare of the *dalits* and oppressed people. It has its main base in the state of Uttar Pradesh and substantial presence in neighbouring states like Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Uttarakhand, Delhi and Punjab. Formed government in Uttar Pradesh several times by taking the support of different parties at different times. In the Lok Sabha elections held in 2004, it polled about 5 per cent votes and secured 19 seats in the Lok Sabha.

Communist Party of India - Marxist (CPI-M): Founded in 1964. Believes in Marxism-Leninism. Supports socialism, secularism and democracy and opposes imperialism and communalism. Accepts democratic elections as a useful and helpful means for securing the objective of socio-economic justice in India. Enjoys strong support in West Bengal, Kerala and Tripura, especially among the poor,

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factory workers, farmers, agricultural labourers and the intelligentsia. Critical of the new economic policies that allow free flow of foreign capital and goods into the country. Has been in power in West Bengal without a break for 30 years. In 2004 elections, it won about 6 per cent of votes and 43 seats in the Lok Sabha. Currently supports the UPA government from outside, without joining the government.

Communist Party of India (CPI): Formed in 1925. Believes in Marxism-Leninism, secularism and democracy. Opposed to the forces of secessionism and communalism. Accepts parliamentary democracy as a means of promoting the interests of the working class, farmers and the poor. Became weak after the split in the party in 1964 that led to the formation of the CPI(M). Significant presence in the states of Kerala, West Bengal, Punjab, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu. Its support base had gradually declined over the years. It secured about 1.4 per cent votes and 10 seats in the 2004 Lok Sabha elections. Advocates the coming together of all left parties to build a strong left front. Currently supports UPA government from outside.

Nationalist Congress Party (NCP): Formed in 1999 following a split in the Congress party. Espouses democracy, Gandhian secularism, equity, social justice and federalism. Wants that high offices in government be confined to natural born citizens of the country. A major party in Maharashtra and has a significant presence in Meghalaya, Manipur and Assam. A coalition partner in the state of Maharashtra in alliance with the Congress. Since 2004, a member of the United Progressive Alliance.

State parties

Other than these six parties, most of the major parties of the country are classified by the Election Commission as 'State parties'. These are commonly referred to as regional parties. Yet these parties need not be regional in their ideology or outlook. Some of these parties are all India parties that happen to have succeeded only in some states. Parties like the Samajwadi Party, Samata Party and Rashtriya Janata Dal have national level political organisation with units in several states. Some of these parties like Biju Janata Dal, Sikkim Democratic Front and Mizo National Front are conscious about their State identity.

Over the last three decades, the number and strength of these parties has expanded. This made the Parliament of India politically more and more diverse. No one national party is able to secure on its own a majority in Lok Sabha. As a result, the national parties are compelled to form alliances with State parties. Since 1996, nearly every one of the State parties has got an opportunity to be a part of one or the other national level coalition government. This has contributed to the strengthening of federalism and democracy in our country. (See the map on the next page for details of these parties).

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Note: Telangana became the 29th State of India on the 2nd June, 2014, after the reorganisation of the State of Andhra Pradesh.

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Challenges to political parties

We have seen how crucial political parties are for the working of democracy. Since parties are the most visible face of democracy, it is natural that people blame parties for whatever is wrong with the working of democracy. All over the world, people express strong dissatisfaction with the failure of political parties to perform their functions well. This is the case in our country too. Popular dissatisfaction and criticism has focussed on four problem areas in the working of political parties. Political parties need to face and overcome these challenges in order to remain effective instruments of democracy.

The first challenge is **lack of internal democracy** within parties. All over the world there is a tendency in political parties towards the concentration of power in one or few leaders at the top. Parties do not keep membership registers, do not hold organisational meetings, and do not conduct internal elections regularly. Ordinary members of the party do not get sufficient information on what happens inside the party. They do not have the means or the connections needed to influence the decisions. As a result the leaders assume greater power to make decisions in the name of the party. Since one or few leaders exercise paramount power in the party, those who disagree with the leadership find it

Berlusconi Puppet Theatre

© Riber Hansson - *Svenska Dagbladet*, Cagle Cartoons Inc.

Berlusconi was the Prime Minister of Italy. He is also one of the top businessmen in Italy. He is the leader of the Forza Italia founded in 1993. His company owns TV channels, the most important publishing company, a foot ball club (AC Milan) and a bank. This cartoon was made during the last elections.

Why don't parties give enough tickets to women? Is that also due to lack of internal democracy?

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difficult to continue in the party. More than loyalty to party principles and policies, personal loyalty to the leader becomes more important.

The second challenge of dynastic succession is related to the first one. Since most political parties do not practice open and transparent procedures for their functioning, there are very few ways for an ordinary worker to rise to the top in a party. Those who happen to be the leaders are in a position of unfair advantage to favour people close to them or even their family members. In many parties, the top positions are always controlled by members of one family. This is unfair to other members of that party. This is also bad for democracy, since people who do not have adequate experience or popular support come to occupy positions of power. This tendency is present in some measure all over the world, including in some of the older democracies.

The third challenge is about the growing role of **money and muscle power** in parties, especially during elections. Since parties are focussed only on winning elections, they tend to use short-cuts to win elections. They tend to nominate those candidates who have or can raise lots of money. Rich people and companies who give funds to the parties tend to have influence on the policies and decisions of the party. In some cases, parties support criminals who can win elections. Democrats all over the world are worried about the increasing role of rich people and big companies in democratic politics.

The fourth challenge is that very often parties do not seem to offer a **meaningful choice** to the voters. In order to offer meaningful choice, parties must be significantly different. In recent years there has been a decline in the ideological differences among parties in most parts of the world. For example, the difference between the Labour Party and the Conservative Party in Britain is very little. They agree on more fundamental aspects but differ only in details on how policies are to be framed and implemented. In our country too, the differences among all the major parties on the economic policies have reduced. Those who want really different policies have no option available to them. Sometimes people cannot even elect very different leaders either, because the same set of leaders keep shifting from one party to another.

© Huffaker - Cagle Cartoons Inc., 16 June 2004

This cartoon was drawn during the Presidency of George Bush of the Republican Party in the USA. The party's symbol is elephant. The cartoon seems to suggest that the Corporate America controls all major institutions of the country.

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© Manjul - *DNA*

Does this suggest that in democracies people contest elections only to make money? But isn't it true that there are politicians committed to the well-being of the people?

Can you identify which of the challenges described in this section are being highlighted in these cartoons (on pages 83 to 85)? What are the ways to curb the misuse of money and muscle power in politics?

How can parties be reformed?

In order to face these challenges, political parties need to be reformed. The question is: Are political parties willing to reform? If they are willing, what has prevented them from reforming so far? If they are not willing, is it possible to force them to reform? Citizens all over the world face this question. This is not a simple question to answer. In a democracy, the final decision is made by leaders who represent political parties. People can replace them, but only by another set of party leaders. If all of them do not wish to reform, how can anyone force them to change?

Let us look at some of the recent efforts and suggestions in our country to reform political parties and its leaders:

- The Constitution was amended to prevent elected MLAs and MPs from changing parties. This was done because many elected representatives were indulging in DEFECTION in order to become ministers or for cash rewards. Now the law says that if any MLA or

Defection: Changing party allegiance from the party on which a person got elected (to a legislative body) to a different party.

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© Keshav - *The Hindu*

Do you agree that this form of reforming political parties will be acceptable to them?

MP changes parties, he or she will lose the seat in the legislature. This new law has helped bring defection down. At the same time this has made any dissent even more difficult. MPs and MLAs have to accept whatever the party leaders decide.

- The Supreme Court passed an order to reduce the influence of money and criminals. Now, it is mandatory for every candidate who contests elections to file an AFFIDAVIT giving details of his property and criminal cases pending against him. The new system has made a lot of information available to the public. But there is no system of check if the information given by the candidates is true. As yet we do not know if it has led to decline in the influence of the rich and the criminals.

- The Election Commission passed an order making it necessary for political parties to hold their organisational elections and file their income tax returns. The parties have started doing so but sometimes it is mere formality. It is not clear if this step has led to greater internal democracy in political parties.

Besides these, many suggestions are often made to reform political parties:

- A law should be made to regulate the internal affairs of political parties. It should be made compulsory for political parties to maintain a register of its members, to follow its own constitution, to have an independent authority, to act as a judge in case of party disputes, to hold open elections to the highest posts.

- It should be made mandatory for political parties to give a minimum number of tickets, about one-third, to women candidates. Similarly, there should be a quota for women in the decision making bodies of the party.

- There should be state funding of elections. The government should give parties money to support their election expenses. This support could be given in kind: petrol, paper, telephone etc. Or it could be given in cash on the basis of the votes secured by the party in the last election.

These suggestions have not yet been accepted by political parties. If and when these are accepted these could lead to some improvement. But we must be very careful about legal solutions to political problems. Over-regulation of political parties can be counter-productive. This would force all parties to find ways to cheat the law. Besides, political parties will not agree to pass a law that they do not like.

There are two other ways in which political parties can be reformed. One, people can put pressure on political parties. This can be done through petitions, publicity and agitations.

Glossary

Affidavit: A signed document submitted to an officer, where a person makes a sworn statement regarding her personal information.

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Ordinary citizens, pressure groups and movements and the media can play an important role in this If political parties feel that they would lose public support by not taking up reforms, they would become more serious about reforms. Two, political parties can improve if those who want this join political parties.

The quality of democracy depends on the degree of public participation. It is difficult to reform politics if ordinary citizens do not take part in it and simply criticise it from the outside. The problem of bad politics can be solved by more and better politics. We shall return to this theme in the final chapter.

Exercises

1. State the various functions political parties perform in a democracy.
2. What are the various challenges faced by political parties?
3. Suggest some reforms to strengthen parties so that they perform their functions well?
4. What is a political party?
5. What are the characteristics of a political party?
6. A group of people who come together to contest elections and hold power in the government is called a _____.
7. Match List I (organisations and struggles) with List II and select the correct answer using the codes given below the lists:

	List I	List II
1.	Congress Party	A. National Democratic Alliance
2.	Bharatiya Janata Party	B. State party
3.	Communist Party of India (Marxist)	C. United Progressive Alliance
4.	Telugu Desam Party	D. Left Front

	1	2	3	4
(a)	C	A	B	D
(b)	C	D	A	B
(c)	C	A	D	B
(d)	D	C	A	B

8. Who among the following is the founder of the Bahujan Samaj Party?
   A. Kanshi Ram
   B. Sahu Maharaj
   C. B.R. Ambedkar
   D. Jotiba Phule
9. What is the guiding philosophy of the Bharatiya Janata Party?
   A. Bahujan Samaj
   B. Revolutionary democracy
   C. Integral humanism
   D. Modernity

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10. Consider the following statements on parties.

    A. Political parties do not enjoy much trust among the people.

    B. Parties are often rocked by scandals involving top party leaders.

    C. Parties are not necessary to run governments.

    Which of the statements given above are correct?

    (a) A, B, and C (b) A and B (c) B and C (d) A and C

11. Read the following passage and answer the questions given below:

    Muhammad Yunus is a famous economist of Bangladesh. He received several international honours for his efforts to promote economic and social development for the benefit of the poor. He and the Grameen Bank he started jointly, received the Nobel Peace Prize for the 2006. In February 2007, he decided to launch a political party and contest in the parliamentary elections. His objective was to foster proper leadership, good governance and build a new Bangladesh. He felt that only a political party different from the traditional ones would bring about new political culture. His party would be democratic from the grassroots level.

    The launching of the new party, called Nagarik Shakti (Citizens' Power), has caused a stir among the Bangladeshis. While many welcomed his decision, some did not like it. "Now I think Bangladesh will have a chance to choose between good and bad and eventually have a good government," said Shahedul Islam, a government official. "That government, we hope, would not only keep itself away from corruption but also make fighting corruption and black money a top priority."

    But leaders of traditional political parties who dominated the country's politics for decades were apprehensive. "There was no debate (over him) winning the Nobel, but politics is different – very challenging and often controversial," said a senior leader of the Bangladesh Nationalist Party. Some others were highly critical. They asked why he was rushing into politics. "Is he being planted in politics by mentors from outside the country," asked one political observer.

    Do you think Yunus made a right decision to float a new political party?

    Do you agree with the statements and fears expressed by various people? How do you want this new party organised to make it different from other parties? If you were the one to begin this political party how would you defend it?

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Outcomes of Democracy

Chapter 7

Overview

As we begin to wind up our tour of democracy, it is time to move beyond our discussion of specific themes and ask a general set of questions: What does democracy do? Or, what outcomes can we reasonably expect of democracy? Also, does democracy fulfil these expectations in real life? We begin by thinking about how to assess the outcomes of democracy. After some clarity on how to think on this subject, we proceed to look at the expected and actual outcomes of democracy in various respects: quality of government, economic well-being, inequality, social differences and conflict and finally freedom and dignity. Our final verdict – positive but qualified – leads us to think about the challenges to democracy in the next and final chapter.

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How do we assess democracy's outcomes?

Did we reach these conclusions in Madam Lyngdoh's class? I loved that class because students were not being dictated any conclusions.

Do you remember how students in Madam Lyngdoh's class argued about democracy? This was in Chapter 2 of Class IX textbook. It emerged from that conversation that democracy is a better form of government when compared with dictatorship or any other alternative. We felt that democracy was better because it:

- Promotes equality among citizens;
- Enhances the dignity of the individual;
- Improves the quality of decision-making;
- Provides a method to resolve conflicts; and
- Allows room to correct mistakes.

Are these expectations realised under democracies? When we talk to people around us, most of them support democracy against other alternatives, such as rule by a monarch or military or religious leaders. But not so many of them would be satisfied with the democracy in practice. So we face a dilemma: democracy is seen to be good in principle, but felt to be not so good in its practice. This dilemma invites us to think hard about the outcomes of democracy. Do we prefer democracy only for moral reasons? Or are there some prudential reasons to support democracy too?

Over a hundred countries of the world today claim and practice some kind of democratic politics: they have formal constitutions, they hold elections, they have parties and they guarantee rights of citizens. While these features are common to most of them, these democracies are very much different from each other in terms of their social situations, their economic achievements and their cultures. Clearly, what may be achieved or not achieved under each of these democracies will be very different. But is there something that we can expect from every democracy, just because it is democracy?

Our interest in and fascination for democracy often pushes us into taking a position that democracy can address all socio-economic and political problems. If some of our expectations are not met, we start blaming the idea of democracy. Or, we start doubting if we are living in a democracy. The first step towards thinking carefully about the outcomes of democracy is to recognise that democracy is just a form of government. It can only create conditions for achieving something. The citizens have to take advantage of those conditions and achieve those goals. Let us examine some of the things we can reasonably expect from democracy and examine the record of democracy.

© RK Laxman - *Brushing up the years*

Is democracy all about coping with multiple pressures and accommodating diverse demands?

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Accountable, responsive and legitimate government

There are some things that democracy must provide. In a democracy, we are most concerned with ensuring that people will have the right to choose their rulers and people will have control over the rulers. Whenever possible and necessary, citizens should be able to participate in decision making, that affects them all. Therefore, the most basic outcome of democracy should be that it produces a government that is accountable to the citizens, and responsive to the needs and expectations of the citizens.

Before we go into this question, we face another common question: Is the democratic government efficient? Is it effective? Some people think that democracy produces less effective government. It is, of course, true that non-democratic rulers do not have to bother about deliberation in assemblies or worry about majorities and public opinion. So, they can be very quick and efficient in decision making and implementation. Democracy is based on the idea of deliberation and negotiation. So, some delay is bound to take place. Does that make democratic government inefficient?

Let us think in terms of costs. Imagine a government that may take decisions very fast. But it may take decisions that are not accepted by the people and may therefore face problems. In contrast, the democratic government will take more time to follow procedures before arriving at a decision. But because it has followed procedures, its decisions may be both more acceptable to the people and more effective. So, the cost of time that democracy pays is perhaps worth it.

Governmental Secrecy

© Mike Keefe - Cagle Cartoons Inc.

Can you think of what and how the government knows about you and your family (for example ration cards and voter identity cards)? What are the sources of information for you about the government?

Now look at the other side – democracy ensures that decision making will be based on norms and procedures. So, a citizen who wants to know if a decision was taken through the correct procedures can find this out. She has the right and the means to examine the process of decision making. This is known as transparency. This factor is often missing from a non-democratic government. Therefore, when we are trying to find out the outcomes of democracy, it is right to expect democracy to produce a government that follows procedures and is accountable to the people. We can also expect that the democratic government develops mechanisms for citizens to hold the government accountable and mechanisms for citizens to take part in decision making whenever they think fit.

If you wanted to measure democracies on the basis of this expected outcome, you would look for the following practices and institutions: regular, free and fair elections; open public debate on major policies and

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legislations; and citizens' right to information about the government and its functioning. The actual performance of democracies shows a mixed record on this. Democracies have had greater success in setting up regular and free elections and in setting up conditions for open public debate. But most democracies fall short of elections that provide a fair chance to everyone and in subjecting every decision to public debate. Democratic governments do not have a very good record when it comes to sharing information with citizens. All one can say in favour of democratic regimes is that they are much better than any non-democratic regime in these respects.

In substantive terms it may be reasonable to expect from democracy a government that is attentive to the needs and demands of the people and is largely free of corruption. The record of democracies is not impressive on these two counts. Democracies often frustrate the needs of the people and often ignore the demands of a majority of its population. The routine tales of corruption are enough to convince us that democracy is not free of this evil. At the same time, there is nothing to show that non-democracies are less corrupt or more sensitive to the people.

There is one respect in which democratic government is certainly better than its alternatives: democratic government is legitimate government. It may be slow, less efficient, not always very responsive or clean. But a democratic government is people's own government. That is why there is an overwhelming support for the idea of democracy all over the world. As the accompanying evidence from South Asia shows, the support exists in countries with democratic regimes as well as countries without democratic regimes. People wish to be ruled by representatives elected by them. They also believe that democracy is suitable for their country. Democracy's ability to generate its own support is itself an outcome that cannot be ignored.

Democracy is preferred over dictatorship everywhere except Pakistan

Those who agree with one of the statements

	Bangladesh	India	Nepal	Pakistan	Sri Lanka
Democracy is preferable	69	70	62	37	71
Sometimes dictatorship is better	6	9	10	14	11
Doesn't matter to me	25	21	28	49	18

Very few doubt the suitability of democracy for their own country

How suitable is democracy for your country?

Overwhelming support for democracy

Those who agree with the rule of leaders elected by the people

Source: SDSA Team, *State of Democracy in South Asia*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007

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Economic growth and development

If democracies are expected to produce good governments, then is it not fair to expect that they would also produce development? Evidence shows that in practice many democracies did not fulfil this expectation.

If you consider all democracies and all dictatorships for the fifty years between 1950 and 2000, dictatorships have slightly higher rate of economic growth. The inability of democracy to achieve higher economic development worries us. But this alone cannot be reason to reject democracy. As you have already studied in economics, economic development depends on several factors: country's population size, global situation, cooperation from other countries, economic priorities adopted by the country, etc. However, the difference in the rates of economic development between less developed countries with dictatorships and democracies is negligible. Overall, we cannot say that democracy is a guarantee of economic development. But we can expect democracy not to lag behind dictatorships in this respect.

When we find such significant difference in the rates of economic growth between countries under dictatorship and democracy, it is better to prefer democracy as it has several other positive outcomes.

Cartoon on this page and next three pages tell us about the disparities between the rich and poor. Should the gains of economic growth be evenly distributed? How can the poor get a voice for a better share in a nation? What can the poor countries do to receive a greater share in the world's wealth?

The Rich Get Buff

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Economic outcomes of democracy

Arguments about democracy tend to be very passionate. This is how it should be, for democracy appeals to some of our deep values. These debates cannot be resolved in a simple manner. But some debates about democracy can and should be resolved by referring to some facts and figures. The debate about the economic outcomes of democracy is one such debate. Over the years many students of democracy have gathered careful evidence to see what the relationship of democracy with economic growth and economic inequalities is. The tables and the cartoon here present some of the evidences:

Poor Kids

© Jimmy Margulies - Cagle Cartoons Inc.

- Table 1 shows that on an average dictatorial regimes have had a slightly better record of economic growth. But when we compare their record only in poor countries, there is virtually no difference.
- Table 2 shows that within democracies there can be very high degree of inequalities. In democratic countries like South Africa and Brazil, the top 20 per cent people take away more than 60 per cent of the national income, leaving less than 3 per cent for the bottom 20 per cent population. Countries like Denmark and Hungary are much better in this respect.
- You can see in the cartoon, there is often inequality of opportunities available to the poorer sections.

What would be your verdict on democracy if you had to base it purely on economic performance of democratic regimes in terms of growth and equal distribution?

Table 1

Rates of economic growth for different countries, 1950-2000

Type of regimes and countries	Growth Rate
All democratic regimes	3.95
All dictatorial regimes	4.42
Poor countries under dictatorship	4.34
Poor countries under democracy	4.28

Source: A Przeworski, M E Alvarez, J A Cheibub and F Limongi, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Table 2

Inequality of income in selected countries

Name of the Countries	% share of national income	
	Top 20 %	Bottom 20 %
South Africa	64.8	2.9
Brazil	63.0	2.6
Russia	53.7	4.4
USA	50.0	4.0
United Kingdom	45.0	6.0
Denmark	34.5	9.6
Hungary	34.4	10.0

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Reduction of inequality and poverty

Perhaps more than development, it is reasonable to expect democracies to reduce economic disparities. Even when a country achieves economic growth, will wealth be distributed in such a way that all citizens of the country will have a share and lead a better life? Is economic growth in democracies accompanied by increased inequalities among the people? Or do democracies lead to a just distribution of goods and opportunities?

Voice of the Poor

© Ares - *Best of Latin America*, Cagle Cartoons Inc.

Democracies are based on political equality. All individuals have equal weight in electing representatives. Parallel to the process of bringing individuals into the political arena on an equal footing, we find growing economic inequalities. A small number of ultra-rich enjoy a highly disproportionate share of wealth and incomes. Not only that, their share in the total income of the country has been increasing. Those at the bottom of the society have very little to depend upon. Their incomes have been declining. Sometimes they find it difficult to meet their basic needs of life, such as food, clothing, house, education and health.

In actual life, democracies do not appear to be very successful in reducing economic inequalities. In Class IX Economics textbook, you have already studied about poverty in India. The poor constitute a large proportion of our voters and no party will like to lose their votes. Yet democratically elected governments do not appear to be as keen to address the question of poverty as you would expect them to. The situation is much worse in some other countries. In Bangladesh, more than half of its population lives in poverty. People in several poor countries are now dependent on the rich countries even for food supplies.

Democracy is a rule of the majority. The poor are in majority. So democracy must be a rule of the poor. How can this not be the case?

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World's Wealth Owned by a Few

© Manny Francisco - *The Philippines*, Cagle Cartoons Inc.

Accommodation of social diversity

Do democracies lead to peaceful and harmonious life among citizens? It will be a fair expectation that democracy should produce a harmonious social life. We have seen in the earlier chapters how democracies accommodate various social divisions. We saw in the first chapter how Belgium has successfully negotiated differences among ethnic populations. Democracies usually develop a procedure to conduct their competition. This reduces the possibility of these tensions becoming explosive or violent.

All you are saying is that democracy ensures that people do not break each other's head. This is not harmony. Should we be happy about it?

No society can fully and permanently resolve conflicts among different groups. But we can certainly learn to respect these differences and we can also evolve mechanisms to negotiate the differences. Democracy is best suited to produce this outcome. Non-democratic regimes often turn a blind eye to or suppress internal social differences. Ability to handle social differences, divisions and conflicts is thus a definite plus point of democratic regimes. But the example of Sri Lanka reminds us that a democracy must fulfil two conditions in order to achieve this outcome:

- It is necessary to understand that democracy is not simply rule by majority opinion. The majority always needs to work with the minority so that governments function to represent the general view. Majority and minority opinions are not permanent.
- It is also necessary that rule by majority does not become rule by majority community in terms of religion or race or linguistic group, etc. Rule by majority means that in case of every decision or in case of every election, different persons and groups may and

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can form a majority. Democracy remains democracy only as long as every citizen has a chance of being in majority at some point of time. If someone is barred from being in majority on the basis of birth, then the democratic rule ceases to be accommodative for that person or group.

Enemies

Greeting

The two images depict two different kinds of effects democratic politics can have on social divisions. Take one example for each image and write a paragraph each on the outcome of democratic politics in both situations.

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Dignity and freedom of the citizens

Democracy stands much superior to any other form of government in promoting dignity and freedom of the individual. Every individual wants to receive respect from fellow beings. Often conflicts arise among individuals because some feel that they are not treated with due respect. The passion for respect and freedom are the basis of democracy. Democracies throughout the world have recognised this, at least in principle. This has been achieved in various degrees in various democracies. For societies which have been built for long on the basis of subordination and domination, it is not a simple matter to recognize that all individuals are equal.

Take the case of dignity of women. Most societies across the world were historically male dominated societies. Long struggles by women have created some sensitivity today that respect to and

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equal treatment of women are necessary ingredients of a democratic society. That does not mean that women are actually always treated with respect. But once the principle is recognised, it becomes easier for women to wage a struggle against what is now unacceptable legally and morally. In a non-democratic set up, this unacceptability would not have legal basis because the principle of individual freedom and dignity would not have the legal and moral force there. The same is true of caste inequalities. Democracy in India has strengthened the claims of the disadvantaged and discriminated castes for equal status and equal opportunity. There are instances still of caste-based inequalities and atrocities, but these lack the moral and legal foundations. Perhaps it is the recognition that makes ordinary citizens value their democratic rights.

Expectations from democracy also function as the criteria for judging any democratic country. What is most distinctive about democracy is that its examination never gets over. As democracy passes one test, it produces another test. As people get some benefits of democracy, they ask for more and want to make democracy even better. That is why, when we ask people about the way democracy functions, they will always come up with more expectations, and many complaints. The fact that people are complaining is itself a testimony to the success of democracy: it shows that people have developed awareness and the ability to expect and to look critically at power holders and the high and the mighty. A public expression of dissatisfaction with democracy shows the success of the democratic project: it transforms people from the status of a subject into that of a citizen. Most individuals today believe that their vote makes a difference to the way the government is run and to their own self-interest.

Rosa Parks Still Inspires

© Pat Bagley - Cagle Cartoons Inc.

Source: SDSA Team, *State of Democracy in South Asia*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007.

The above cartoon and graph illustrate a point made in this section (Dignity and freedom of the citizens). Underline the sentences from this section which connect to the cartoon or graph.

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Exercises

1. How does democracy produce an accountable, responsive and legitimate government?
2. What are the conditions under which democracies accommodate social diversities?
3. Give arguments to support or oppose the following assertions:
   - Industrialised countries can afford democracy but the poor need dictatorship to become rich.
   - Democracy can't reduce inequality of incomes between different citizens.
   - Government in poor countries should spend less on poverty reduction, health, education and spend more on industries and infrastructure.
   - In democracy all citizens have one vote, which means that there is absence of any domination and conflict.
4. Identify the challenges to democracy in the following descriptions. Also suggest policy/institutional mechanism to deepen democracy in the given situations:
   - Following a High Court directive a temple in Orissa that had separate entry doors for *dalits* and non-*dalits* allowed entry for all from the same door.
   - A large number of farmers are committing suicide in different states of India.
   - Following allegation of killing of three civilians in Gandwara in a fake encounter by Jammu and Kashmir police, an enquiry has been ordered.
5. In the context of democracies, which of the following ideas is correct – democracies have successfully eliminated:
   A. conflicts among people
   B. economic inequalities among people
   C. differences of opinion about how marginalised sections are to be treated
   D. the idea of political inequality
6. In the context of assessing democracy which among the following is odd one out. Democracies need to ensure:
   A. free and fair elections
   B. dignity of the individual
   C. majority rule
   D. equal treatment before law
7. Studies on political and social inequalities in democracy show that
   A. democracy and development go together.
   B. inequalities exist in democracies .
   C. inequalities do not exist under dictatorship.
   D. dictatorship is better than democracy.

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Exercises

8. Read the passage below:

   Nannu is a daily wage earner. He lives in Welcome Mazdoor Colony, a slum habitation in East Delhi. He lost his ration card and applied for a duplicate one in January 2004. He made several rounds to the local Food & Civil Supplies office for the next three months. But the clerks and officials would not even look at him, leave alone do his job or bother to tell him the status of his application. Ultimately, he filed an application under the Right to Information Act asking for the daily progress made on his application, names of the officials, who were supposed to act on his application and what action would be taken against these officials for their inaction. Within a week of filing application under the Right to Information Act, he was visited by an inspector from the Food Department, who informed him that the card had been made and he could collect it from the office. When Nannu went to collect his card next day, he was given a very warm treatment by the Food & Supply Officer (FSO), who is the head of a Circle. The FSO offered him tea and requested him to withdraw his application under the Right to Information, since his work had already been done.

   What does Nannu's example show? What impact did Nannu's action have on officials? Ask your parents their experiences when they approach government officials to attend to their problems.

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Challenges to Democracy

Chapter 8

Overview

This concluding chapter draws upon all that you have learnt in the last two years so as to address the fundamental questions of democratic politics : What are the challenges that democracy faces in our country and elsewhere? What can be done to reform democratic politics? How can our democracy become more democratic in its practice and outcomes? This chapter does not answer these questions. It only makes some suggestions about the way in which we can approach the questions of challenges and reforms. It invites you to think on your own and come up with your own reading of the challenges, your recipe of how to overcome these and your own definition of democracy.

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Thinking about challenges

Do you remember the first chapter of your Political Science textbook of Class IX? There we tracked the expansion of democracy all over the world in the last hundred years. Our reading thereafter has confirmed our initial impression: democracy is the dominant form of government in the contemporary world. It does not face a serious challenger or rival. Yet our exploration of the various dimensions of democratic politics has shown us something else as well. The promise of democracy is far from realised anywhere in the world. Democracy does not have a challenger, but that does not mean that it does not face any challenges.

At different points in this tour of democracy, we have noted the serious challenges that democracy faces all over the world. A challenge is not just any problem. We usually call only those difficulties a 'challenge' which are significant and which can be overcome. A challenge is a difficulty that carries within it an opportunity for progress. Once we overcome a challenge we go up to a higher level than before.

Different countries face different kinds of challenges. Can you recall the map of democratic governments in the year 2000 that was included in your textbook? At least one fourth of the globe is still not under democratic government. The challenge for democracy in these parts of the world is very stark. These countries face the **foundational challenge** of making the transition to democracy and then instituting democratic government. This involves bringing down the existing non-democratic regime, keeping military away from controlling government and establishing a sovereign and functional state.

Most of the established democracies face the **challenge of expansion.** This involves applying the basic principle of democratic government across all the regions, different social groups and various institutions. Ensuring greater power to local governments, extension of federal principle to all the units of the federation, inclusion of women and minority groups, etc., falls under this challenge. This also means that less and less decisions should remain outside the arena of democratic control. Most countries including India and other democracies like the US face this challenge.

The third challenge of **deepening of democracy** is faced by every democracy in one form or another. This involves strengthening of the institutions and practices of democracy. This should happen in such a way that people can realise their expectations of democracy. But ordinary people have different expectations from democracy in different societies. Therefore, this challenge takes different meanings and paths in different parts of the world. In general terms, it usually means strengthening those institutions that help people's participation and control. This requires an attempt to bring down the control and influence of the rich and powerful people in making governmental decision.

We have noted or hinted at these challenges in all the various examples and stories that we studied in our textbook of Class IX and in the earlier chapters of this book. Let us go back to all the major stops in our tour of democracy, refresh our memory and note down the challenges that democracy faces in each of these.

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Different contexts, different challenges

Each of these cartoons represents a challenge to democracy. Please describe what that challenge is. Also place it in one of the three categories mentioned in the first section.

Mubarak Re-elected

© Patrick Chappatte - Cagle Cartoons Inc.

Seeing the democracy

© Ares - Cagle Cartoons Inc.

Liberal Gender Equality

© Tab - *The Calgary Sun*, Cagle Cartoons Inc.

Campaign Money

© Ares - *Best Latin America*, Cagle Cartoons Inc.

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Case and context	Your description of the challenges for democracy in that situation
Chile: General Pinochet's government defeated, but military still in control of many institutions	[Example] Establishing civilian control over all governmental institutions, holding the first multi-party elections, recalling all political leaders from exile.
Poland: After the first success of Solidarity, the government imposed martial law and banned solidarity	
Ghana: Just attained independence, Nkrumah elected president	
Myanmar: Suu Kyi under house arrest for more than 15 years, army rulers getting global acceptance	
International organisations: US as the only super power disregards the UN and takes unilateral action	
Mexico: Second free election after the defeat of PRI in 2000; defeated candidate alleges rigging	
China: Communist Party adopts economic reforms but maintains monopoly over political power	
Pakistan: General Musharraf holds referendum, allegations of fraud in voters' list	
Iraq: Widespread sectarian violence as the new government fails to establish its authority	
South Africa: Mandela retires from active politics, pressure on his successor Mbeki to withdraw some concessions given to White minority	

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Case and context	Your description of the challenges for democracy in that situation
US, Guantanamo Bay: UN Secretary General calls this a violation of international law, US refused to respond	
Saudi Arabia: Women not allowed to take part in public activities, no freedom of religion for minorities	
Yugoslavia: Ethnic tension between Serbs and Albanians on the rise in the province of Kosovo. Yugoslavia disintergrated	
Belgium: One round of constitutional change taken place, but the Dutch speakers not satisfied; they want more autonomy	
Sri Lanka: The peace talks between the government and the LTTE break down, renewed violence	
US, Civil Rights: Blacks have won equal rights, but are still poor, less educated and marginalised	
Northern Ireland: The civil war has ended but Catholics and Protestants yet to develop trust	
Nepal: Constituent Assembly about to be elected, unrest in Terai areas, Maoists have not surrendered arms	
Bolivia: Morales, a supporter of water struggle, becomes Prime Minister, MNCs threaten to leave the country	

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Different types of challenges

Now that you have noted down all these challenges, let us group these together into some broad categories. Given below are some spheres or sites of democratic politics. You may place against each of these the specific challenges that you noted for one or more countries or cartoons in the previous section. In addition to that write one item for India for each of these spheres. In case you find that some challenges do not fit into any of the categories given below, you can create new categories and put some items under that.

Constitutional design	
Democratic rights	
Working of institutions	
Elections	
Federalism, decentralisation	
Accommodation of diversity	
Political organisations	
_____ Any other category	
_____ Any other category	

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Let us group these again, this time by the nature of these challenges as per the classification suggested in the first section. For each of these categories, find at least one example from India as well.

Foundational challenge	
Challenge of expansion	
Challenge of deepening	

Now let us think only about India. Think of all the challenges that democracy faces in contemporary India. List those five that should be addressed first of all. The listing should be in order of priority, i.e, the challenge you find most important or pressing should be mentioned at number 1, and so on. Give one example of that challenge and your reasons for assigning it the priority.

Priority	Challenges to democracy	Example	Reasons for preference
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

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Thinking about political reforms

Each of these challenges is linked to the possibility of reforms. As mentioned above, we discuss challenges only because we think these can be overcome. Generally all the suggestions or proposals about overcoming various challenges to democracy are called 'democracy reform' or 'political reform'. We are not going to give here a list of desirable political reforms, for there cannot be any such list. If all the countries do not have the same challenges, it follows that everyone cannot follow the same recipe of political reforms. We cannot prescribe a procedure for car repair without knowing which model the car is, what the defect is and what tools are available, where the car has broken down, etc.

Can we at least have a list of such reforms for our country in today's context? We can develop some proposals for reforms at the national level. But the real challenge of reforms may not lie at the national level. Some of the crucial questions need to be thought at the State or local level. Besides, such a list may become irrelevant after some time. So, instead of that let us think of some broad guidelines that can be kept in mind while devising ways and means for political reforms in India:

- It is very tempting to think of legal ways of reforming politics, to think of new laws to ban undesirable things. But this temptation needs to be resisted. No doubt, law has an important role to play in political reform. Carefully devised changes in law can help to discourage wrong political practices and encourage good ones. But legal-constitutional changes by themselves cannot overcome challenges to democracy. This is like the rules of cricket. A change in rules for LBW decisions helped to reduce negative batting tactics. But no one would ever think that the quality of cricket could be improved mainly through changes in the rules. This is to be done mainly by the players, coaches and administrators. Similarly, democratic reforms are to be carried out mainly by political activists, parties, movements and politically conscious citizens.
- Any legal change must carefully look at what results it will have on politics. Sometimes the results may be counter-productive. For example, many states have banned people who have more than two children from contesting panchayat elections. This has resulted in denial of democratic opportunity to many poor and women, which was not intended. Generally, laws that seek to ban something are not very successful in politics. Laws that give political actors incentives to do good things have more chances of working. The best laws are those which empower people to carry out democratic reforms. The Right to Information Act is a good example of a law that empowers the people to find out what is happening in government and act as watchdogs of democracy. Such a law helps to control corruption and supplements the existing laws that banned corruption and imposed strict penalties.
- Democratic reforms are to be brought about principally through political practice. Therefore, the main focus of political reforms should be on ways to strengthen democratic practice. As we discussed in the chapter on political parties, the most important concern should be to increase and improve the quality of political participation by ordinary citizens.
- Any proposal for political reforms should think not only about what is a good solution but also about who will implement it and how. It is not very wise to think that the legislatures will pass legislations that go against the interest of all the political parties and MPs. But measures that rely on democratic movements, citizens' organisations and the media are likely to succeed.

Let us keep these general guidelines in mind and look at some specific instances of challenges to democracy that require some measure of reform. Let us try to come up with some concrete proposals of reform.

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Here are some challenges that require political reforms. Discuss these challenges in detail. Study the reform options offered here and give your preferred solution with reasons. Remember that none of the options offered here is 'right' or 'wrong'. You can opt for a mix of more than one options, or come up with something that is not offered here. But you must give your solution in detail and offer reasons for your choice.

Doctors' absenteeism

Challenge:

Uttar Pradesh government got a survey done and found out that most of the doctors posted in the rural Primary Health Centres are simply not there. They live in a town, carry out private practice and visit the village where they are posted only once or twice in the entire month. Villagers have to travel to towns and pay very high fee to private doctors even for common ailments.

Reform proposals:

- The government should make it compulsory for the doctors to live in the village where they are posted, otherwise their service should be terminated.
- District administration and police should carry out surprise raids to check the attendance of the doctors.
- Village panchayat should be given the power to write the annual report of the doctor which should be read out in the Gram Sabha meeting.
- Problems like this can be solved only if Uttar Pradesh is split into several smaller states which can be administered more efficiently.

Political funding

Challenge:

On an average, every candidate who contested the last Lok Sabha elections owned a property of more than Rs one crore. There is a fear that only wealthy people or those with their support can afford to fight elections. Most of the political parties are dependent on money given by big business houses. The worry is that the role of money in politics will reduce whatever little voice the poor have in our democracy.

Reform proposals:

- The financial accounts of every political party should be made public. These accounts should be examined by government auditors.
- There should be state funding of elections. Parties should be given some money by the government to meet their election expenditure.
- Citizens should be encouraged to give more donations to parties and to political workers. Such donations should be exempt from income tax.

Any other problem of your choice

Challenge:

Reform proposals:

-
-
-

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Reforming politics

Rose managed to catch Madam Lyngdoh outside the classroom, something she had been planning to do for some time. "Ma'am! I really liked that Canadian cartoon". Rose needed something to open the conversation. "Which one?" Madam Lyngdoh could not recall. "Ma'am, the one which says 98% Canadians want all the politicians to be locked in the trunk of a car and thrown into Niagara falls. I was thinking of our politicians. We would need a bigger vehicle and a river as mighty as Brahmaputra!"

Lyngdoh Ma'am smiled at Rose. Like most Indians, she is also very much unhappy with the way politicians of the country have been behaving and running the parties and governments. But she wanted Rose to appreciate the complexity of the problem: "Do you think our problems will be solved if we get rid of our politicians?," she asked.

"Yes, Ma'am. Aren't these mean politicians responsible for all the problems in our country? I mean corruption, defection, casteism, communal violence, criminality... everything."

Lyngdoh Madam: "So, all we need is to get rid of the current lot. Are you sure that those who replace them will not do these things?"

Rose: "Well, I had not thought of it, but may be not. May be we will get leaders of better character".

Lyngdoh Madam: "I agree with you that the situation will change if people show more care and alertness to reject corrupt and bad politicians and elect the right ones. And, maybe, all politicians are not corrupt..."

"How can you say that Ma'am" interrupted Rose.

Lyngdoh Madam: "I did not say that politicians are not corrupt. Maybe when you think of politicians, you think of these big people whose photos appear in newspapers. I think of political leaders that I have known. I don't think that the political leaders I know are more corrupt than my own colleagues, government officials, contractors or other middle class professionals that I know. The corruption of the politician is more visible and we get the impression that all politicians are corrupt. Some of them are and some of them are not."

Rose did not give up. "Ma'am, what I meant is that there should be strict laws to curb corruption and wrong practices like appeals to caste and community."

Lyngdoh Madam: "I am not sure, Rose. For one thing there is already a law banning any appeal to caste and religion in politics. Politicians find a way to bypass that. Laws can have little impact unless people resist attempts to mislead and divide people in the name of caste and religion. You cannot have democracy in a real sense unless people and politicians overcome the barriers of caste and religion."

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Redefining democracy

We began this tour of democracy last year with a minimal definition of democracy. Do you remember that? This is what Chapter 2 of your textbook said last year: democracy is a form of government in which the rulers are elected by the people. We then looked at many cases and expanded the definition slightly to add some qualifications:

- the rulers elected by the people must take all the major decisions;
- elections must offer a choice and fair opportunity to the people to change the current rulers;
- this choice and opportunity should be available to all the people on an equal basis; and
- the exercise of this choice must lead to a government limited by basic rules of the constitution and citizens' rights.

You may have felt disappointed that the definition did not refer to any high ideals that we associate with democracy. But in operational terms, we deliberately started with a minimalist but clear definition of democracy. It allowed us to make a clear distinction between democratic and non-democratic regimes.

You may have noticed that in the course of our discussions of various aspects of democratic government and politics, we have gone beyond that definition:

- We discussed democratic rights at length and noted that these rights are not limited to the right to vote, stand in elections and form political organisations. We discussed some social and economic rights that a democracy should offer to its citizens.
- We have taken up power sharing as the spirit of democracy and discussed how power sharing between governments and social groups is necessary in a democracy.
- We saw how democracy cannot be the brute rule of majority and how a respect for minority voice is necessary for democracy.
- Our discussion of democracy has gone beyond the government and its activities. We discussed how eliminating discrimination based on caste, religion and gender is important in a democracy.
- Finally, we have had some discussion about some outcomes that one can expect from a democracy.

In doing so, we have not gone against the definition of democracy offered last year. We began then with a definition of what is the minimum a country must have to be called a democracy. In the course of our discussion we moved to the set of desirable conditions that a democracy should have. We have moved from the definition of democracy to the description of a good democracy.

How do we define a good democracy? What are its features? Which are the features a democracy must have to be called a good democracy? And what must not take place in a democracy if it is a good democracy? You decide that.

Reading between the Lines

© Ares - *Best Latin America*, Cagle Cartoons Inc.

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Here is your space for writing your own definition of good democracy.

(Write your name here) _____ **'s definition of good democracy** *(not more than 50 words)*:

Features *(use only as many points as you want. Try to compress it in as few points as possible)*

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

How did you like this exercise? Was it enjoyable? Very demanding? A little frustrating? And a little scary? Are you a little resentful that the textbook did not help you in this crucial task? Are you worried that your definition may not be 'correct'?

Here then is your last lesson in thinking about democracy: there is no fixed definition of good democracy. A good democracy is what we think it is and what we wish to make it. This may sound strange. Yet, think of it: is it democratic for someone to dictate to us what a good democracy is?

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UNDERSTANDING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

SOCIAL SCIENCE TEXTBOOK FOR CLASS X

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CHAPTER 5 : CONSUMER RIGHTS

This chapter proposes to discuss the issue of consumer rights within the context of the ways markets operate in our country. There are many aspects of unequal situations in a market and poor enforcement of rules and regulations. Hence, there is a need to sensitise learners and encourage them to participate in the consumer movement. This chapter provides case histories – how some consumers were exploited in a real life situation and how legal institutions helped consumers in getting compensated and in upholding their rights as consumers. The case histories would enable the students to link these narratives to their life experiences. We have to enable students to understand that the awareness of being a well-informed consumer arose out of consumer movement and active participation of people through their struggles over a long period. This chapter also provides details of a few organisations helping consumers in different ways. Finally it ends with some critical issues of the consumer movement in India.

Aspects of Teaching / Sources of Information

This chapter has questions, case studies and activities. It would be preferred that students discuss these in groups orally. Some of these could be answered in writing individually.

While carrying out each activity you could start with a brainstorming session about the activity. Similarly there are many opportunities for role-play in this chapter and this could be a useful way to share their experiences and understand the issues at a deeper level. Making posters collectively is another way to think about these issues. This lesson contains activities, which require visits – visit to consumer protection councils, consumer organisations, consumer court, retail shops, market places, etc. Organise the visits to maximise learners' experience. Have a discussion with them about the purpose of the visit, things they need to do beforehand and things that need to be collected and the task (report/ project / article, etc.) they would carry out after the visit. As part of this chapter, the learners may do letter-writing and speaking activities. We may have to be sensitive to the language aspect of exercises.

This chapter contains materials collected from authenticated websites, books, newspapers and magazines. For example, *http://www.mca.gov.in* is a website of Central Government Ministry of Consumer Affairs. Another website *www.cuts-international.org* is the website of a consumer organisation working in India for more than 20 years. It publishes a variety of materials to create consumer awareness in India. They need to be shared among learners so that they can also collect materials as part of their activities. For example, case histories were taken from newspaper clippings and consumers who fought in consumer courts. Let learners collect and read such materials from different sources: consumer protection councils, consumer courts and internet.

CHAPTER 5

CONSUMER RIGHTS

The collage you see below contains some news clippings of consumer court verdicts. Why did the people go to the consumer court in these cases? These verdicts came about because some people persisted and struggled to get justice. In what ways were they denied justice? More importantly, what are the ways in which they can exercise their rights as consumers to get a fair deal from the sellers when they felt they had been denied a just treatment?

Consumer panel cracks ...own on cell spammers

Chhabra | tnn

: Now those tele- service providers ou the unnerving MS will land in jail t check the menace

ury 13, 2006, had ordered in- began.

TAKING A CALL

DU teacher gets Rs 45,000 for flawed phone bill

Rahul Chhabra | TNN

New Delhi: A Delhi University teacher who dragged a telecom firm to court has been awarded a compensation of Rs 45,000 over a disputed bill of Rs 400. Jayashree Pillai — who teaches in Miranda House — refused to get bullied by Tata Teleser-

The forum has now asked Pillai to pay only Rs 400 to the company and held: "Tata Teleservices will pay Rs 40,000 to the complainant for causing mental agony and harassment. It will pay Rs 5,000 towards cost of litigation."

The company's reluctance to come to court following Pillai's complaint ... the forum's criticism. "The shown its typical le towards a customer aviour in response to iled before the forum. y to the complaint in

Pillai — who Miranda House iversity — get bullied by ervices agents, ded her over ed bill. A court pulled up any for forcing ners to enter eral and biased

Rohini society to compensate harried owner

Rahul Chabbra | TNN

Delhi: Manoj Gupta's warming ceremony at w flat in Rohini had to ncluded abruptly as a e in the ceiling, walls ors played spoil sport dream house turned ightmare.

omplaints of poor- nship were ignored by Modern Co-operative using Society in Sec- e was forced to un- pairs at his own ex-

Gupta's complaints of poor construction were ignored by the society. A consumer court has upheld his complaint of deficiency in service and directed the society to pay Rs 20,000 compensation.

omplaints to the State or SMS from telemar-

rs informing them

sms, hard copy of bill is

nks' telemarketing agents

ters giving details of rvices as the contract... payment of the bills ipt of bill containing d all the calls made by th umer, so as to allow the umer to raise any object

Insurance firm to pay 7,000 for theft

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

New Delhi: Non-payment of stolen cellphone's insurance laim has landed an insurance rm in trouble. A consumer ourt has ordered it to pay Rs ,000 to a complainant from alkaji as relief.

Rajbir Singh's handset al- gedly went missing from ome but the insuranc ... any refused to hon aim. The company sa e handset was not st om him, the loss nount to theft under y's clause as "use of as a pre-requisite fo Now, a consumer c me to his rescue cted the National Ins mpany t m for def d harass South d m pres d men ar and its surance ve a de

cent judgment and said: "The commission held that the phrase cannot take away the benefit of insurance from the consumer."

"In view of the judgment, we hold the insurance company guilty of deficiency in service in repudiating the claim of the complainant," proclaimed the forum.

Singh had bought a mobile

Bank fined Rs 15K for sloppy service

New Delhi: A public sector bank, which credited Rs 437 to the account of a customer who deposited a cheque for Rs 4,371, ... with a

Shradha Nand Park, the forum said: "It is shocking to find that (officials of) a public undertaking bank instead of realising their mistake... denied (it) ... order to save the skin of neg- ... who have pre-

Business institute fined for 'deceiving' stud...

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

Insurance firm made ... for denying medical ...

TIMES NEWS NETWORK

New Delhi: A consumer court has come down heavily on an insurance company for refusing to bear the medical expenditure of a 11-year-old girl's knee surgery.

While rejecting the girl's insurance claim, the company alleged her ailment was not disclosed at the time of taking the policy.

repudiate the same," said the president of north district

THE CONSUMER IN THE MARKETPLACE

We participate in the market both as producers and consumers. As producers of goods and services we could be working in any of the sectors discussed earlier such as agriculture, industry, or services. Consumers participate in the market when they purchase goods and services that they need. These are the final goods that people as consumers use.

In the preceding chapters we discussed the need for rules and regulations or steps that would promote development. These could be for the protection of workers in the unorganised sector or to protect people from high interest rates charged by moneylenders in the informal sector. Similarly, rules and regulations are also required for protecting the environment.

For example, moneylenders in the informal sector that you read about in Chapter 3 adopt various tricks to bind the borrower: they could make the producer sell the produce to them at a low rate in return for a timely loan; they could force a small farmer like Swapna to sell her land to pay back the loan. Similarly, many people who work in the unorganised sector have to work at a low wage and accept conditions that are not fair and are also often harmful to their health. To prevent such exploitation, we have talked of rules and regulations for their protection. There are organisations that have struggled for long to ensure that these rules are followed.

Likewise, rules and regulations are required for the protection of the consumers in the marketplace. Individual consumers often find themselves in a weak position. Whenever there is a complaint regarding a good or service that had been bought, the seller tries to shift all the responsibility on to the buyer. Their position usually is – "If you didn't like what you bought, please go elsewhere". As if the seller has no responsibility once a sale is completed! The consumer movement, as we shall discuss later, is an effort to change this situation.

Exploitation in the marketplace happens in various ways. For example, sometimes traders indulge in unfair trade practices such as when shopkeepers weigh less than what they should or when traders add charges that were not mentioned before, or when adulterated/defective goods are sold.

Markets do not work in a fair manner when producers are few and powerful whereas consumers purchase in small amounts and are scattered. This happens especially when large companies are producing these goods. These companies with huge wealth, power and reach can manipulate the market in various ways. At times false information is passed on through the media, and other sources to attract consumers. For example, a company for years sold powder milk for babies all over

the world as the most scientific product claiming this to be better than mother's milk. It took years of struggle before the company was forced to accept that it had been making false claims. Similarly, a long battle had to be fought with court cases to make cigarette-manufacturing companies accept that their product could cause cancer. Hence, there is a need for rules and regulations to ensure protection for consumers.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. What are the various ways by which people may be exploited in the market?
2. Think of one example from your experience where you thought that there was some 'cheating' in the market. Discuss in the classroom.
3. What do you think should be the role of government to protect consumers?

CONSUMER MOVEMENT

The consumer movement arose out of dissatisfaction of the consumers as many unfair practices were being indulged in by the sellers. There was no legal system available to consumers to protect them from exploitation in the marketplace. For a long time, when a consumer was not happy with a particular brand product or shop, he or she generally avoided buying that brand product, or would stop purchasing from that shop. It was presumed that it was the responsibility of consumers to be careful while buying a commodity or service. It took many years for organisations in India, and around the world, to create awareness amongst people. This has also shifted the responsibility of ensuring quality of goods and services on the sellers.

In India, the consumer movement as a 'social force' originated with the necessity of protecting and promoting the interests of consumers against unethical and unfair trade practices. Rampant food shortages, hoarding, black marketing, adulteration of food and edible oil gave birth to the consumer movement in an organised form in the 1960s. Till the 1970s, consumer organisations were largely engaged in writing articles and holding exhibitions. They formed consumer groups to look into the malpractices in ration shops and overcrowding in the road passenger transport. More recently, India witnessed an upsurge in the number of consumer groups.

Consumers International

In 1985 United Nations adopted the UN Guidelines for Consumer Protection. This was a tool for nations to adopt measures to protect consumers and for consumer advocacy groups to press their governments to do so. At the international level, this has become the foundation for consumer movement. Today, Consumers International has become an umbrella body of 240 organisations from over 100 countries.

Because of all these efforts, the movement succeeded in bringing pressure on business firms as well as government to correct business conduct which may be unfair and against the interests of consumers at large. A major step taken in 1986 by the Indian government was the enactment of the Consumer Protection Act 1986, popularly known as COPRA. You will learn more about COPRA later.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. What could have been the steps taken by consumer groups?
2. There may be rules and regulations but they are often not followed. Why? Discuss.

SAFETY IS EVERYONE'S RIGHT

Reji's Suffering

Reji Mathew, a healthy boy studying in Class IX, was admitted in a private clinic in Kerala for removal of tonsils. An ENT surgeon performed the tonsillectomy operation under general anaesthesia. As a result of improper anaesthesia Reji showed symptoms of some brain abnormalities because of which he was crippled for life.

His father filed a complaint in the State Consumer Disputes Redressal Commission claiming compensation of Rs 5,00,000 for medical negligence and deficiency, in service. The State Commission, saying that the evidence was not sufficient dismissed it. Reji's father appealed again in the National Consumer Disputes Redressal Commission located in New Delhi. The National Commission after looking into the complaint, held the hospital responsible for medical negligence and directed it to pay the compensation.

Reji's suffering shows how a hospital, due to negligence by the doctors and staff in giving anaesthesia, crippled a student for life. While using many goods and services, we as consumers, have the right to be protected against the marketing of goods and delivery of services that are hazardous to life and property. Producers need to strictly follow the required safety rules and regulations. There are many goods and services that we purchase that require special attention to safety. For example, pressure cookers have a safety valve which, if it is defective, can cause a serious accident. The manufacturers of the safety valve have to ensure high quality. You also need public or government action to see that this quality is maintained. However, we do find bad quality products in the market because the supervision of these rules is weak and the consumer movement is also not strong enough.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. For the following (you can add to the list) products/services discuss what safety rules should be observed by the producer?

   (a) LPG cyclinder (b) cinema theatre (c) circus (d) medicines (e) edible oil (f) marriage pandal (g) a high-rise building.

2. Find out any case of accident or negligence from people around you, where you think that the responsibility lay with the producer. Discuss.

Information about goods and services

When you buy any commodity, you will find certain details given on the packing. These details are about ingredients used, price, batch number, date of manufacture, expiry date and the address of the manufacturer. When we buy medicines, on the packets, you might find 'directions for proper use' and information relating to side effects and risks associated with usage of that medicine. When you buy garments, you will find information on 'instructions for washing'.

Why is it that rules have been made so that the manufacturer displays this information? It is because consumers have the **right to be informed** about the particulars of goods and services that they purchase. Consumers can then complain and ask for compensation or replacement if the product proves to be defective in any manner. For example, if we buy a product and find it defective well within the expiry period, we can ask for a replacement. If the expiry period was not printed, the manufacturer would blame the shopkeeper and will not accept the responsibility. If people sell medicines that have expired severe action can be taken against them. Similarly, one can protest and complain if someone sells a good at more than the printed price on the packet. This is indicated by 'MRP' — maximum retail price. In fact consumers can bargain with the seller to sell at less than the MRP.

In recent times, the right to information has been expanded to cover various services provided by the Government. In October 2005, the Government of India enacted a law, popularly known as RTI (Right to Information) Act, which ensures its citizens all the information about the functions of government departments. The effect of the RTI Act can be understood from the following case.

Waiting...

Amritha, an engineering graduate after submitting all the certificates and attending the interview for a job in a government department, did not receive any news of the result. The officials also refused to comply with her queries. She therefore filed an application using the RTI Act saying that it was her right to know the result in a reasonable time so that she could plan her future. She soon got her call letter for appointment.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. When we buy commodities we find that the price charged is sometimes higher or lower than the Maximum Retail Price printed on the pack. Discuss the possible reasons. Should consumer groups do something about this?
2. Pick up a few packaged goods that you want to buy and examine the information given. In what ways are they useful? Is there some information that you think should be given on those packaged goods but is not? Discuss.
3. People make complaints about the lack of civic amenities such as bad roads or poor water and health facilities but no one listens. Now the RTI Act gives you the power to question. Do you agree? Discuss.

When choice is denied

A Refund

Abirami, a student of Ansari Nagar, joined a two-year course at a local coaching institute for professional courses in New Delhi. At the time of joining the course, she paid the fees Rs 61,020 as lumpsum for the entire course of two years. However, she decided to opt out of the course at the end of one year as she found that the quality of teaching was not up to the mark. When she asked for a refund of the fee for one year, it was denied to her.

When she filed the case in the District Consumer Court, the Court directed the Institute to refund Rs 28,000 saying that she had the right to choose. The Institute again appealed in the State Consumer Commission. The State Commission upheld the district court's direction and further fined the institute Rs 25,000 for a frivolous appeal. It also directed the institute to pay Rs 7000 as compensation and litigation cost.

The State Commission also restrained all the educational and professional institutions in the state from charging fees from students for the entire duration of the course in advance and that too at one go. Any violation of this order may invite penalties and imprisonment, the commission said.

What do we understand from this incident? Any consumer who receives a service in whatever capacity, regardless of age, gender and nature of service, has the **right to choose** whether to continue to receive the service.

Suppose you want to buy toothpaste, and the shop owner says that she can sell the toothpaste only if you buy a tooth brush. If you are not interested in buying the brush, your right to choice is denied. Similarly, sometimes gas supply dealers insist that you have to buy the stove from them when you take a new connection. In this way many a times you are forced to buy things that you may not wish to and you are left with no choice.

LET'S WORK THIS OUT

The following are some of the catchy advertisements of products that we purchase from the market. Which of the following offers would really benefit consumers? Discuss.

- 15 gm more in every 500 gm pack.
- Subscribe for a newspaper with a gift at the end of a year.
- Scratch and win gifts worth Rs 10 lakhs.
- A milk chocolate inside a 500 gram glucose box.
- Win a gold coin inside a pack.
- Buy shoes worth Rs 2000 and get one pair of shoes worth Rs 500 free.

Where should consumers go to get justice?

Read again the cases of Reji Mathew and Abirami given earlier in the chapter.

These are some examples in which consumers are denied their rights. Such instances occur quite often in our country. Where should these consumers go to get justice?

Consumers have the **right to seek redressal** against unfair trade practices and exploitation. If any damage is done to a consumer, she has the right to get compensation depending on the degree of damage. There is a need to provide an easy and effective public system by which this can be done.

You might be interested in knowing how an aggrieved person gets his or her compensation. Let us take the case of Prakash. He had sent a money-order to his village for his daughter's marriage. The money did not reach his daughter at the time when she needed it nor did it reach months later. Prakash filed a case in a district level consumer court in New Delhi. All the steps he undertook are illustrated here.

1. PRAKASH GOES TO THE POST OFFICE TO SEND MONEY ORDER TO HIS DAUGHTER

2. PRAKASH COMES TO KNOW THAT THE MONEY HAS NOT REACHED HIS DAUGHTER

3. *PRAKASH ENQUIRES ABOUT THE MONEY ORDER IN THE POST OFFICE*

4. *THE POST OFFICE DOES NOT RESPOND TO THE QUERY SATISFACTORILY*

5. *PRAKASH GOES TO THE LOCAL CONSUMER PROTECTION COUNCIL FOR ADVICE*

6. *PRAKASH GOES TO A CONSUMER COURT TO FILE A CASE.. HE FILLS A REGISTRATIONFORM*

CONSUMER DISPUTES REDRESSAL FORUM II
GOVERNMENT OF DELHI
Udyog Sadan, C-23 & 23 Institutional Area,
Behind Qutab Hotel,
New Delhi-110016

REGISTERATION NO. 53/06 DATED:- 30.1.2006

Name of Complainant: VED PRAKASH PANDEY, 7 GANDHI MAIDAN GARHI NEW DELHI

Name of respondent (1): POST OFFICE, 7 GANDHI MAIDAN GARHI NEW DELHI

(2)

(3)

Police Station: MEHRAULI, NEW DELHI

Value: Rs. 4000/-

Subject: DEFICIENCY IN SERVICE

(Signature of complainant)

7. *HE HIMSELF PLEADS THE CASE IN THE COURT*

8. *THE COURT JUDGE VERIFIES THE DOCUMENTS*

9. *THE JUDGE ANNOUNCES THE COURT VERDICT.*

The consumer movement in India has led to the formation of various organisations locally known as consumer forums or consumer protection councils. They guide consumers on how to file cases in the consumer court. On many occasions, they also represent individual consumers in the consumer courts. These voluntary organisations also receive financial support from the government for creating awareness among the people.

If you are living in a residential colony, you might have noticed name boards of Resident Welfare Associations. If there is any unfair trade practice meted out to their members they take up the case on their behalf.

Under COPRA, a three-tier quasi-judicial machinery at the district, state and national levels was set up for redressal of consumer disputes. The district level court deals with the cases involving claims upto Rs 20 lakhs, the state level courts between Rs 20 lakhs and Rs 1 crore and the national level court deals with cases involving claims exceeding Rs 1 crore. If a case is dismissed in district level court, the consumer can also appeal in state and then in National level courts.

Thus, the Act has enabled us as consumers to have the **right to represent** in the consumer courts.

LET'S WORK THIS OUT

Arrange the following in the correct order.

(a) Arita files a case in the District Consumer Court.

(b) She engages a professional person.

(c) She realises that the dealer has given her defective material.

(d) She starts attending the court proceedings.

(e) She goes and complains to the dealer and the Branch office, to no effect.

(f) She is asked to produce the bill and warranty before the court.

(g) She purchases a wall clock from a retail outlet.

(h) Within a few months, the dealer was ordered by the court to replace her old wall clock with a brand new one at no extra cost.

LEARNING TO BECOME WELL-INFORMED CONSUMERS

When we as consumers become conscious of our rights, while purchasing various goods and services, we will be able to discriminate and make informed choices. This calls for acquiring the knowledge and skill to become a well-informed consumer. How do we become conscious

of our rights? Look at the posters on the right and in the previous page. What do you think?

The enactment of COPRA has led to the setting up of separate departments of Consumer Affairs in central and state governments. The posters that you have seen are one example through which government spread information about legal process which people can use. You might also be seeing such advertisements on television channels.

ISI and Agmark

While buying many commodities, on the cover, you might have seen a logo with the letters ISI, Agmark or Hallmark. These logos and certification help consumers get assured of quality while purchasing the goods and services. The organisations that monitor and issue these certificates allow producers to use their logos provided they follow certain quality standards.

Though these organisations develop quality standards for many products, it is not compulsory for all the producers to follow standards. However, for some products that affect the health and safety of consumers or of products of mass consumption like LPG cylinders, food colours and additives, cement, packaged drinking water, it is mandatory on the part of the producers to get certified by these organisations.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. Look at the posters and cartoons in this chapter. Think of any particular commodity and the aspects that need to be looked at as a consumer. Design a poster for this.
2. Find out the nearest consumer court for your area.
3. What is the difference between consumer protection council and consumer court?
4. The Consumer Protection Act 1986 ensures the following as rights which every consumer in India should possess

   (i) Right to choice.
   (ii) Right to information.
   (iii) Right to redressal.
   (iv) Right to representation.
   (v) Right to safety.
   (vi) Right to consumer education.

   Categorise the following cases under different heads and mark against each in brackets.

   (a) Lata got an electric shock from a newly purchased iron. She complained to the shopkeeper immediately. ( )

   (b) John is dissatisfied with the services provided by MTNL for the past few months. He files a case in the District Level Consumer Forum. ( )

   (c) Your friend has been sold a medicine that has crossed the expiry date and you are advising her to lodge a complaint ( ).

   (d) Iqbal makes it a point to scan through all the particulars given on the pack of any item that he buys. ( )

   (e) You are not satisfied with the services of the cable operator catering to your locality but you are unable to switch over to anybody else. ( )

   (f) You realise that you have received a defective camera from a dealer. You are complaining to the head office persistently ( ).
5. If the standardisation ensures the quality of a commodity, why are many goods available in the market without ISI or Agmark certification?
6. Find out the details of who provides Hallmark and ISO certification.

TAKING THE CONSUMER MOVEMENT FORWARD

India has been observing 24 December as the National Consumers' Day. It was on this day that the Indian Parliament enacted the Consumer Protection Act in 1986. India is one of the countries that have exclusive courts for consumer redressal.

The consumer movement in India has made some progress in terms of numbers of organised groups and their activities. There are today more than 700 consumer groups in the country of which only about 20-25 are well organised and recognised for their work.

However, the consumer redressal process is becoming cumbersome, expensive and time consuming. Many a time, consumers are required to engage lawyers. These cases require

time for filing and attending the court proceedings etc. In most purchases cash memos are not issued hence evidence is not easy to gather. Moreover most purchases in the market are small retail sales. The existing laws also are not very clear on the issue of compensation to consumers injured by defective products. After 20 years of the enactment of COPRA, consumer awareness in India is spreading but slowly. Besides this the enforcement of laws that protect workers, especially in the unorganised sectors is weak. Similarly, rules and regulations for working of markets are often not followed.

Nevertheless, there is scope for consumers to realise their role and importance. It is often said that consumer movements can be effective only with the consumers' active involvement. It requires a voluntary effort and struggle involving the participation of one and all.

EXERCISES

1. Why are rules and regulations required in the marketplace? Illustrate with a few examples.
2. What factors gave birth to the consumer movement in India? Trace its evolution.
3. Explain the need for consumer consciousness by giving two examples.
4. Mention a few factors which cause exploitation of consumers.
5. What is the rationale behind the enactment of Consumer Protection Act 1986?
6. Describe some of your duties as consumers if you visit a shopping complex in your locality.
7. Suppose you buy a bottle of honey and a biscuit packet. Which logo or mark you will have to look for and why?
8. What legal measures were taken by the government to empower the consumers in India?
9. Mention some of the rights of consumers and write a few sentences on each.
10. By what means can the consumers express their solidarity?
11. Critically examine the progress of consumer movement in India.
12. Match the following.

(i) Availing details of ingredients of a product	(a) Right to safety
(ii) Agmark	(b) Dealing with consumer cases
(iii) Accident due to faulty engine in a scooter	(c) Certification of edible oil and cereals
(iv) District Consumer Court	(d) Agency that develop standards for goods and services
(v) Consumers International	(e) Right to information
(vi) Bureau of Indian Standards	(f) Global level institution of consumer welfare organisations

13. Say True or False.
    (i) COPRA applies only to goods.
    (ii) India is one of the many countries in the world which has exclusive courts for consumer redressal.

(iii) When a consumer feels that he has been exploited, he must file a case in the District Consumer Court.

(iv) It is worthwhile to move to consumer courts only if the damages incurred are of high value.

(v) Hallmark is the certification maintained for standardisation of jewellry.

(vi) The consumer redressal process is very simple and quick.

(vii) A consumer has the right to get compensation depending on the degree of the damage.

ADDITIONAL PROJECTS / ACTIVITIES

1. Your school organises a consumer awareness week. As the Secretary of the Consumer Awareness Forum, draft a poster covering all the consumer rights. You may use the clues and ideas given in the poster on page 84 and 85. This activity can be done with the help of your English teacher.

2. Mrs. Krishna bought a colour television (CTV) against six months warranty. The CTV stopped working after three months. When she complained to the dealer / shop where it was purchased, they sent an engineer to set it right. The CTV continues to give trouble and Mrs Krishna no longer gets any reply to the complaint she made to the dealer / shop. She decides to write to the Consumer Forum in her area. Write a letter on her behalf. You may discuss with your partner / group members before you write it.

3. Establish a consumer club in your school. Organise mock consumer awareness workshops like monitoring bookshops, canteen, and shops in your school area.

4. Prepare posters with catchy slogans like:

   – An alert consumer is a safe consumer

   – Buyers, Beware

   – Consumers be cautious

   – Be aware of your rights

   – As consumers, assert your right

   – Arise, awake and stop not till _____ (Complete it)

5. Interview 4-5 persons in your neighbourhood and collect varied experiences regarding how they have been victims of such exploitation and their responses.

6. Conduct a survey in you locality by supplying the following questionnaire to get an idea as to how alert they are as consumers.

For each question, tick one.	Always A	Sometimes B	Never C
1. When you buy some item, do you insist on a bill?			
2. Do you keep the bill carefully?			
3. If you realise that you have been tricked by the shop-keeper, have you bothered to complain to him?			
4. Have you been able to convince him that you've been cheated?			
5. Do you simply grumble to yourself reconciling that it is your fate that you are often being victimised so and it is nothing new?			
6. Do you look for ISI mark, expiry date etc.?			
7. If the expiry date mentioned is just a month or so away, do you insist on a fresh packet?			
8. Do you weigh the new gas cylinder/old newspapers yourself before buying/selling?			
9. Do you raise an objection if a vegetable seller uses stones in place of the exact weight?			
10. Do excessively bright coloured vegetables arouse your suspicion?			
11. Are you brand-conscious?			
12. Do you associate high price with good quality (to reassure yourself that after all you have not paid a higher price just like that)?			
13. Do you unhesitatingly respond to catchy offers?			
14. Do you compare the price paid by you with those of others?			
15. Do you strongly believe that your shopkeeper never cheats a regular customer like you?			
16. Do you favour 'home delivery' of provision items without any doubt regarding weight etc.?			
17. Do you insist on 'paying by meter' when you travel by auto?			

Note

(i) You are extremely aware as a consumer if your answers for Qns. 5, 12, 13, 15 and 16 are (C) and for the rest (A).

(ii) If your answers are (A) for Qns. 5, 12, 13, 15 and 16 and the rest (C), then you have to wake up as consumer.

(iii) If your answer is (B) for all the questions – you are somewhat aware.

SUGGESTED READINGS

Books

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Notes

NOTES FOR THE TEACHER

CHAPTER I : DEVELOPMENT

Development has many aspects. The purpose of this chapter is to enable students to understand this idea. They have to understand that people have different perspectives on development and there are ways by which we can arrive at common indicators for development. To do this, we have used situations that they can respond to in an intuitive manner; we have also presented analysis that is more complex and macro in nature.

How can countries or states be compared using some selected development indicators is another question that students would read about in this chapter. Economic development can be measured and income is the most common method for measuring development. However, the income method, though useful, has several weaknesses. Hence, we need newer ways of looking at development using indicators of quality of life and environmental sustainability.

It is necessary for you to expect the students to respond actively in the classroom and on a topic such as the above there would be wide variation in opinion and possibility of debate. Allow students to argue their point of view. At the end of each section there are a few questions and activities. These serve two purposes: first, they recap the ideas discussed in the section and second, they enable better understanding of the themes discussed by bringing the learners closer to their real-life situations.

There are certain terms used in this chapter that would require clarification — Per Capita Income, Literacy Rate, Infant Mortality Rate, Attendance Ratio, Life Expectancy, Gross Enrolment Ratio, and Human Development Index. Though data pertaining to these terms are provided, these would need further explanation. You may also need to clarify the concept of purchasing power parity that is used to calculate per capita income in Table 1.6. It is necessary to keep in mind that these terms are used as an aid to the discussion and not something to be memorised.

Sources for Information

The data for this chapter is taken from reports published by the Government of India (*Economic Survey*), United Nations Development Programme (*Human Development Report*) and World Bank (*World Development Indicators*). These reports are being published every year. It may be interesting to look up these reports if they are available in your school library. If not, you may log on to the websites of these institutions *(www.bugetindia.nic.in, www.undp.org, www.worldbank.org).* Data is also available from the Reserve Bank's *Handbook of Statistics on Indian Economy*, available at *www.rbi.org).*

CHAPTER I

DEVELOPMENT

The idea of development or progress has always been with us. We have aspirations or desires about what we would like to do and how we would like to live. Similarly, we have ideas about what a country should be like. What are the essential things that we require? Can life be better for all? How should people live together? Can there be more equality? Development involves thinking about these questions and about the ways in which we can work towards achieving these goals. This is a complex task and in this chapter we shall make a beginning at understanding development. You will learn more about these issues in greater depth in higher classes. Also, you will find answers to many of these questions not just in economics but also in your course in history and political science. This is because the way we live today is influenced by the past. We can't desire for change without being aware of this. In the same way, it is only through a democratic political process that these hopes and possibilities can be achieved in real life.

*"Without me **they** cannot develop...*
*in this system **I** cannot develop!"*

WHAT DEVELOPMENT PROMISES — DIFFERENT PEOPLE, DIFFERENT GOALS

Let us try to imagine what development or progress is likely to mean to different persons listed in Table 1.1. What are their aspirations? You will find that some columns are partially filled. Try to complete the table. You can also add any other category of persons.

TABLE 1.1 DEVELOPMENTAL GOALS OF DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF PERSONS

Category of Person	Developmental Goals / Aspirations
Landless rural labourers	More days of work and better wages; local school is able to provide quality education for their children; there is no social discrimination and they too can become leaders in the village.
Prosperous farmers from Punjab	Assured a high family income through higher support prices for their crops and through hardworking and cheap labourers; they should be able to settle their children abroad.
Farmers who depend only on rain for growing crops	
A rural woman from a land owning family	
Urban unemployed youth	
A boy from a rich urban family	
A girl from a rich urban family	She gets as much freedom as her brother and is able to decide what she wants to do in life. She is able to pursue her studies abroad.
An *adivasi* from Narmada valley	

Having filled Table 1.1, let us now examine it. Do all of these persons have the same notion of development or progress? Most likely not. Each one of them seeks different things. They seek things that are most important for them, i.e., that which can fulfil their aspirations or desires. In fact, at times, two persons or groups of persons may seek things

which are conflicting. A girl expects as much freedom and opportunity as her brother, and that he also shares in the household work. Her brother may not like this. Similarly, to get more electricity, industrialists may want more dams. But this may submerge the land and disrupt the lives of people who are displaced – such as tribals. They might resent this and may prefer small check dams or tanks to irrigate their land.

So, two things are quite clear: one, **different persons can have different developmental goals** and two**, what may be development for one may not be development for the other. It may even be destructive for the other.**

INCOME AND OTHER GOALS

If you go over Table 1.1 again, you will notice one common thing: what people desire are regular work, better wages, and decent price for their crops or other products that they produce. In other words, they want more income.

Besides seeking more income, one-way or the other, people also seek things like equal treatment, freedom, security, and respect of others. They resent discrimination. All these are important goals. In fact, in some cases, these may be more important than more income or more consumption because material goods are not all that you need to live.

Money, or material things that one can buy with it, is one factor on which our life depends. But the quality of our life also depends on non-material things mentioned above. If it is not obvious to you, then just think of the role of your friends in your life. You may desire their friendship. Similarly, there are many things that are not easily measured but they mean a lot to our lives. These are often ignored.

A demonstration meeting against raising the height of Sardar Sarovar Dam on Narmada River

However, it will be wrong to conclude that what cannot be measured is not important.

Consider another example. If you get a job in a far off place, before accepting it you would try to consider many factors, apart from income, such as facilities for your family, working atmosphere, or opportunity to learn. In another case, a job may give you less pay but may offer regular employment that enhances your sense of security. Another job, however, may offer high pay but no job security and also leave no time for your family. This will reduce your sense of security and freedom.

Similarly, for development, people look at a mix of goals. It is true that if women are engaged in paid work, their dignity in the household and society increases. However, it is also the case that if there is respect for women there would be more sharing of housework and a greater acceptance of women working outside. A safe and secure environment may allow more women to take up a variety of jobs or run a business.

Hence, the developmental goals that people have are not only about better income but also about other important things in life.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. Why do different persons have different notions of development? Which of the following explanations is more important and why?
   (a) Because people are different.
   (b) Because life situations of persons are different.
2. Do the following two statements mean the same? Justify your answer.
   (a) People have different developmental goals.
   (b) People have conflicting developmental goals.
3. Give some examples where factors other than income are important aspects of our lives.
4. Explain some of the important ideas of the above section in your own words.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

If, as we have seen above, individuals seek different goals, then their notion of national development is also likely to be different. Discuss among yourselves on what India should do for development.

Most likely, you would find that different students in the class have given different answers to the above question. In fact, you might yourself think of many different answers and not be too sure of any of these. **It is very important to keep in mind that different persons could have different as well as conflicting notions of a country's development.**

However, can all the ideas be considered equally important? Or, if there are conflicts how does one decide? What would be a fair and just path for all? We also have to think whether there is a better way of doing things. Would the idea benefit a large number of people or only a small group? National development means thinking about these questions.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

Discuss the following situations:

1. Look at the picture on the right. What should be the developmental goals for such an area?

2. Read this newspaper report and answer the questions that follow:

> A vessel dumped 500 tonnes of liquid toxic wastes into open-air dumps in a city and in the surrounding sea. This happened in a city called Abidjan in Ivory Coast, a country in Africa. The fumes from the highly toxic waste caused nausea, skin rashes, fainting, diarrhoea etc. After a month seven persons were dead, twenty in hospital and twenty six thousand treated for symptoms of poisoning.
>
> A multinational company dealing in petroleum and metals had contracted a local company of the Ivory Coast to dispose the toxic waste from its ship.

   (i) Who are the people who benefited and who did not?

   (ii) What should be the developmental goal for this country?

3. What can be some of the developmental goals for your village, town or locality?

ACTIVITY 1

If even the idea of what constitutes development can be varied and conflicting, then certainly there can be differences about ways of developing. If you know of any such controversy, try to find out arguments advanced by different people. You may do so by talking to different persons or you may find it from newspapers and television.

HOW TO COMPARE DIFFERENT COUNTRIES OR STATES?

You might ask — if development can mean different things, how come some countries are generally called developed and others under-developed? Before we come to this, let us consider another question.

When we compare different things, they could have similarities as well as differences. Which aspects do we use to compare them? Let us look at students in the class itself. How do we compare different students? They differ in their height, health, talents and interests. The healthiest student may not be the most studious one. The most intelligent student may not be the friendliest one. So, how do we compare students? The criterion we may use depends on the purpose of comparison. We use different criterion to choose a sports team, a debate team, a music team or a team to organise a picnic. Still, if for some purpose, we have to choose the criterion for the all-round progress of children in the class, how shall we do it?

Usually we take one or more important characteristics of persons and compare them based on these characteristics. Of course, there can be differences about what are important characteristics that should form the basis of comparison: friendliness and spirit of cooperation, creativity or marks secured?

This is true of development too. **For comparing countries, their income is considered to be one of the most important attributes.** Countries with higher income are more developed than others with less income. This is based on the understanding that more income means more of all things that human beings need. Whatever people like, and should have, they will be able to get with greater income. So, greater income itself is considered to be one important goal.

Now, what is the income of a country? Intuitively, the income of the country is the income of all the residents of the country. This gives us the total income of the country.

However, for comparison between countries, total income is not such an useful measure. Since, countries have different populations, comparing total income will not tell us what an average person is likely to earn. Are people in one country better off than others in a different country? Hence, we compare the **average income** which is the total income of the country divided by its total population. The average income is also called **per capita income.**

In World Development Report 2006, brought out by the World Bank, this criterion is used in classifying countries. Countries with per capita income of Rs 4,53,000 per annum and above in 2004, are called rich countries and those with per capita income of Rs 37,000 or less are called low-income countries. India comes in the category of low-income countries because its per capita income in 2004 was just Rs 28,000 per annum. The rich countries, excluding countries of Middle East and certain other small countries, are generally called developed countries.

Average Income

While 'averages' are useful for comparison, they also hide disparities.

For example, let us consider two countries, A and B. For the sake of simplicity, we have assumed that they have only five citizens each. ***Based on data given in Table 1.2, calculate the average income for both the countries.***

TABLE 1.2 COMPARISON OF TWO COUNTRIES

Country	Monthly incomes of citizens in 2007 (in Rupees)					
	I	II	III	IV	V	Average
Country A	9500	10500	9800	10000	10200	
Country B	500	500	500	500	48000	

Will you be equally happy to live in both these countries? Are both equally developed? Perhaps some of us may like to live in country B if we are assured of being its fifth citizen but if it is a lottery that decides our citizenship number then perhaps most of us will prefer to live in country A. Even though both the countries have identical average income, country A is preferred because it has more equitable distribution. In this country people are neither very rich nor extremely poor. On the other hand most citizens in country B are poor and one person is extremely rich. Hence, while average income is useful for comparison it does not tell us how this income is distributed among people.

COUNTRY WITH NO RICH AND NO POOR

COUNTRY WITH RICH AND POOR

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. Give three examples where an average is used for comparing situations.
2. Why do you think average income is an important criterion for development? Explain.
3. Besides size of per capita income, what other property of income is important in comparing two or more societies?
4. Suppose records show that the average income in a country has been increasing over a period of time. From this, can we conclude that all sections of the economy have become better? Illustrate your answer with an example.
5. From the text, find out the per capita income level of middle-income countries as per WDR 2006.
6. Write a paragraph on your notion of what should India do, or achieve, to become a developed country.

INCOME AND OTHER CRITERIA

When we looked at individual aspirations and goals, we found that people not only think of better income but also have goals such as security, respect for others, equal treatment, freedom etc. in mind. Similarly, when we think of a nation or a region, we may, besides average income, think of other equally important attributes.

TABLE 1.3 PER CAPITA INCOME OF SELECT STATES

State	Per Capita Income for 2002-03 (in Rs)
Punjab	26000
Kerala	22800
Bihar	5700

What could these attributes be? Let us examine this through an example. Table 1.3 gives the per capita income of Punjab, Kerala and Bihar. Actually, these figures are of Per Capita Net State Domestic Product at Current Prices for 2002-03. Let us ignore what this complicated term exactly means. Roughly we can take it to be per capita income of the state. We find that of the three, Punjab has the highest per capita income and Bihar is at the bottom. This means that, on an average, a person in Punjab earned Rs 26,000 in one year whereas, on an average, a person in Bihar would earn only around Rs 5,500. So, if per capita income were to be used as the measure of development, Punjab will be considered the most developed and Bihar the least developed state of the three. Now, let us look at certain other data pertaining to these states given in Table 1.4.

TABLE 1.4 SOME COMPARATIVE DATA ON PUNJAB, KERALA AND BIHAR

State	Infant Mortality Rate per 1,000 (2003)	Literacy Rate (%) (2001)	Net Attendance Ratio for Class I-V (1995-96)
Punjab	49	70	81
Kerala	11	91	91
Bihar	60	47	41

Explanation of some of the terms used in this table:

Infant Mortality Rate *(or* ***IMR****) indicates the number of children that die before the age of one year as a proportion of 1000 live children born in that particular year.*

Literacy Rate *measures the proportion of literate population in the 7 and above age group.*

Net Attendance Ratio *is the total number of children of age group 6-10 attending school as a percentage of total number of children in the same age group.*

What does this table show? The first column of the table shows that in Kerala, out of 1000 children born alive 11 died before completing one year of age but in Punjab the proportion of children dying within one year of birth is 49, which is nearly five times more. On the other hand, the per capita income of Punjab is much more than Kerala as shown in Table 1.3. Just think of how dear you are to your parents, think of how every one is so happy when a child is born. Now, try to think of parents whose children die before they even celebrate their first birthday. How painful it must be to these parents? Next, note the year to which this data pertains. It is 2003. So we are not talking of old times; it is 56 years after independence when our metro towns are full of high-rise buildings and shopping malls!

The problem does not end with Infant Mortality Rate. The last column shows that more that half of the children in Bihar do not even get to go to school. This means that if you went to school in Bihar more than half of your class would be missing. Those who could have been in school are not there! If this had happened to you, you would not be able to read what you are reading now.

Most babies do not get basic health care

PUBLIC FACILITIES

How is it that the average person in Punjab has more income than the average person in Kerala but lags behind in these crucial areas? The reason is — **money in your pocket cannot buy all the goods and services that you may need to live well.** So, income by itself is not a completely adequate indicator of material goods and services that citizens are able to use. For example, normally, your money cannot buy you a pollution-free environment or ensure that you get unadulterated medicines, unless you can afford to shift to a community that already has all these things. Money may also not be able to protect you from infectious diseases, unless the whole of your community takes preventive steps.

Actually for many of the important things in life the best way, also the cheapest way, is to provide these goods and services collectively. Just think – will it be cheaper to have collective security for the whole locality or for each house to have its own security man? What if no one, other than you, in your village or locality is interested in studying? Would you be able to study? Not unless your parents could afford to send you to some private school elsewhere. So you are actually able to study because many other children also want to study and because many people believe that the government should open schools and provide other facilities so that all children have a chance to study. Even now, in many areas, children, particularly girls, are not able to achieve secondary level schooling because government/society has not provided adequate facilities.

Kerala has a low Infant Mortality Rate because it has adequate provision of basic health and educational facilities. Similarly, in some states, the Public Distribution System (PDS) functions well. If some PDS shop, i.e. ration shop, does not function properly in such places, the people there are able to get the problem rectified. Health and nutritional status of people of such states is certainly likely to be better.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. Look at data in Table 1.3 and 1.4. Is Punjab ahead of Bihar in literacy rate etc. as it is in terms of per capita income?
2. Think of other examples where collective provision of goods and services is cheaper than individual provision.
3. Does availability of good health and educational facilities depend only on amount of money spent by the government on these facilities? What other factors could be relevant?
4. In Tamil Nadu, 75 per cent of the people living in rural areas use a ration shop, whereas in Jharkhand only 8 per cent of rural people do so. Where would people be better off and why?

ACTIVITY 2

Study Table 1.5 carefully and fill in the blanks in the following paragraphs. For this, you may need to make calculations based on the table.

TABLE 1.5 EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF RURAL POPULATION OF UTTAR PRADESH

Category	Male	Female
Literacy rate for rural population	52%	19%
Literacy rate for children in age group 10-14 years	68%	39%
Percentage of rural children aged 10-14 attending school	64%	31%

(a) The literacy rate for all age groups, including young and old, is _____ for rural males and _____ for rural females. However, it is not just that these many adults could not attend school but that there are _____ who are currently not in school.

(b) It is clear from the table that _____ % of rural girls and _____% of rural boys are not attending school. Therefore, illiteracy among children in the age group 10-14 is as high as _____% for rural females and _____% for rural males.

(c) This high level of illiteracy among _____ age group, even after more than 60 years of our independence, is most disturbing. In many other states also we are nowhere near realisation of the constitutional goal of free and compulsory education for all children up to the age of 14, which was expected to be achieved by 1960.

ACTIVITY 3

One way to find out if adults are undernourished is to calculate what nutrition scientists call Body Mass Index (BMI). This is easy to calculate. Take the weight of the person in kg. Then take the height in metres. Divide the weight by the square of the height. If this figure is less than 18.5 then the person would be considered undernourished. However, if this BMI is more than 25, then a person is overweight. *Do remember that this criterion is not applicable to growing children.*

Let each student in a class find out the weight and height of three adult persons of different economic backgrounds such as construction workers, domestic servants, office workers, business-persons etc. Collect the data from all the students and make a combined table. Calculate their BMI. Do you find any relationship between economic background of person and her/his nutritional status?

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT

Once it is realised that even though the level of income is important, yet it is an inadequate measure of the level of development, we begin to think of other criterion. There could be a long list of such criterion but then it would not be so useful. What we need is a small number of the most important things. Health and education indicators, such as the ones we used in comparison of Kerala and Punjab, are among them. Over the past decade or so, health and education indicators have come to be widely used along with income as a measure of development. For instance, ***Human Development Report*** *published by UNDP compares countries based on the educational levels of the people, their health status and per capita income. It would be interesting to look at certain relevant data regarding India and its neighbours from Human Development Report 2006.*

TABLE 1.6 SOME DATA REGARDING INDIA AND ITS NEIGHBOURS FOR 2004

Country	Per Capita Income in US$	Life expectancy at birth	Literacy rate for 15+ yrs population	Gross enrolment ratio for three levels	HDI rank in the world
Sri Lanka	4390	74	91	69	93
India	**3139**	**64**	**61**	**60**	**126**
Myanmar	1027	61	90	48	130
Pakistan	2225	63	50	35	134
Nepal	1490	62	50	61	138
Bangladesh	1870	63	41	53	137

NOTES

1. *HDI stands for Human Development Index. HDI ranks in above table are out of 177 countries in all.*
2. *Life expectancy at birth denotes, as the name suggests, average expected length of life of a person at the time of birth.*
3. *Gross Enrolment Ratio for three levels means enrolment ratio for primary school, secondary school and higher education beyond secondary school.*
4. *Per Capita Income is calculated in dollars for all countries so that it can be compared. It is also done in a way so that every dollar would buy the same amount of goods and services in any country.*

Isn't it surprising that a small country in our neighbourhood, Sri Lanka, is much ahead of India in every respect and a big country like ours has such a low rank in the world? Table 1.6 also shows that though Nepal has half the per capita income of India, yet it is not far behind India in life expectancy and literacy levels.

Many improvements have been suggested in calculating HDI and many new components have been added to the Human Development Report but, by pre-fixing Human to Development, it has made it very clear that what is important in development is what is happening to citizens of a country. It is people, their health, their well being, that is most important.

Do you think there are certain other aspects that should be considered in measuring human development?

SUSTAINABILITY OF DEVELOPMENT

Whichever way we define development, suppose for the present that a particular country is quite developed. We would certainly like this level of development to go up further or at least be maintained for future generations. This is obviously desirable. However, since the second half of the twentieth century, a number of scientists have been warning that the present type, and levels, of development are not sustainable.

> *"We have not inherited the world from our forefathers — we have borrowed it from our children."*

LET'S UNDERSTAND WHY THIS IS SO THROUGH THE FOLLOWING EXAMPLE:

Example 1: Groundwater in India

"Recent evidence suggests that the groundwater is under serious threat of overuse in many parts of the country. About 300 districts have reported a water level decline of over 4 metres during the past 20 years. Nearly one-third of the country is overusing their groundwater reserves. In another 25 years, 60 per cent of the country would be doing the same if the present way of using this resource continues. Groundwater overuse is particularly found in the agriculturally prosperous regions of Punjab and Western U.P., hard rock plateau areas of central and south India, some coastal areas and the rapidly growing urban settlements."

(a) Why ground water is overused?

(b) Can there be development without overuse?

Groundwater is an example of renewable resources. These resources are replenished by nature as in the case of crops and plants. However, even these resources may be overused. For example, in the case of groundwater, if we use more than what is being replenished by rain then we would be overusing this resource.

Non-renewable resources are those which will get exhausted after years of use. We have a fixed stock on earth which cannot be replenished. We do discover new resources that we did not know of earlier. New sources in this way add to the stock. However, over time, even this will get exhausted.

FOR EXAMPLE, CRUDE OIL THAT WE EXTRACT FROM THE EARTH IS A NON-RENEWABLE RESOURCE. HOWEVER WE MAY FIND A SOURCE OF OIL THAT WE DID NOT KNOW OF EARLIER. EXPLORATIONS ARE BEING UNDERTAKEN ALL THE TIME.

Example 2: Exhaustion of Natural Resources

Look at the following data for crude oil.

TABLE 1.7 CRUDE OIL RESERVES

Region/Country	Reserves (Billion Tonnes)	Number of Years Reserves will last
Middle East	89	93
United States of America	4	10
World	137	43

The table gives an estimate of reserves of crude oil (column1). More important, it also tells us for how many years the stock of crude oil will last if people continue to extract it at the present rate. The reserves would last only 43 years more. This is for the world as a whole. However, different countries face different situations. Countries like India depend on importing oil from abroad because they do not have enough stocks of their own. If prices of oil increase this becomes a burden for everyone. There are countries like USA which have low reserves and hence want to secure oil through military or economic power.

The question of sustainability of development raises many fundamentally new issues about the nature and process of development.

(a) Is crude oil essential for the development process in a country? Discuss.

(b) India has to import crude oil. What problems do you anticipate for the country looking at the above situation?

Consequences of environmental degradation do not respect national or state boundaries; this issue is no longer region or nation specific. Our future is linked together. Sustainability of development is comparatively a new area of knowledge in which scientists, economists, philosophers and other social scientists are working together.

In general, the question of development or progress is perennial. At all times as a member of society and as individuals we need to ask where we want to go, what we wish to become and what our goals are. So the debate on development continues.

EXERCISES

1. Development of a country can generally be determined by
   (i) its per capita income
   (ii) its average literacy level
   (iii) health status of its people
   (iv) all the above
2. Which of the following neighbouring countries has better performance in terms of human development than India?
   (i) Bangladesh
   (ii) Sri Lanka
   (iii) Nepal
   (iv) Pakistan
3. Assume there are four families in a country. The average per capita income of these families is Rs 5000. If the income of three families is Rs 4000, Rs 7000 and Rs 3000 respectively, what is the income of the fourth family?
   (i) Rs 7500
   (ii) Rs 3000
   (iii) Rs 2000
   (iv) Rs 6000
4. What is the main criterion used by the World Bank in classifying different countries? What are the limitations of this criterion, if any?
5. In what respects is the criterion used by the UNDP for measuring development different from the one used by the World Bank?
6. Why do we use averages? Are there any limitations to their use? Illustrate with your own examples related to development.
7. Kerala, with lower per capita income has a better human development ranking than Punjab. Hence, per capita income is not a useful criterion at all and should not be used to compare states. Do you agree? Discuss.
8. Find out present sources of energy used by people in India. What could be possibilities fifty years from now?
9. Why is the issue of sustainability important for development?

10. "The Earth has enough resources to meet the needs of all but not enough to satisfy the greed of even one person". How is this statement relevant to the disscusion of development? Discuss.

11. List a few examples of environmental degradation that you may have observed around you.

12. For each of the items given in Table 1.6, find out which country is at the top and which is at the bottom.

13. The following table shows the proportion of undernourished adults in India. It is based on a survey of various states for the year 2001. Look at the table and answer the following questions.

State	Male (%)	Female (%)
Kerala	22	19
Karnataka	36	38
Madhya Pradesh	43	42
All States	**37**	**36**

(i) Compare the nutritional level of people in Kerala and Madhya Pradesh.

(ii) Can you guess why around 40 per cent of people in the country are undernourished even though it is argued that there is enough food in the country? Describe in your own words.

ADDITIONAL PROJECT / ACTIVITY

Invite three different speakers to talk to you about the development of your region. Ask them all the questions that come to your mind. Discuss these ideas in groups. Each group should prepare a wall chart, giving reasons about ideas that you agree or do not agree with.

NOTES FOR THE TEACHER

CHAPTER 2: SECTORS OF THE INDIAN ECONOMY

An economy is best understood when we study its components or sectors. Sectoral classification can be done on the basis of several criteria. In this chapter, three types of classifications are discussed: primary/secondary/tertiary; organised/unorganised; and public/private. You can create a discussion about these types by taking examples familiar to the students and relate them to their daily life. It is important to emphasise the changing roles of sectors. This can be highlighted further by drawing attention of the students to the rapid growth of service sector. While elaborating the ideas provided in the chapter, the students may need to be familiarised with a few fundamental concepts such as Gross Domestic Product, Employment etc. Since the students may find this difficult to understand, it is necessary to explain to them through examples. Several activities and exercises are suggested in the chapter to help the students understand how a person's activity could be placed — whether in the primary, secondary or tertiary, organised or unorganised, and public or private sector. You may encourage the students to talk to various working people around them (such as shop owners, casual workers, vegetable vendors, workshop mechanics, domestic workers etc.) to know more about how they live and work. Based on such information, the students can be encouraged to develop their own classification of economic activities.

Another important issue to be highlighted is about the problems caused by the changes in the roles of sectors. The chapter has taken the example of unemployment and what the government can do to solve it. The declining importance of agriculture and growing importance of industry and services should be related to the experience of the children by taking more examples that they may observe in their day-to-day life. Information derived from the media could be used for this purpose. You may encourage the students to bring important cuttings and stories from newspapers, which could be prominently displayed in storyboards, and encourage the class to discuss these issues. While discussing the unorganised sector, the key issue of protecting the workers engaged in the sector should be highlighted. You may also encourage the students to visit persons and enterprises in the unorganised sector and get a first hand experience from real life situation.

Sources for Information

The GDP data used in this chapter pertaining to Gross Domestic Product at Factor Cost by Industry of Origin at 1993-94 prices is taken from *Economic Survey*. It is a valuable source of GDP and other information relating to the Indian economy. For evaluation purposes, particularly to develop the analytical ability of learners, teachers can refer to *Economic Survey* to get data for different years.

The employment figures are based on data taken from the five-yearly surveys on employment and unemployment conducted by the National Sample Survey Organisation (NSSO). NSSO is an organisation under the Ministry of Statistics, Planning and Programme Implementation, Government of India. The website you can log onto is: *http:/mospi.nic.in.* Employment data is also available from other sources such as Census of India.

CHAPTER 2

SECTORS OF THE INDIAN ECONOMY

SECTORS OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Let us look at these pictures. You will find that people are engaged in various economic activities. Some of these are activities producing goods. Some others are producing services. These activities are happening around us every minute even as we speak. How do we understand these activities? One way of doing this is to group them (classify them) using some important criterion. These groups are also called sectors. There could be several ways of classification depending on the purpose and what one thinks is an important criterion.

We begin by looking at different kind of economic activities.

There are many activities that are undertaken by directly using natural resources. Take, for example, the cultivation of cotton. It takes place within a crop season. For the growth of the cotton plant, we depend **mainly, but not entirely,** on natural factors like rainfall, sunshine and climate. The product of this activity, cotton, is a natural product. Similarly, in the case of an activity like dairy, we are dependent on the biological process of the animals and availability of fodder etc. The product here, milk, also is a natural product. Similarly, minerals and ores are also natural products. When we produce a good by exploiting natural resources, it is an activity of the **primary sector**. Why primary? This is because it forms the base for all other products that we subsequently make. Since most of the natural products we get are from agriculture, dairy, fishing, forestry, this sector is also called **agriculture and related sector**.

The **secondary sector** covers activities in which natural products are changed into other forms through ways of manufacturing that we associate with industrial activity. It is the next step after primary. The product is not produced by nature but has to be made and therefore some process of manufacturing is essential. This could be in a factory, a workshop or at home. For example, using cotton fibre from the plant, we spin yarn and weave cloth. Using sugarcane as a raw material, we make sugar or *gur*. We convert earth into bricks and use bricks to make houses and buildings. Since this sector gradually became associated with the different kinds of industries that came up, it is also called as **industrial** sector.

After primary and secondary, there is a third category of activities that falls under **tertiary sector** and is different from the above two. These are activities that help in the development of the primary and secondary sectors. These activities, by themselves, do not produce a good but they are an aid or a support for the production process. For example, goods that are produced in the primary or secondary sector would need to be transported by trucks or trains and then sold in wholesale and retail shops. At times, it may be necessary to store these in godowns. We also may need to talk to others over telephone or send letters (communication) or borrow money from banks (banking) to help production and trade. Transport, storage, communication, banking, trade are some examples of tertiary activities. Since these activities generate services rather than goods, the tertiary sector is also called the **service sector**.

Service sector also includes some essential services that may not directly help in the production of goods. For example, we require teachers, doctors, and those who provide personal services such as washermen, barbers, cobblers, lawyers, and people to do administrative and accounting works. In recent times, certain new services based on information technology such as internet cafe, ATM booths, call centres, software companies etc have become important.

Economic activities, though, are grouped into three different categories, are highly **interdependent.** Let us look at some examples.

TABLE 2.1 EXAMPLES OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

EXAMPLE	WHAT DOES THIS SHOW?
Imagine what would happen if farmers refuse to sell sugarcane to a particular sugar mill. The mill will have to shut down.	This is an example of the secondary or industrial sector being dependent on the primary.
Imagine what would happen to cotton cultivation if companies decide not to buy from the Indian market and import all cotton they need from other countries. Indian cotton cultivation will become less profitable and the farmers may even go bankrupt, if they cannot quickly switch to other crops. Cotton prices will fall.	
Farmers buy many goods such as tractors, pumpsets, electricity, pesticides and fertilisers. Imagine what would happen if the price of fertilisers or pumpsets go up. Cost of cultivation of the farmers will rise and their profits will be reduced.	
People working in industrial and service sector need food. Imagine what would happen if there is a strike by transporters and lorries refuse to take vegetables, milk, etc. from rural areas. Food will become scarce in urban areas whereas farmers will be unable to sell their products.	

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. Complete the above table to show how sectors are dependent on each other.
2. Explain the difference between primary, secondary and tertiary sectors using examples other than those mentioned in the text.
3. Classify the following list of occupations under primary, secondary and tertiary sectors:
   - Tailor
   - Basket weaver
   - Flower cultivator
   - Milk vendor
   - Fishermen
   - Priest
   - Courier
   - Workers in match factory
   - Money lender
   - Gardener
   - Potter
   - Bee-keeper
   - Astronaut
   - Call centre employee
4. Students in a school are often classified into primary and secondary or junior and senior. What is the criterion that is used? Do you think this is a useful classification? Discuss.

COMPARING THE THREE SECTORS

The various production activities in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors produce a very large number of goods and services. Also, the three sectors have a large number of people working in them to produce these goods and services. The next step, therefore, is to see how much goods and services are produced and how many people work in each sector. In an economy there could be one or more sectors which are dominant in terms of total production and employment, while other sectors are relatively small in size.

How do we count the various goods and services and know the total production in each sector?

With so many thousands of goods and services produced, you might think this is an impossible task! Not only would the task be enormous, you might also wonder how we can add up cars and computers and nails and furniture. It won't make sense!!!

You are right in thinking so. To get around this problem, economists suggest that the values of goods and services should be used rather than adding up the actual numbers. For example, if 10,000 kgs of wheat is sold at Rs 8 per kg, the value of wheat will be Rs 80,000. The value of 5000 coconuts at Rs 10 per piece will be Rs 50,000. Similarly, the value of goods and services in the three sectors are calculated, and then added up.

Remember, there is one precaution one has to take. Not every good (or service) that is produced and sold needs to be counted. It makes sense only to include the **final goods and services**. Take, for instance, a farmer who sells wheat to a flour mill for Rs 8 per kg. The mill grinds the wheat and sells the flour to a biscuit company for Rs 10 per kg. The biscuit company uses the flour and things such as sugar and oil to make four packets of biscuits. It sells biscuits in the market to the consumers for Rs 60 (Rs 15 per packet). Biscuits are the final goods, i.e., goods that reach the consumers.

Why are only 'final goods and services' counted? In contrast to final goods, goods such as wheat and the wheat flour in this example are intermediate goods. Intermediate goods are used up in producing final goods and services. The value of final goods **already includes** the value of all the intermediate goods that are used in making the final good. Hence, the value of Rs 60 for the biscuits (final good) already includes the value of flour (Rs 10). Similarly, the

value of all other intermediate goods would have been included. To count the value of the flour and wheat separately is therefore not correct because then we would be counting the value of the same things a number of times. First as wheat, then as flour and finally as biscuits.

The value of final goods and services produced in each sector during a particular year_provides the total production of the sector for that year. And the sum of production in the three sectors gives what is called the **Gross Domestic Product (GDP)** of a country. It is the value of all final goods and services produced **within a country** during a particular year. GDP shows how big the economy is.

In India, the mammoth task of measuring GDP is undertaken by a central government ministry. This Ministry, with the help of various government departments of all the Indian states and union territories, collects information relating to total volume of goods and services and their prices and then estimates the GDP.

Historical Change in Sectors

Generally, it has been noted from the histories of many, now developed, countries that at initial stages of development, primary sector was the most important sector of economic activity.

As the methods of farming changed and agriculture sector began to prosper, it produced much more food than before. Many people could now take up other activities. There were increasing number of craft-persons and traders. Buying and selling activities increased many times. Besides, there were also transporters, administrators, army etc. However, at this stage, most of the goods produced were natural products from the primary sector and most people were also employed in this sector.

Over a long time (more than hundred years), and especially because new methods of manufacturing were introduced, factories came up and started expanding. Those people who had earlier worked on farms now began to work in factories in large numbers. People began to use many more goods that were produced in factories at cheap rates. Secondary sector gradually became the most important in total production and employment. Hence, over time, a shift had taken place. This means that the importance of the sectors had changed.

In the past 100 years, there has been a further shift from secondary to tertiary sector in developed countries. The service sector has become the most important in terms of total production. Most of the working people are also employed in the service sector. This is the general pattern observed in developed countries.

What is the total production and employment in the three sectors in India? Over the years have there been changes similar to the pattern observed for the developed countries? We shall see in the next section.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. What does the history of developed countries indicate about the shifts that have taken place between sectors?
2. Correct and arrange the important aspects for calculating GDP from this Jumble.

   To count goods and services we add the numbers that are produced. We count all those that was produced in the last five years. Since we shouldn't leave out anything we add up all these goods and services.

PRIMARY, SECONDARY AND TERTIARY SECTORS IN INDIA

Graph 1 shows the production of goods and services in the three sectors. This is shown for two years, 1973 and 2003. You can see how the total production has grown over the thirty years.

Graph 1 : GDP by Primary, Secondary and Tertiary Sectors

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

Answer the following questions by looking at the graph:

1. Which was the largest producing sector in 1973?
2. Which is the largest producing sector in 2003?
3. Can you say which sector has grown the most over thirty years?
4. What was the GDP of India in 2003?

What does the comparison between 1973 and 2003 show? What conclusions can we draw from the comparison? Let's find out.

Rising Importance of the Tertiary Sector in Production

Over the thirty years between 1973 and 2003, while production in all the three sectors has increased, it has increased the most in the tertiary sector. As a result, in the year 2003, the tertiary sector has emerged as the largest producing sector in India replacing the primary sector.

Why is the tertiary sector becoming so important in India? There could be several reasons.

First, in any country several services such as hospitals, educational institutions, post and telegraph services, police stations, courts, village administrative offices, municipal corporations, defence, transport, banks, insurance companies, etc. are required. These can be considered as *basic services*. In a developing country the government has to take responsibility for the provision of these services.

Second, the development of agriculture and industry leads to the development of services such as

transport, trade, storage and the like, as we have already seen. Greater the development of the primary and secondary sectors, more would be the demand for such services.

Third, as income levels rise, certain sections of people start demanding many more services like eating out, tourism, shopping, private hospitals, private schools, professional training etc. You can see this change quite sharply in cities, especially in big cities.

Fourth, over the past decade or so, certain new services such as those based on information and communication technology have become important and essential. The production of these services has been rising rapidly. In Chapter 4, we shall see examples of these new services and the reasons for their expansion.

However, you must remember that not all of the service sector is growing equally well. Service sector in India employs many different kinds of people. At one end there are a limited number of services that employ highly skilled and educated workers. At the other end, there are a very large number of workers engaged in services such as small shopkeepers, repair persons, transport persons, etc. These people barely manage to earn a living and yet they perform these services because no alternative opportunities for work are available to them. Hence, only a part of this sector is growing in importance. You shall read more about this in the next section.

Where are most of the people employed?

Graph 2 presents percentage share of the three sectors in GDP. Now you can directly see the changing importance of the sectors over the thirty years.

A remarkable fact about India is that while there has been a change in the share of the three sectors in GDP, a similar shift has not taken place in employment. Graph 3 shows the share of employment in the three sectors in 1973 and 2000. The primary sector continues to be the largest employer even in the year 2000.

Why didn't a similar shift out of primary sector happen in case of employment? It is because not enough jobs were created in the secondary and tertiary sectors. Even

though industrial output or the production of goods went up by eight times during the period, employment in the industry went up by only 2.5 times. The same applies to tertiary sector as well. While production in the service sector rose by 11 times, employment in the service sector rose less than three times.

As a result, more than half of the workers in the country are working in the primary sector, mainly in agriculture, producing only a quarter of the GDP. In contrast to this, the secondary and tertiary sectors produce three-fourth of the produce whereas they employ less than half the people. Does this mean that the workers in agriculture are not producing as much as they could?

What it means is that there are more people in agriculture than is necessary. So, even if you move a few people out, production will not be affected. In other words, workers in agricultural sector are **under-employed**.

For instance, take the case of a small farmer, Laxmi , owning about two hectares of unirrigated land dependent only on rain and growing crops like *jowar* and *arhar*. All five members of her family work in the plot throughout the year. Why? They have nowhere else to go for work. You will see that everyone is working, none remains idle, but in actual fact their **labour effort** gets divided. Each one is doing some work but no one is fully employed. This is the situation of underemployment, where people are apparently working but all of them are made to work less than their potential. **This kind of underemployment is hidden in contrast to someone who does not have a job and is clearly visible as unemployed. Hence, it is also called disguised unemployment.**

Now, supposing a landlord, Sukhram, comes and hires one or two members of the family to work on his land. Laxmi's family is now able to earn some extra income through wages. Since you do not need five people to look after that small plot, two people moving out does not affect production on their farm. In the above example, two people may move to work in a factory. Once again the earnings of the family would increase and they would also continue to produce as much from their land.

There are lakhs of farmers like Laxmi in India. This means that even if we remove a lot of people from agricultural sector and provide them with proper work elsewhere, agricultural production will not suffer. The incomes of the people who take up other work would increase the total family income.

This underemployment can also happen in other sectors. For example there are thousands of casual workers in the service sector in urban areas who search for daily employment. They are employed as painters, plumbers, repair persons and others doing odd jobs. Many of them don't find work everyday. Similarly, we see other people of the service sector on the street pushing a cart or selling something where **they may spend the whole day but earn very little.** They are doing this work because they do not have better opportunities.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. Complete the table using the data given in Graphs 2 and 3 and answer the question that follows.

TABLE 2.2 SHARE OF PRIMARY SECTOR IN GDP AND EMPLOYMENT

	1973	2000 or 2003
Share in GDP		
Share in employment		

What are the changes that you observe in the primary sector over a span of thirty years?

2. Choose the correct answer:

   Underemployment occurs when people

   (i) do not want to work

   (ii) are working in a lazy manner

   (iii) are working less than what they are capable of doing

   (iv) are not paid for their work

3. Compare and contrast the changes in India with the pattern that was observed for developed countries. What kind of changes between sectors were desired but did not happen in India?

4. Why should we be worried about underemployment?

How to Create More Employment?

From the above discussion, we can see that there continues to be considerable underemployment in agriculture. There are also people who are not employed at all. In what ways can one increase employment for people? Let us look at some of them.

Take the case of Laxmi with her two-hectare plot of un-irrigated land. The government can spend some money or banks can provide a loan, to construct a well for her family to irrigate the land. Laxmi will then be able to irrigate her land and take a second crop, wheat, during the *rabi* season. Let us suppose that one hectare of wheat can provide employment to two people for 50 days (including sowing, watering, fertiliser

application and harvesting). So, two more members of the family can be employed in her own field. Now suppose a new dam is constructed and canals are dug to irrigate many such farms. This could lead to a lot of employment generation within the agricultural sector itself reducing the problem of underemployment.

Now, suppose Laxmi and other farmers produce much more than before. They would also need to sell some of this. For this they may be required to transport their products to a nearby town. If the government invests some money in transportation and storage of crops, or makes better rural roads so that mini-trucks reach everywhere several farmers like Laxmi, who now have access to water, can continue to grow and sell these crops. This activity can provide productive employment to not just farmers but also others such as those in services like transport or trade.

Laxmi's need is not confined to water alone. To cultivate the land, she also needs seeds, fertilisers, agricultural equipments and pumpsets to draw water. Being a poor farmer, she cannot afford many of these. So she will have to borrow money from moneylenders and pay a high rate of interest. If the local bank gives her credit at a reasonable rate of interest, she will be able to buy all these in time and cultivate her land. This means that along with water, we also need to provide cheap agricultural credit to the farmers for farming to improve. We will look at some of these needs in Chapter 3, Money and Credit.

Gur Making in Haryana

Another way by which we can tackle this problem is to identify, promote and locate industries and services in semi-rural areas where a large number of people may be employed. For instance, suppose many farmers decide to grow *arhar* and chickpea (pulse crops). Setting up a *dal* mill to procure and process these and sell in the cities is one such example. Opening a cold storage could give an opportunity for farmers to store their products like potatoes and onions and sell them when the price is good. In villages near forest areas, we can start honey collection centres where farmers can come and sell wild honey. It is also possible to set up industries that process vegetables and agricultural produce like potato, sweet potato, rice, wheat, tomato, fruits, which can be sold in outside markets. This will provide employment in industries located in semi-rural areas and not necessarily in large urban centres.

What groups of people do you think are unemployed or underemployed in your area? Can you think of some measures that could be taken up for them?

Do you know that in India there are about 200 million children in the school-going age group? Out of this, only about two-thirds are attending

schools. The rest are not— they may be at home or many of them may be working as child labourers. If these children are to attend schools, we will require more buildings, more teachers and other staff. A study conducted by the Planning Commission estimates that nearly 20 lakh jobs can be created in the education sector alone. Similarly, if we are to improve the health situation, we need many more doctors, nurses, health workers etc. to work in rural areas. These are some ways by which jobs would be created and we would also be able to address the important aspects of development talked about in Chapter 1.

Every state or region has potential for increasing the income and employment for people in that area. It could be tourism, or regional craft industry, or new services like IT. Some of these would require proper planning and support from the government. For example, the same study by the Planning Commission says that if tourism as a sector is improved, every year we can give additional employment to more than 35 lakh people.

We must realise that some of the suggestions discussed above would take a long time to implement. For the short-term, we need some quick measures. Recognising this, the central government in India recently made a law implementing the **Right to Work** in 200 districts of India. It is called **National Rural Employment Guarantee Act 2005 (NREGA 2005)**. Under NREGA 2005, all those who are able to, and are in need of, work have been guaranteed 100 days of employment in a year by the government. If the government fails in its duty to provide employment, it will give unemployment allowances to the people. The types of work that would in future help to increase the production from land will be given preference under the Act.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. Why do you think NREGA 2005 is referred to as ' Right to work' ?
2. Imagine that you are the village head. In that capacity suggest some activities that you think should be taken up under this Act that would also increase the income of people? Discuss.
3. How would income and employment increase if farmers were provided with irrigation and marketing facilities?
4. In what ways can employment be increased in urban areas?

DIVISION OF SECTORS AS ORGANISED AND UNORGANISED

Let us examine another way of classifying activities in the economy. This looks at the way people are employed. What are their conditions of work? Are there any rules and regulations that are followed as regards their employment?

Kanta

Kanta works in an office. She attends her office from 9.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. She gets her salary regularly at the end of every month. In addition to the salary, she also gets provident fund as per the rules laid down by the government. She also gets medical and other allowances. Kanta does not go to office on Sundays. This is a paid holiday. When she joined work, she was given an appointment letter stating all the terms and conditions of work.

Kamal

Kamal is Kanta's neighbour. He is a daily wage labourer in a nearby grocery shop. He goes to the shop at 7:30 in the morning and works till 8:00 p.m. in the evening. He gets no other allowances apart from his wages. He is not paid for the days he does not work. He has therefore no leave or paid holidays. Nor was he given any formal letter saying that he has been employed in the shop. He can be asked to leave anytime by his employer.

Do you see the differences in the conditions of work between Kanta and Kamal?

Kanta works in the **organised** sector. Organised sector covers those enterprises or places of work where the terms of employment are regular and therefore, people have assured work. They are registered by the government and have to follow its rules and regulations which are given in various laws such as the Factories Act, Minimum Wages Act, Payment of Gratuity Act, Shops and Establishments Act etc. It is called organised because it has some formal processes and procedures. Some of these people may not be employed by anyone but may work on their own but they too have to register themselves with the government and follow the rules and regulations.

Workers in the organised sector enjoy security of employment. They are expected to work only a fixed number of hours. If they work more, they have to be paid overtime by the employer. They also get several other benefits from the employers. What are

these benefits? They get paid leave, payment during holidays, provident fund, gratuity etc. They are supposed to get medical benefits and, under the laws, the factory manager has to ensure facilities like drinking water and a safe working environment. When they retire, these workers get pensions as well.

In contrast, Kamal works in the unorganised sector. The **unorganised sector** is characterised by small and scattered units which are largely outside the control of the government. There are rules and regulations but these are not followed. Jobs here are low-paid and often not regular. There is no provision for overtime, paid leave, holidays, leave due to sickness etc. Employment is not secure. People can be asked to leave without any reason. When there is less work, such as during some seasons, some people may be asked to leave. A lot also depends on the whims of the employer. This sector includes a large number of people who are employed on their own doing small jobs such as selling on the street or doing repair work. Similarly, farmers work on their own and hire labourers as and when they require.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. Look at the following examples. Which of these are unorganised sector activities?
   - (i) A teacher taking classes in a school
   - (ii) A headload worker carrying a bag of cement on his back in a market
   - (iii) A farmer irrigating her field
   - (iv) A doctor in a hospital treating a patient
   - (v) A daily wage labourer working under a contractor
   - (vi) A factory worker going to work in a big factory
   - (vii) A handloom weaver working in her house
2. Talk to someone who has a regular job in the organised sector and another who works in the unorganised sector. Compare and contrast their working conditions in all aspects.
3. How would you distinguish between organised and unorganised sectors? Explain in your own words.
4. The table below shows the estimated number of workers in India in the organised and unorganised sectors. Read the table carefully. Fill in the missing data and answer the questions that follow.

TABLE 2.3 WORKERS IN DIFFERENT SECTORS (IN MILLIONS)

Sector	Organised	Unorganised	Total
Primary	2		242
Secondary	9	54	63
Tertiary	17	76	93
Total	**28**		
Total in Percentage			**100%**

- What is the percentage of people in the unorganised sector in agriculture?
- Do you agree that agriculture is an unorganised sector activity? Why?
- If we look at the country as a whole, we find that ———% of the workers in India are in the unorganised sector. Organised sector employment is available to only about ———% of the workers in India.

How to Protect Workers in the Unorganised Sector?

The organised sector offers jobs that are the most sought-after. But the employment opportunities in the organised sector have been expanding very slowly. It is also common to find many organised sector enterprises in the unorganised sector. They adopt such strategies to evade taxes and refuse to follow laws that protect labourers. As a result, a large number of workers are forced to enter the unorganised sector jobs, which pay a very low salary. They are often exploited and not paid a fair wage. Their earnings are low and not regular. These jobs are not secure and have no other benefits.

Since the 1990s, it is also common to see a large number of workers losing their jobs in the organised sector. These workers are forced to take up jobs in the unorganised sector with low earnings. Hence, besides the need for more work, there is also a need for protection and support of the workers in the unorganised sector.

Who are these vulnerable people who need protection? In the rural areas, the unorganised sector mostly comprises of landless agricultural labourers, small and marginal farmers, sharecroppers and artisans (such as weavers, blacksmiths, carpenters and goldsmiths). Nearly 80 per cent of rural households in India are in small and marginal farmer category. These farmers need to be supported through adequate facility for timely delivery of seeds, agricultural inputs, credit, storage facilities and marketing outlets.

In the urban areas, unorganised sector comprises mainly of workers in small-scale industry, casual workers in construction, trade and transport etc., and those who work as street vendors, head load workers, garment makers, rag pickers etc. Small-scale industry also needs government's support for procuring raw material and marketing of output. The casual workers in both rural and urban areas need to be protected.

We also find that majority of workers from scheduled castes, tribes and backward communities find themselves in the unorganised sector. Besides getting the irregular and low paid work, these workers also face social discrimination. Protection and support to the unorganised sector workers is thus necessary for both economic and social development.

When factories close down, many once regular workers are found selling goods or pushing a cart or doing some other odd job

LET'S RECALL

With so many activities taking place around us, one needs to use the process of classification to think in a useful manner. The criterion for classification could be many depending on what we desire to find out. The process of classification helps to analyse a situation.

In dividing the economic activities into three sectors — primary, secondary, tertiary — the criterion used was the 'nature of activity'. On the basis of this classification, we were able to analyse the pattern of total production and employment in India. Similarly, we divided the economic activities into organised and unorganised and used the classification to look at employment in the two sectors.

What was the most important conclusion that was derived from the classification exercises? What were the problems and solutions that were indicated? Can you summarise the information in the following table?

TABLE 2.4 CLASSIFYING ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Sector	Criteria used	Most important conclusion	Problems indicated and how they can be tackled
Primary, Secondary, Tertiary	Nature of activity		
Organised, Unorganised			

SECTORS IN TERMS OF OWNERSHIP: PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS

Another way of classifying economic activities into sectors could be on the basis of who owns assets and is responsible for the delivery of services. In the **public** sector, the government owns most of the assets and provides all the services. In the **private** sector, ownership of assets and delivery of services is in the hands of private individuals or companies. Railways or post office is an example of the public sector whereas companies like Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited (TISCO) or Reliance Industries Limited (RIL) are privately owned.

Activities in the private sector are guided by the motive to earn profits. To get such services we have to pay money to these individuals and companies. The purpose of the public sector is not just to earn profits. Governments raise money through taxes and other ways to meet expenses on the services rendered by it. Modern day governments spend on a whole range of activities. What are these activities? Why do governments spend on such activities? Let's find out.

There are several things needed by the society as a whole but **which the private sector will not provide at a reasonable cost.** Why? Some of these need spending large sums of money, which is beyond the capacity

of the private sector. Also, collecting money from thousands of people who use these facilities is not easy. Even if they do provide these things they would charge a high rate for their use. Examples are construction of roads, bridges, railways, harbours, generating electricity, providing irrigation through dams etc. Thus, governments have to undertake such heavy spending and ensure that these facilities are available for everyone.

There are some activities, **which the government has to support**. The private sector may not continue their production or business unless government encourages it. For example, selling electricity at the cost of generation may push up the costs of production of industries. Many units, especially small-scale units, might have to shut down. Government here steps in by producing and supplying electricity at rates which these industries can afford. Government has to bear part of the cost.

Similarly, the government in India buys wheat and rice from farmers at a 'fair price'. This it stores in its godowns and sells at a lower price to consumers through ration shops. You have read about this in the chapter on Food Security in Class IX. The government has to bear some of the cost. In this way, the government supports both farmers and consumers.

There are a large number of activities which are the primary responsibility of the government. **The government must spend on these.** Providing health and education facilities for all is one example. We have discussed some of these issues in the first chapter. Running proper schools and providing quality education, particularly elementary education, is the duty of the government. India's size of illiterate population is one of the largest in the world.

Similarly, we know that nearly half of India's children are malnourished and a quarter of them are critically ill. We have read about Infant Mortality Rates. The infant mortality rate of Orissa (87) or Madhya Pradesh (85) is higher than that of the poorest regions of the world such as the African countries. Government also needs to pay attention to aspects of human development such as availability of safe drinking water, housing facilities for the poor and food and nutrition. It is also the duty of the government to take care of the poorest and most ignored regions of the country through increased spending in such areas.

SUMMING UP

In this chapter we have looked at ways of classifying economic activities into some meaningful groups. One way of doing this is to examine whether the activity relates to the primary, secondary or tertiary sectors. The data for India, for the last thirty years, shows that while goods and services produced in the tertiary sector contribute the most to GDP, the employment remains in the primary sector. We have also seen what all can be done for increasing employment opportunities in the country. Another classification is to consider whether people are working in organised or unorganised sectors. Most people are working in the unorganised sectors and protection is necessary for them. We also looked at the difference between private and public activities, and why it is important for public activities to focus on certain areas.

EXERCISES

1. Fill in the blanks using the correct option given in the bracket:

   (i) Employment in the service sector _____ increased to the same extent as production. (has / has not)

   (ii) Workers in the _____ sector do not produce goods. (tertiary / agricultural)

   (iii) Most of the workers in the _____ sector enjoy job security. (organised / unorganised)

   (iv) A _____ proportion of labourers in India are working in the unorganised sector. (large / small)

   (v) Cotton is a _____ product and cloth is a _____ product. [natural /manufactured]

   (vi) The activities in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors are_____ [independent / interdependent]

2. Choose the most appropriate answer.

   (a) The sectors are classified into public and private sector on the basis of:

      (i) employment conditions

      (ii) the nature of economic activity

      (iii) ownership of enterprises

      (iv) number of workers employed in the enterprise

   (b) Production of a commodity, mostly through the natural process, is an activity in _____ sector.

      (i) primary

      (ii) secondary

      (iii) tertiary

      (iv) information technology

   (c) GDP is the total value of _____ produced during a particular year.

      (i) all goods and services

      (ii) all final goods and services

      (iii) all intermediate goods and services

      (iv) all intermediate and final goods and services

   (d) In terms of GDP the share of tertiary sector in 2003 is _____

      (i) between 20 per cent to 30 per cent

      (ii) between 30 per cent to 40 per cent

      (iii) between 50 per cent to 60 per cent

      (iv) 70 per cent

3. Match the following:

Problems faced by farming sector	Some possible measures
1. Unirrigated land	(a) Setting up agro-based mills
2. Low prices for crops	(b) Cooperative marketing societies
3. Debt burden	(c) Procurement of food grains by government
4. No job in the off season	(d) Construction of canals by the government
5. Compelled to sell their grains to the local traders soon after harvest	(e) Banks to provide credit with low interest

4. Find the odd one out and say why.
   (i) Tourist guide, dhobi, tailor, potter
   (ii) Teacher, doctor, vegetable vendor, lawyer
   (iii) Postman, cobbler, soldier, police constable
   (iv) MTNL, Indian Railways, Air India, SAHARA Airlines, All India Radio

5. A research scholar looked at the working people in the city of Surat and found the following.

Place of work	Nature of employment	Percentage of working people
In offices and factories registered with the government	Organised	15
Own shops, office, clinics in marketplaces with formal license		15
People working on the street, construction workers, domestic workers		20
Working in small workshops usually not registered with the government		

Complete the table. What is the percentage of workers in the unorganised sector in this city?

6. Do you think the classification of economic activities into primary, secondary and tertiary is useful? Explain how.
7. For each of the sectors that we came across in this chapter why should one focus on employment and GDP? Could there be other issues which should be examined? Discuss.
8. Make a long list of all kinds of work that you find adults around you doing for a living. In what way can you classify them? Explain your choice.
9. How is the tertiary sector different from other sectors? Illustrate with a few examples.
10. What do you understand by disguised unemployment? Explain with an example each from the urban and rural areas.
11. Distinguish between open unemployment and disguised unemployment.
12. "Tertiary sector is not playing any significant role in the development of Indian economy." Do you agree? Give reasons in support of your answer.

13. Service sector in India employs two different kinds of people. Who are these?

14. Workers are exploited in the unorganised sector. Do you agree with this view? Give reasons in support of your answer.

15. How are the activities in the economy classified on the basis of employment conditions?

16. Compare the employment conditions prevailing in the organised and unorganised sectors.

17. Explain the objective of implementing the NREGA 2005.

18. Using examples from your area compare and contrast that activities and functions of private and public sectors.

19. Discuss and fill the following table giving one example each from your area.

	Well managed organisation	**Badly managed organisation**
Public sector		
Private Sector		

20. Give a few examples of public sector activities and explain why the government has taken them up.

21. Explain how public sector contributes to the economic development of a nation.

22. The workers in the unorganised sector need protection on the following issues : wages, safety and health. Explain with examples.

23. A study in Ahmedabad found that out of 15,00,000 workers in the city, 11,00,000 worked in the unorganised sector. The total income of the city in this year (1997-1998) was Rs 60,000 million. Out of this Rs 32,000 million was generated in the organised sector. Present this data as a table. What kind of ways should be thought of for generating more employment in the city?

24. The following table gives the GDP in Rupees (Crores) by the three sectors:

Year	**primary**	**secondary**	**tertiary**
1950	80,000	19,000	39,000
2000	3,14,000	2,80,000	5,55,000

(i) Calculate the share of the three sectors in GDP for 1950 and 2000.

(ii) Show the data as a bar diagram similar to Graph 2 in the chapter.

(iii) What conclusions can we draw from the bar graph?

NOTES FOR THE TEACHER

CHAPTER 3 : MONEY AND CREDIT

Money is a fascinating subject and full of curiosities. It is important to capture this element for the students. The history of money and how various forms were used at different times is an interesting story. At this stage the purpose is to allow students to realise the social situation in which these forms were used. Modern forms of money are linked to the banking system. This is the central idea of the first part of the chapter.

The present situation in India, where newer forms of money are slowly spreading with computerisation of the banking system, offers many opportunities to students to explore on their own. We need not get into a formal discussion of the 'functions of money' but let it come up as questions. There are certain areas that are not covered such as 'creation of money' (money multiplier) or the backing of the modern system that may be discussed if you desire.

Credit is a crucial element in economic life and it is therefore important to first understand this in a conceptual manner. What are the aspects that one looks at in any credit arrangement and how this affects people is the main focus of the second part of the chapter. The world around us offers a tremendous variety of such arrangements and it would be ideal to explain these aspects of credit from situations that are familiar to your students. The other crucial issue of credit is its availability to all, especially the poor, and on reasonable terms. We need to emphasise that this is a right of the people and without which a large section of them would be kept out of the development process. There are many innovative interventions, such as that of Grameen Bank, that students may be made familiar with but it is important to realise that we don't have answers to all questions. We need to find new ways and this is one of the social challenges that developing countries face.

Sources for Information

The data on formal and informal sector credit used in this chapter is drawn from the survey on rural debt by the National Sample Survey Organisation *(All India Debt and Investment Survey, 2003,* conducted by NSSO, Report No. 501, December 2005*)*. The information and data on Grameen Bank is taken from newspaper reports and websites. In order to get the details of bank-related statistics or a particular detail of a bank, you can log on to the websites of Reserve Bank of India *(www.rbi.org)* and the concerned banks. Data on self-help groups is provided on the website of National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) *(www.nabard.org)*.

CHAPTER 3

MONEY AND CREDIT

MONEY AS A MEDIUM OF EXCHANGE

The use of money spans a very large part of our everyday life. Look around you and you would easily be able to identify several transactions involving money in any single day. Can you make a list of these? In many of these transactions, goods are being bought and sold with the use of money. In some of these transactions, services are being exchanged with money. For some, there might not be any actual transfer of money taking place now but a promise to pay money later.

Have you ever wondered why transactions are made in money? The reason is simple. A person holding money can easily exchange it for any commodity or service that he or she might want. Thus everyone prefers to receive payments in money and then exchange the money for things that they want. Take the case of a shoe manufacturer. He wants to sell shoes in the market and buy wheat. The shoe manufacturer will first exchange shoes that he has produced for money, and then exchange the money for wheat. Imagine how much more difficult it would be if the shoe manufacturer had to directly exchange shoes for wheat without the use of money. He would have to look for a wheat growing farmer who not only wants to sell wheat but also wants to buy the shoes in exchange. That is, both parties have to agree to sell and buy each others commodities. This is known as **double coincidence of wants.** What a person desires to sell is exactly what the other wishes to buy. In a barter system where goods are directly exchanged without the use of money, double coincidence of wants is an essential feature.

In contrast, in an economy where money is in use, money by providing the crucial intermediate step eliminates the need for double coincidence of wants. It is no longer necessary for the shoe manufacturer to look for a farmer who will buy his shoes and at the same time sell him

wheat. All he has to do is find a buyer for his shoes. Once he has exchanged his shoes for money, he can purchase wheat or any other commodity in the market. Since money acts as an intermediate in the exchange process, it is called a **medium of exchange**.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. How does the use of money make it easier to exchange things?
2. Can you think of some examples of goods / services being exchanged or wages being paid through barter?

MODERN FORMS OF MONEY

Early punch-marked coins (may be 2500 years old)

Gupta coins

Tughlaq coin

Gold Mohar from Akbar's reign

Modern coin

We have seen that money is something that can act as a medium of exchange in transactions. Before the introduction of coins, a variety of objects was used as money. For example, since the very early ages, Indians used grains and cattle as money. Thereafter came the use of metallic coins — gold, silver, copper coins — a phase which continued well into the last century.

Currency

Modern forms of money include currency — paper notes and coins. Unlike the things that were used as money earlier, modern currency is not made of precious metal such as gold, silver and copper. And unlike grain and cattle, they are neither of everyday use. The modern currency is without any use of its own.

Then, why is it accepted as a medium of exchange? It is accepted as a medium of exchange because the currency is authorised by the government of the country.

In India, the Reserve Bank of India issues currency notes on behalf of the central government. As per Indian law, no other individual or organisation is allowed to issue currency. Moreover, the law legalises the use of rupee as a medium of payment that cannot be refused in settling transactions in India. No individual in India can legally refuse a payment made in rupees. Hence, the rupee is widely accepted as a medium of exchange.

Deposits with Banks

The other form in which people hold money is as deposits with banks. At a point of time, people need only some currency for their day-to-day needs. For instance, workers who receive their salaries at the end of each month have extra cash at the beginning of the month. What do people do with this extra cash? They deposit it with the banks by opening a bank account in their name. Banks accept the deposits and also pay an interest rate on the deposits. In this way people's money is safe with the banks and it earns an interest. People also have the provision to withdraw the money as and when they require. Since the deposits in the bank accounts can be withdrawn on demand, these deposits are called demand deposits.

Demand deposits offer another interesting facility. It is this facility which lends it the essential characteristics of money (that of a medium of exchange). You would have heard of payments being made by cheques instead of cash. For payment through cheque, the payer who has an account with the bank, makes out a cheque for a specific amount. A cheque is a paper instructing the bank to pay a specific amount from the person's account to the person in whose name the cheque has been made.

LET US TRY AND UNDERSTAND HOW CHEQUE PAYMENTS ARE MADE AND REALISED WITH AN EXAMPLE.

Cheque Payments

A shoe manufacturer, M. Salim has to make a payment to the leather supplier and writes a cheque for a specific amount. This means that the shoe manufacturer instructs his bank to pay this amount to the leather supplier. The leather supplier takes this cheque, and deposits it in his own account in the bank. The money is transferred from one bank account to another bank account in a couple of days. The transaction is complete without any payment of cash.

Thus we see that demand deposits share the essential features of money. The facility of cheques against demand deposits makes it possible to directly settle payments without the use of cash. Since demand deposits are accepted widely as a means of payment, along with currency, they constitute money in the modern economy.

You must remember the role that the banks play here. But for the banks, there would be no demand deposits and no payments by cheques against these deposits. The modern forms of money — currency and deposits — are closely linked to the working of the modern banking system.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. M. Salim wants to withdraw Rs 20,000 in cash for making payments. How would he write a cheque to withdraw money?
2. Tick the correct answer.
   After the transaction between Salim and Prem,
   (i) Salim's balance in his bank account increases, and Prem's balance increases.
   (ii) Salim's balance in his bank account decreases and Prem's balance increases.
   (iii) Salim's balance in his bank account increases and Prem's balance decreases.
3. Why are demand deposits considered as money?

LOAN ACTIVITIES OF BANKS

Let us take the story of banks further. What do the banks do with the deposits which they accept from the public? There is an interesting mechanism at work here. Banks keep only a small proportion of their deposits as cash with themselves. For example, banks in India these days hold about 15 per cent of their deposits as cash. This is kept as provision to pay the depositors who might come to withdraw money from the bank on any given day. Since, on any particular day, only some of its many depositors come to withdraw cash, the bank is able to manage with this cash.

Banks use the major portion of the deposits to extend loans. There is a huge demand for loans for various economic activities. We shall read more about this in the following sections. Banks make use of the deposits to meet the loan requirements of the people. In this way, banks mediate between those who have surplus funds (the depositors) and those who are in need of these funds (the borrowers). Banks charge a higher interest rate on loans than what they offer on deposits. The difference between what is charged from borrowers and what is paid to depositors is their main source of income.

What do you think would happen if all the depositors went to ask for their money at the same time?

TWO DIFFERENT CREDIT SITUATIONS

A large number of transactions in our day-to-day activities involve credit in some form or the other. Credit (loan) refers to an agreement in which the lender supplies the borrower with money, goods or services in return for the promise of future payment. Let us see how credit works through the following two examples.

(1) Festival Season

It is festival season two months from now and the shoe manufacturer, Salim, has received an order from a large trader in town for 3,000 pairs of shoes to be delivered in a month time. To complete production on time, Salim has to hire a few more workers for stitching and pasting work. He has to purchase the raw materials. To meet these expenses, Salim obtains loans from two sources. First, he asks the leather supplier to supply leather now and promises to pay him later. Second, he obtains loan in cash from the large trader as advance payment for 1000 pairs of shoes with a promise to deliver the whole order by the end of the month.

At the end of the month, Salim is able to deliver the order, make a good profit, and repay the money that he had borrowed.

In this case, Salim obtains credit to meet the working capital needs of production. The credit helps him to meet the ongoing expenses of production, complete production on time, and thereby increase his earnings. **Credit therefore plays a vital and positive role in this situation.**

(2) Swapna's Problem

Swapna, a small farmer, grows groundnut on her three acres of land. She takes a loan from the moneylender to meet the expenses of cultivation, hoping that her harvest would help repay the loan. Midway through the season the crop is hit by pests and the crop fails. Though Swapna sprays her crops with expensive pesticides, it makes little difference. She is unable to repay the moneylender and the debt grows over the year into a large amount. Next year, Swapna takes a fresh loan for cultivation. It is a normal crop this year. But the earnings are not enough to cover the old loan. She is caught in debt. She has to sell a part of the land to pay off the debt.

In rural areas, the main demand for credit is for crop production. Crop production involves considerable costs on seeds, fertilisers, pesticides, water, electricity, repair of equipment, etc. There is a minimum stretch of three to four months between the time when the farmers buy these inputs and when they sell the crop. Farmers usually take crop loans at the beginning of the season and repay the loan after harvest. Repayment of the loan is crucially dependent on the income from farming.

In Swapna's case, the failure of the crop made loan repayment impossible. She had to sell part of the land to repay the loan. Credit, instead of helping Swapna improve her earnings, left her worse off. This is an example of what is commonly called debt-trap. **Credit in this case pushes the borrower into a situation from which recovery is very painful.**

In one situation credit helps to increase earnings and therefore the person is better off than before. In another situation, because of the crop failure, credit pushes the person into a debt trap. To repay her loan she has to sell a portion of her land. She is clearly much worse off than before. Whether credit would be useful or not, therefore, depends on the risks in the situation and whether there is some support, in case of loss.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. Fill the following table.

	Salim	Swapna
Why did they need credit?		
What was the risk?		
What was the outcome?		

2. Supposing Salim continues to get orders from traders. What would be his position after 6 years?
3. What are the reasons that make Swapna's situation so risky? Discuss factors – pesticides; role of moneylenders; climate.

TERMS OF CREDIT

Every loan agreement specifies an interest rate which the borrower must pay to the lender along with the repayment of the principal. In addition, lenders may demand collateral (security) against loans. **Collateral is an asset that the borrower owns (such as land, building, vehicle, livestocks, deposits with banks) and uses this as a guarantee to a lender until the loan is repaid.** If the borrower fails to repay the loan, the lender has the right to sell the asset or collateral to obtain payment. Property such as land titles, deposits with banks, livestock are some common examples of collateral used for borrowing.

A House Loan

Megha has taken a loan of Rs 5 lakhs from the bank to purchase a house. The annual interest rate on the loan is 12 per cent and the loan is to be repaid in 10 years in monthly instalments. Megha had to submit to the bank, documents showing her employment records and salary before the bank agreed to give her the loan. The bank retained as collateral the papers of the new house, which will be returned to Megha only when she repays the entire loan with interest.

Fill the following details of Megha's housing loan.

Loan amount (in Rupees)	
Duration of loan	
Documents required	
Interest rate	
Mode of repayment	
Collateral	

Interest rate, collateral and documentation requirement, and the mode of repayment together comprise what is called the **terms of credit**. The terms of credit vary substantially from one credit arrangement to another. They may vary depending on the nature of the lender and the borrower. The next section will provide examples of the varying terms of credit in different credit arrangements.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. Why do lenders ask for collateral while lending?
2. Given that a large number of people in our country are poor, does it in any way affect their capacity to borrow?
3. Fill in the blanks choosing the correct option from the brackets.

   While taking a loan, borrowers look for easy terms of credit. This means _____ (low/high) interest rate, _____(easy/tough) conditions for repayment, _____(less/more) collateral and documentation requirements.

Variety of Credit Arrangements

Example of a Village

Rohit and Ranjan had finished reading about the terms of credit in class. They were eager to know the various credit arrangements that existed in their area: who were the people who provided credit? Who were the borrowers? What were the terms of credit? They decided to talk to some people in their village. Read what they record...

15th Nov, 2006.

We head directly for the fields where most farmers and labourers would be working at this time of the day. The fields are planted with potato crops. We first meet Shyamal, a small farmer in Sonpur, a small irrigated village.

Shyamal tells us that every season he needs loans for cultivation on his 1.5 acres of land. Till a few years back, he would borrow money from the village moneylender at an interest rate of five per cent per month (60% per annum). For the last few years, Shyamal has been borrowing from an agricultural trader in the village at an interest rate of three per cent per month. At the beginning of the cropping season, the trader supplies the farm inputs on credit, which is to be repaid when the crops are ready for harvest.

Besides the interest charge on the loan, the trader also makes the farmers promise to sell the crop to him. This way the trader can ensure that the money is repaid promptly. Also, since the crop prices are low after the harvest, the trader is able to make a profit from buying the crop at a low price from the farmers and then selling it later when the price has risen.

We next meet Arun who is supervising the work of one farm labourer. Arun has seven acres of land. He is one of the few persons in Sonpur to receive bank loan for cultivation. The interest rate on the loan is 8.5 per cent per annum, and can be repaid anytime in the next three years. Arun plans to repay the loan after harvest by selling a part of the crop. He then intends to store the rest of the potatoes in a cold storage and apply for a fresh loan from the bank against the cold storage receipt. The bank offers this facility to farmers who have taken crop loan from them.

Rama is working in a neighbouring field. She works as an agricultural labourer. There are several months in the year when Rama has no work, and needs credit to meet the daily expenses. Expenses on sudden illnesses or functions in the family are also met through loans. Rama has to depend on her employer, a medium landowner in Sonpur, for credit. The landowner charges an interest rate of 5 per cent per month. Rama repays the money by working for the landowner. Most of the time, Rama has to take a fresh loan, before the previous loan has been repaid. At present, she owes the landowner Rs 5,000. Though the landowner doesn't treat her well, she continues to work for him since she can get loans from him when in need. Rama tells us that the only source of credit for the landless people in Sonpur are the landowner-employers.

Loans from Cooperatives

Besides banks, the other major source of cheap credit in rural areas are the cooperative societies (or cooperatives). Members of a cooperative pool their resources for cooperation in certain areas. There are several types of cooperatives possible such as farmers cooperatives, weavers cooperatives, industrial workers cooperatives, etc. Krishak Cooperative functions in a village not very far away from Sonpur. It has 2300 farmers as members. It accepts deposits from its members. With these deposits as collateral, the Cooperative has obtained a large loan from the bank. These funds are used to provide loans to members. Once these loans are repaid, another round of lending can take place.

Krishak Cooperative provides loans for the purchase of agricultural implements, loans for cultivation and agricultural trade, fishery loans, loans for construction of houses and for a variety of other expenses.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. List the various sources of credit in Sonpur.
2. Underline the various uses of credit in Sonpur in the above passages.
3. Compare the terms of credit for the small farmer, the medium farmer and the landless agricultural worker in Sonpur.
4. Why will Arun have a higher income from cultivation compared to Shyamal?
5. Can everyone in Sonpur get credit at a cheap rate? Who are the people who can?
6. Tick the correct answer.

   (i) Over the years, Rama's debt
   - will rise.
   - will remain constant.
   - will decline.

   (ii) Arun is one of the few people in Sonpur to take a bank loan because
   - other people in the village prefer to borrow from the moneylenders.
   - banks demand collateral which everyone cannot provide.
   - interest rate on bank loans is same as the interest rate charged by the traders.
7. Talk to some people to find out the credit arrangements that exist in your area. Record your conversation. Note the differences in the terms of credit across people.

FORMAL SECTOR CREDIT IN INDIA

We have seen in the above examples that people obtain loans from various sources. The various types of loans can be conveniently grouped as **formal sector loans** and **informal sector loans**. Among the former are loans from banks and cooperatives. The informal lenders include moneylenders, traders, employers, relatives and friends, etc. In Graph 1 you can see the various sources of credit to rural households in India. Is more credit coming from the formal sector or the informal sector?

Graph 1 : Sources of Credit for Rural Households in India in 2003

The Reserve Bank of India supervises the functioning of formal sources of loans. For instance, we have seen that the banks maintain a minimum cash balance out of the deposits they receive. The RBI monitors that the banks actually maintain the cash balance. Similarly, the RBI sees that the banks give loans not just to profit-making businesses and traders but also to small cultivators, small scale industries, to small borrowers etc. Periodically, banks have to submit information to the RBI on how much they are lending, to whom, at what interest rate, etc.

There is no organisation which supervises the credit activities of lenders in the informal sector. They can lend at whatever interest rate they

choose. There is no one to stop them from using unfair means to get their money back.

Compared to the formal lenders, most of the informal lenders charge a much higher interest on loans. Thus, the cost to the borrower of informal loans is much higher.

Higher cost of borrowing means a larger part of the earnings of the borrowers is used to repay the loan. Hence, borrowers have less income left for themselves (as we saw for Shyamal in Sonpur). In certain cases, the high interest rate of borrowing can mean that the amount to be repaid is greater than the income of the borrower. This could lead to increasing debt (as we saw for Rama in Sonpur) and debt trap. Also, people who might wish to start an enterprise by borrowing may not do so because of the high cost of borrowing.

For these reasons, banks and cooperative societies need to lend more. This would lead to higher incomes and many people could then borrow cheaply for a variety of needs. They could grow crops, do business, set up small-scale industries etc. They could set up new industries or trade in goods. **Cheap and affordable credit is crucial for the country's development.**

Formal and Informal Credit: Who gets what?

Graph 2 shows the importance of formal and informal sources of credit for people in urban areas. The people are divided into four groups, from poor to rich, as shown in the figure. You can see that 85 per cent of the loans taken by poor households in the urban areas are from informal sources. Compare this with the rich urban households. What do you find? Only 10 per cent of their loans are from informal sources, while 90 per cent are from formal sources. A similar pattern is also found in rural areas. The rich households are availing cheap credit from formal lenders whereas the poor households have to pay a heavy price for borrowing!

What does all this suggest? First, the formal sector still meets only about half of the total credit needs of the rural people. The remaining credit needs are met from informal sources.

Graph 2 : Of all the loans taken by urban housholds in 2003, what percentage was formal and what percentage was informal?

BLUE : Per cent of loans from the INFORMAL sector

PURPLE : Per cent of loans from the FORMAL sector

Most loans from informal lenders carry a very high interest rate and do little to increase the income of the borrowers. **Thus, it is necessary that banks and cooperatives increase their lending particularly in the rural areas, so that the dependence on informal sources of credit reduces.**

Secondly, while formal sector loans need to expand, it is also necessary that everyone receives these loans. At present, it is the richer households who receive formal credit whereas the poor have to depend on the informal sources. It is important that the formal credit is distributed more equally so that the poor can benefit from the cheaper loans.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. What are the differences between formal and informal sources of credit?
2. Why should credit at reasonable rates be available for all?
3. Should there be a supervisor, such as the Reserve Bank of India, that looks into the loan activities of informal lenders? Why would its task be quite difficult?
4. Why do you think that the share of formal sector credit is higher for the richer households compared to the poorer households?

A worker stitching a quilt

SELF-HELP GROUPS FOR THE POOR

In the previous section we have seen that poor households are still dependent on informal sources of credit. Why is it so? Banks are not present everywhere in rural India. Even when they are present, getting a loan from a bank is much more difficult than taking a loan from informal sources. As we saw for Megha, bank loans require proper documents and collateral. Absence of collateral is one of the major reasons which prevents the poor from getting bank loans. Informal lenders such as moneylenders, on the other hand, know the borrowers personally and hence are often willing to give a loan without collateral. The borrowers can, if necessary, approach the moneylenders even without repaying

their earlier loans. However, the moneylenders charge very high rates of interest, keep no records of the transactions and harass the poor borrowers.

In recent years, people have tried out some newer ways of providing loans to the poor. The idea is to organise rural poor, in particular women, into small Self Help Groups (SHGs) and pool (collect) their savings. A typical SHG has 15-20 members, usually belonging to one neighbourhood, who meet and save regularly. Saving per member varies from Rs 25 to Rs 100 or more, depending on the ability of the people to save. Members can take small loans from the group itself to meet their needs. The group charges interest on these loans but this is still less than what the moneylender charges. After a year or two, if the group is regular in savings, it becomes eligible for availing loan from the bank. Loan is sanctioned in the name of the group and is meant to create self-employment opportunities for the members. For instance, small loans are provided to the members for releasing mortgaged land, for meeting working capital needs (e.g. buying seeds, fertilisers, raw materials like bamboo and cloth), for housing materials, for acquiring assets like sewing machine, handlooms, cattle, etc.

Most of the important decisions regarding the savings and loan activities are taken by the group members. The group decides as regards the loans to be granted — the purpose, amount, interest to be charged, repayment schedule etc. Also, it is the group which is responsible for the repayment of the loan. Any case of non-repayment of loan by any one member is followed up seriously by other members in the group. Because of this feature, banks are willing to lend to the poor women when organised in SHGs, even though they have no collateral as such.

Thus, the SHGs help borrowers overcome the problem of lack of collateral. They can get timely loans for a variety of purposes and at a reasonable interest rate. Moreover, SHGs are the building blocks of organisation of the rural poor. Not only does it help women to become financially self-reliant, the regular meetings of the group provide a platform to discuss and act on a variety of social issues such as health, nutrition, domestic violence, etc.

A women's self-help group meeting in Gujarat

Grameen Bank of Bangladesh

Grameen Bank of Bangladesh is one of the biggest success stories in reaching the poor to meet their credit needs at reasonable rates. Started in the 1970s as a small project, Grameen Bank now has over 6 million borrowers in about 40,000 villages spread across Bangladesh. Almost all of the borrowers are women and belong to poorest sections of the society. These borrowers have proved that not only are poor women reliable borrowers, but that they can start and run a variety of small income-generating activities successfully.

"If credit can be made available to the poor people on terms and conditions that are appropriate and reasonable these millions of small people with their millions of small pursuits can add up to create the biggest development wonder."

Professor Muhammad Yunus,
the founder of Grameen Bank,
and recipient of 2006 Nobel Prize for Peace

SUMMING UP

In this chapter we have looked at the modern forms of money and how they are linked with the banking system. On one side are the depositors who keep their money in the banks and on the other side are the borrowers who take loans from these banks. Economic activities require loans or credit. Credit, as we saw can have a positive impact, or in certain situations make the borrower worse off.

Credit is available from a variety of sources. These can be either formal sources or informal sources. Terms of credit vary substantially between formal and informal lenders. At present, it is the richer households who receive credit from formal sources whereas the poor have to depend on the informal sources. It is essential that the total formal sector credit increases so that the dependence on the more expensive informal credit becomes less. Also, the poor should get a much greater share of formal loans from banks, cooperative societies etc. Both these steps are important for development.

EXERCISES

1. In situations with high risks, credit might create further problems for the borrower. Explain.
2. How does money solve the problem of double coincidence of wants? Explain with an example of your own.
3. How do banks mediate between those who have surplus money and those who need money?
4. Look at a 10 rupee note. What is written on top? Can you explain this statement?
5. Why do we need to expand formal sources of credit in India?
6. What is the basic idea behind the SHGs for the poor? Explain in your own words.
7. What are the reasons why the banks might not be willing to lend to certain borrowers?

8. In what ways does the Reserve Bank of India supervise the functioning of banks? Why is this necessary?
9. Analyse the role of credit for development.
10. Manav needs a loan to set up a small business. On what basis will Manav decide whether to borrow from the bank or the moneylender? Discuss.
11. In India, about 80 per cent of farmers are small farmers, who need credit for cultivation.
    (a) Why might banks be unwilling to lend to small farmers?
    (b) What are the other sources from which the small farmers can borrow?
    (c) Explain with an example how the terms of credit can be unfavourable for the small farmer.
    (d) Suggest some ways by which small farmers can get cheap credit.
12. Fill in the blanks:
    (i) Majority of the credit needs of the _____households are met from informal sources.
    (ii) _____costs of borrowing increase the debt-burden.
    (iii) _____ issues currency notes on behalf of the Central Government.
    (iv) Banks charge a higher interest rate on loans than what they offer on _____.
    (v) _____ is an asset that the borrower owns and uses as a guarantee until the loan is repaid to the lender.
13. Choose the most appropriate answer.
    (i) In a SHG most of the decisions regarding savings and loan activities are taken by
        (a) Bank.
        (b) Members.
        (c) Non-government organisation.
    (ii) Formal sources of credit does not include
        (a) Banks.
        (b) Cooperatives.
        (c) Employers.

ADDITIONAL PROJECT / ACTIVITY

The following table shows people in a variety of occupations in urban areas. What are the purposes for which the following people might need loans? Fill in the column.

Occupations	Reason for needing a Loan
Construction worker	
Graduate student who is computer literate	
A person employed in government service	
Migrant labourer in Delhi	
Household maid	
Small trader	
Autorickshaw driver	
A worker whose factory has closed down	

Next, classify the people into two groups based on whom you think might get a bank loan and those who might not. What is the criterion that you have used for classification?

NOTES FOR THE TEACHER

CHAPTER 4 : GLOBALISATION AND THE INDIAN ECONOMY

Most regions of the world are getting increasingly interconnected. While this interconnectedness across countries has many dimensions — cultural, political, social and economic — this chapter looks at globalisation in a more limited sense. It defines globalisation as the integration between countries through foreign trade and foreign investments by multinational corporations (MNCs). As you will notice, the more complex issues of portfolio investment have been left out.

If we look at the past thirty years or so, we find that MNCs have been a major force in the globalisation process connecting distant regions of the world. Why are the MNCs spreading their production to other countries and what are the ways in which they are doing so? The first part of the chapter discusses this. Rather than relying on quantitative estimates, the rapid rise and influence of the MNCs has been shown through a variety of examples, mainly drawn from the Indian context. Note that the examples are an aid to explain a more general point. While teaching, the emphasis should be on the ideas and examples are to be used as illustrations. You can also creatively use comprehension passages like the one given after Section II to test and reinforce new concepts.

Integration of production and integration of markets is a key idea behind understanding the process of globalisation and its impact. This has been dealt with at length in this chapter, highlighting the role of MNCs in the process. You have to ensure that the students grasp this idea with sufficient clarity, before moving on to the next topic.

Globalisation has been facilitated by several factors. Three of these have been highlighted: rapid improvements in technology, liberalisation of trade and investment policies and, pressures from international organisations such as the WTO. Improvement in technology is a fascinating area for students and you may, with a few directions, encourage them to do their own explorations. While discussing liberalisation, you have to keep in mind that the students are unaware of what India was like in the pre-liberalisation era. A role-play could be conceived to compare and contrast the pre and post-liberalisation era. Similarly, international negotiations under WTO and the uneven balances in power are interesting subjects that can be covered in a discussion mode rather than as lectures.

The final section covers the impact of globalisation. To what extent has globalisation contributed to the development process? This section draws on the topics covered in Chapters 1 and 2 (for example, what is a fair development goal), which you can refer to. Also, examples and activities drawn from the local environment are a must while discussing this section. This might include contexts that have not been covered in the chapter, such as the impact of imports on local farmers, etc. Collective brainstorming sessions can be conducted to analyse such situations.

Sources for Information

The call for a fairer globalisation has been given, among others, by the International Labour Organisation — *www.ilo.org.* Another interesting resource is the WTO website *http://www.wto.org.* It gives access to the variety of agreements that are being negotiated at the WTO. For company related information, most MNCs have their own websites. If you want to critically look at the MNCs, one recommended website is *www.corporatewatch.org.uk.*

CHAPTER 4

GLOBALISATION AND THE INDIAN ECONOMY

As consumers in today's world, some of us have a wide choice of goods and services before us. The latest models of digital cameras, mobile phones and televisions made by the leading manufacturers of the world are within our reach. Every season, new models of automobiles can be seen on Indian roads. Gone are the days when Ambassador and Fiat were the only cars on Indian roads. Today, Indians are buying cars produced by nearly all the top companies in the world. A similar explosion of brands can be seen for many other goods: from shirts to televisions to processed fruit juices.

Such wide-ranging choice of goods in our markets is a relatively recent phenomenon. You wouldn't have found such a wide variety of goods in Indian markets even two decades back. **In a matter of years, our markets have been transformed!**

How do we understand these rapid transformations? What are the factors that are bringing about these changes? And, how are these changes affecting the lives of the people? We shall dwell on these questions in this chapter.

PRODUCTION ACROSS COUNTRIES

Until the middle of the twentieth century, production was largely organised within countries. What crossed the boundaries of these countries were raw materials, food stuff and finished products. Colonies such as India exported raw materials and food stuff and imported finished goods. Trade was the main channel connecting distant countries. This was before large companies called **multinational corporations** (MNCs) emerged on the scene. A MNC is a company that owns or controls production in more than one nation. MNCs set up offices and factories for production in regions where they can get cheap labour and other resources. This is done so that the cost of production is low and the MNCs can earn greater profits. Consider the following example.

Spreading of Production by an MNC

A large MNC, producing industrial equipment, designs its products in research centres in the United States, and then has the components manufactured in China. These are then shipped to Mexico and Eastern Europe where the products are assembled and the finished products are sold all over the world. Meanwhile, the company's customer care is carried out through call centres located in India.

This is a call centre in Bangalore, equipped with telecom facilities and access to Internet to provide information and support to customers abroad.

In this example the MNC is not only selling its finished products globally, but more important, **the goods and services are produced globally**. As a result, **production is organised in increasingly complex ways**. The production process is divided into small parts and spread out across the globe. In the above example, China provides the advantage of being a cheap manufacturing location. Mexico and Eastern Europe are useful for their closeness to the markets in the US and Europe. India has highly skilled engineers who can understand the technical aspects of production. It also has educated English speaking youth who can provide customer care services. And all this probably can mean 50-60 per cent cost-savings for the MNC! The advantage of spreading out production across the borders to the multinationals can be truly immense.

LET'S WORK THIS OUT

Complete the following statement to show how the production process in the garment industry is spread across countries.

The brand tag says 'Made in Thailand' but they are not Thai products. We dissect the manufacturing process and look for the best solution at each step. We are doing it globally. In making garments, the company may, for example, get cotton fibre from Korea, ...

INTERLINKING PRODUCTION ACROSS COUNTRIES

In general, MNCs set up production where it is close to the markets; where there is skilled and unskilled labour available at low costs; and where the availability of other factors of production is assured. In addition, MNCs might look for government policies that look after their interests. You will read more about the policies later in the chapter.

Having assured themselves of these conditions, MNCs set up factories and offices for production. The money that is spent to buy assets such as land, building, machines and other equipment is called **investment.** Investment made by MNCs is called **foreign investment**. Any investment is made with the hope that these assets will earn profits.

At times, MNCs set up production jointly with some of the local companies of these countries. The benefit to the local company of such joint production is two-fold. First, MNCs can provide money for additional investments, like buying new machines for faster production. Second, MNCs might bring with them the latest technology for production.

But the most common route for MNC investments is to buy up local companies and then to expand production. MNCs with huge wealth can quite easily do so. To take an example, *Cargill Foods, a very large American MNC, has bought over smaller Indian companies such as Parakh Foods. Parakh Foods had built a large marketing network in various parts of India, where its brand was well-reputed. Also, Parakh Foods had four oil refineries, whose control has now shifted to Cargill. Cargill is now the largest producer of edible oil in India, with a capacity to make 5 million pouches daily!*

In fact, many of the top MNCs have wealth exceeding the entire budgets of the developing country governments. With such enormous wealth, imagine the power and influence of these MNCs!

There's another way in which MNCs control production. Large MNCs in developed countries place orders for production with small producers. Garments, footwear, sports items are examples of industries where production is carried out by a large number of small producers around the world.

Jeans produced in developing countries being sold in USA for Rs 6500 ($145)

The products are supplied to the MNCs, which then sell these under their own brand names to the customers. These large MNCs have tremendous power to determine price, quality, delivery, and labour conditions for these distant producers.

Thus, we see that there are a variety of ways in which the MNCs are spreading their production and interacting with local producers in various countries across the globe. By setting up partnerships with local companies, by using the local companies for supplies, by closely competing with the local companies or buying them up, MNCs are exerting a strong influence on production at these distant locations. As a result, **production in these widely dispersed locations is getting interlinked.**

Women at home in Ludhiana making footballs for large MNCs

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

Ford Motors, an American company, is one of the world's largest automobile manufacturers with production spread over 26 countries of the world. Ford Motors came to India in 1995 and spent Rs. 1700 crore to set up a large plant near Chennai. This was done in collaboration with Mahindra and Mahindra, a major Indian manufacturer of jeeps and trucks. By the year 2004, Ford Motors was selling 27, 000 cars in the Indian markets, while 24,000 cars were exported from India to South Africa, Mexico and Brazil. The company wants to develop Ford India as a component supplying base for its other plants across the globe.

Read the passage on the left and answer the questions.

1. Would you say Ford Motors is a MNC? Why?
2. What is foreign investment? How much did Ford Motors invest in India?
3. By setting up their production plants in India, MNCs such as Ford Motors tap the advantage not only of the large markets that countries such as India provide, but also the lower costs of production. Explain the statement.
4. Why do you think the company wants to develop India as a base for manufacturing car components for its global operations? Discuss the following factors:
   (a) cost of labour and other resources in India
   (b) the presence of several local manufacturers who supply auto-parts to Ford Motors
   (c) closeness to a large number of buyers in India and China
5. In what ways will the production of cars by Ford Motors in India lead to interlinking of production?
6. In what ways is a MNC different from other companies?
7. Nearly all major multinationals are American, Japanese or European, such as Nike, Coca-Cola, Pepsi, Honda, Nokia. Can you guess why?

Cars made by Indian workers being transported to be sold abroad by MNCs.

FOREIGN TRADE AND INTEGRATION OF MARKETS

For a long time foreign trade has been the main channel connecting countries. In history you would have read about the trade routes connecting India and South Asia to markets both in the East and West and the extensive trade that took place along these routes. Also, you would remember that it was trading interests which attracted various trading companies such as the East India Company to India. What then is the basic function of foreign trade?

To put it simply, foreign trade creates an opportunity for the producers to reach beyond the domestic markets, i.e., markets of their own countries. Producers can sell their produce not only in markets located within the country but can also compete in markets located in other countries of the world. Similarly, for the buyers, import of goods produced in another country is one way of expanding the choice of goods beyond what is domestically produced.

Let us see the effect of foreign trade through the example of Chinese toys in the Indian markets.

Chinese Toys in India

Chinese manufacturers learn of an opportunity to export toys to India, where toys are sold at a high price. They start exporting plastic toys to India. Buyers in India now have the option of choosing between Indian and the Chinese toys. Because of the cheaper prices and new designs, Chinese toys become more popular in the Indian markets. Within a year, 70 to 80 per cent of the toy shops have replaced Indian toys with Chinese toys. Toys are now cheaper in the Indian markets than earlier.

What is happening here? As a result of trade, Chinese toys come into the Indian markets. In the competition between Indian and Chinese toys, Chinese toys prove better. Indian buyers have a greater choice of toys and at lower prices. For the Chinese toy makers, this provides an opportunity to expand business. The opposite is true for Indian toy makers. They face losses, as their toys are selling much less.

In general, with the opening of trade, goods travel from one market to another. Choice of goods in the markets rises. Prices of similar goods in the two markets tend to become equal. And, producers in the two countries now closely compete against each other even though they are separated by thousands of miles! **Foreign trade thus results in connecting the markets or integration of markets in different countries.**

Small traders of readymade garments facing stiff competition from both MNC brands and imports.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. What was the main channel connecting countries in the past? How is it different now?
2. Distinguish between foreign trade and foreign investment.
3. In recent years China has been importing steel from India. Explain how the import of steel by China will affect.
   (a) steel companies in China.
   (b) steel companies in India.
   (c) industries buying steel for production of other industrial goods in China.
4. How will the import of steel from India into the Chinese markets lead to integration of markets for steel in the two countries? Explain.

WHAT IS GLOBALISATION?

In the past two to three decades, more and more MNCs have been looking for locations around the world which would be cheap for their production. Foreign investment by MNCs in these countries has been rising. At the same time, foreign trade between countries has been rising rapidly. A large part of the foreign trade is also controlled by MNCs. For instance, the car manufacturing plant of Ford Motors in India not only produces cars for the Indian markets, it also exports cars to other developing countries and exports car components for its many factories around the world. Likewise, activities of most MNCs involve substantial trade in goods and also services.

The result of greater foreign investment and greater foreign trade has been greater integration of production and markets across countries. **Globalisation is this process of rapid integration or interconnection between countries.** MNCs are playing a major role in the globalisation process. **More and more goods and services, investments and technology are moving between countries.** Most regions of the world are in closer contact with each other than a few decades back.

Besides the movements of goods, services, investments and technology, there is one more way in which the countries can be connected. This is through the movement of people between countries. People usually move from one country to another in search of better income, better jobs or better education. In the past few decades, however, there has not been much increase in the movement of people between countries due to various restrictions.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. What is the role of MNCs in the globalisation process?
2. What are the various ways in which countries can be linked?
3. Choose the correct option.
   Globalisation, by connecting countries, shall result in
   (a) lesser competition among producers.
   (b) greater competition among producers.
   (c) no change in competition among producers.

FACTORS THAT HAVE ENABLED GLOBALISATION

Technology

Rapid improvement in technology has been one major factor that has stimulated the globalisation process. For instance, the past fifty years have seen several improvements in transportation technology. This has made much faster delivery of goods across long distances possible at lower costs.

Containers for transport of goods

Goods are placed in containers that can be loaded intact onto ships, railways, planes and trucks. Containers have led to huge reduction in port handling costs and increased the speed with which exports can reach markets. Similarly, the cost of air transport has fallen. This has enabled much greater volumes of goods being transported by airlines.

Even more remarkable have been the developments in **information and communication technology.** In recent times, technology in the areas of telecommunications, computers, Internet has been changing rapidly. Telecommunication facilities (telegraph, telephone including mobile phones, fax) are used to contact one another around the world, to access information instantly, and to communicate from remote areas. This has been facilitated by satellite communication devices. As you would be aware, computers have now entered almost every field of activity. You might have also ventured into the amazing world of internet, where you can obtain and share information on almost anything you want to know. Internet also allows us to send instant electronic mail (e-mail) and talk (voice-mail) across the world at negligible costs.

Information and communication technology (or IT in short) has played a major role in spreading out **production of services** across countries. Let us see how.

Using IT in Globalisation

A news magazine published for London readers is to be designed and printed in Delhi. The text of the magazine is sent through Internet to the Delhi office. The designers in the Delhi office get orders on how to design the magazine from the office in London using telecommunication facilities. The designing is done on a computer. After printing, the magazines are sent by air to London. Even the payment of money for designing and printing from a bank in London to a bank in Delhi is done instantly through the Internet (e-banking)!

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. In the above example, underline the words describing the use of technology in production.
2. How is information technology connected with globalisation? Would globalisation have been possible without expansion of IT?

Liberalisation of foreign trade and foreign investment policy

Let us return to the example of imports of Chinese toys in India. Suppose the Indian government puts a tax on import of toys. What would happen? Those who wish to import these toys would have to pay tax on this. Because of the tax, buyers will have to pay a higher price on imported toys. Chinese toys will no longer be as cheap in the Indian markets and imports from China will automatically reduce. Indian toy-makers will prosper.

Tax on imports is an example of **trade barrier**. It is called a barrier because some restriction has been set up. Governments can use trade barriers to increase or decrease (regulate) foreign trade and to decide what kinds of goods and how much of each, should come into the country.

The Indian government, after Independence, had put barriers to foreign trade and foreign investment. This was considered necessary to protect the producers within the country from foreign competition. Industries were just coming up in the 1950s and 1960s, and competition from imports at that stage would not have allowed these industries to come up. Thus, India allowed imports of only essential items such as machinery, fertilisers, petroleum etc. Note that all developed countries, during the early stages of development, have given protection to domestic producers through a variety of means.

Starting around 1991, some far-reaching changes in policy were made in India. The government decided that the time had come for Indian producers to compete with producers around the globe. It felt that competition would improve the performance of producers within the country since they would have to improve their quality. This decision was supported by powerful international organisations.

Thus, barriers on foreign trade and foreign investment were removed to a large extent. This meant that goods could be imported and exported easily and also foreign companies could set up factories and offices here.

Removing barriers or restrictions set by the government is what is known as liberalisation. With liberalisation of trade, businesses are allowed to make decisions freely about what they wish to import or export. The government imposes much less restrictions than before and is therefore said to be more liberal.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. What do you understand by liberalisation of foreign trade?
2. Tax on imports is one type of trade barrier. The government could also place a limit on the number of goods that can be imported. This is known as quotas. Can you explain, using the example of Chinese toys, how quotas can be used as trade barriers? Do you think this should be used? Discuss.

WORLD TRADE ORGANISATION

We have seen that the liberalisation of foreign trade and investment in India was supported by some very powerful international organisations. These organisations say that all barriers to foreign trade and investment are harmful. There should be no barriers. Trade between countries should be 'free'. All countries in the world should liberalise their policies.

World Trade Organisation (WTO) is one such organisation whose aim is to liberalise international trade. Started at the initiative of the developed countries, WTO establishes rules regarding international trade, and sees that these rules are obeyed. 149 countries of the world are currently members of the WTO (2006).

Though WTO is supposed to allow free trade for all, in practice, it is seen that the developed countries have unfairly retained trade barriers. On the other hand, WTO rules have forced the developing countries to remove trade barriers. An example of this is the current debate on trade in agricultural products.

Debate on Trade Practices

You have seen in Chapter 2, that the agriculture sector provides the bulk of employment and a significant portion of the GDP in India. Compare this to a developed country such as the US with the share of agriculture in GDP at 1% and its share in total employment a tiny 0.5%! And yet this very small percentage of people who are engaged in agriculture in the US receive massive sums of money from the US government for production and for exports to other countries. Due to this massive money that they receive, US farmers can sell the farm products at abnormally low prices. The surplus farm products are sold in other country markets at low prices, adversely affecting farmers in these countries.

Developing countries are, therefore, asking the developed country governments, "We have reduced trade barriers as per WTO rules. But you have ignored the rules of WTO and have continued to pay your farmers vast sums of money. You have asked our governments to stop supporting our farmers, but you are doing so yourselves. ***Is this free and fair trade?****"*

A typical cotton farm in USA consists of thousands of acres owned by a huge corporation that will sell cotton abroad at lowered prices.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. Fill in the blanks.

   WTO was started at the initiative of _____countries. The aim of the WTO is to _____. WTO establishes rules regarding _____ for all countries, and sees that _____ In practice, trade between countries is not _____. Developing countries like India have _____, whereas developed countries, in many cases, have continued to provide protection to their producers.

2. What do you think can be done so that trade between countries is more fair?
3. In the above example, we saw that the US government gives massive sums of money to farmers for production. At times, governments also give support to promote production of certain types of goods, such as those which are environmentally friendly. Discuss whether these are fair or not.

IMPACT OF GLOBALISATION IN INDIA

In the last fifteen years, globalisation of the Indian economy has come a long way. What has been its effect on the lives of people? We look at some of the evidence.

Globalisation and greater competition among producers - both local and foreign producers - has been of advantage to consumers, particularly the well-off sections in the urban areas. There is greater choice before these consumers who now enjoy improved quality and lower prices for several products. As a result, these people today, enjoy much higher standards of living than was possible earlier.

Among producers and workers, the impact of globalisation has not been uniform.

Firstly, **MNCs** have increased their investments in India over the past 15 years, which means investing in India has been beneficial for them. MNCs have been interested in industries such as cell phones, automobiles, electronics, soft drinks, fast food or services such as banking in urban areas. These products have a large number of well-off buyers. In these industries and services, new jobs have been created. Also, local companies supplying raw materials, etc. to these industries have prospered.

Steps to Attract Foreign Investment

In recent years, the central and state governments in India are taking special steps to attract foreign companies to invest in India. Industrial zones, called Special Economic Zones (SEZs), are being set up. SEZs are to have world class facilities: electricity, water, roads, transport, storage, recreational and educational facilities. Companies who set up production units in the SEZs do not have to pay taxes for an initial period of five years.

Government has also allowed **flexibility** in the labour laws to attract foreign investment. You have seen in Chapter 2 that the companies in the organised sector have to obey certain rules that aim to protect the workers' rights. In the recent years, the government has allowed companies to ignore many of these. Instead of hiring workers on a regular basis, companies hire workers 'flexibly' for short periods when there is intense pressure of work. This is done to reduce the cost of labour for the company. However, still not satisfied, foreign companies are demanding more flexibility in labour laws.

Secondly, several of the **top Indian companies** have been able to benefit from the increased competition. They have invested in newer technology and production methods and raised their production standards. Some have gained from successful collaborations with foreign companies.

Moreover, globalisation has enabled some large Indian companies to emerge as multinationals themselves! Tata Motors (automobiles), Infosys (IT), Ranbaxy (medicines), Asian Paints (paints), Sundaram Fasteners (nuts and bolts) are some Indian companies which are spreading their operations worldwide.

Globalisation has also created new opportunities for companies providing services, particularly those involving IT. The Indian company producing a magazine for the London based company and call centres are some examples. Besides, a host of services such as data entry, accounting, administrative tasks, engineering are now being done cheaply in countries such as India and are exported to the developed countries.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. How has competition benefited people in India?
2. Should more Indian companies emerge as MNCs? How would it benefit the people in the country?
3. Why do governments try to attract more foreign investment?
4. In Chapter 1, we saw what may be development for one may be destructive for others. The setting of SEZs has been opposed by some people in India. Find out who are these people and why are they opposing it.

Small producers: Compete or perish

For a large number of small producers and workers globalisation has posed major challenges.

Rising Competition

Ravi did not expect that he would have to face a crisis in such a short period of his life as industrialist. Ravi took a loan from the bank to start his own company producing capacitors in 1992 in Hosur, an industrial town in Tamil Nadu. Capacitors are used in many electronic home appliances including tube lights, television etc. Within three years, he was able to expand production and had 20 workers working under him.

His struggle to run his company started when the government removed restrictions on imports of capacitors as per its agreement at WTO in 2001. His main clients, the television companies, used to buy different components including capacitors in bulk for the manufacture of television sets. However, competition from the MNC brands forced the Indian television companies to move into assembling activities for MNCs. Even when some of them bought capacitors, they would prefer to import as the price of the imported item was half the price charged by people like Ravi.

Ravi now produces less than half the capacitors that he produced in the year 2000 and has only seven workers working for him. Many of Ravi's friends in the same business in Hyderabad and Chennai have closed their units.

Batteries, capacitors, plastics, toys, tyres, dairy products, and vegetable oil are some examples of industries where the small manufacturers have been hit hard due to competition. Several of the units have shut down rendering many workers jobless. The small industries in India employ the largest number of workers (20 million) in the country, next only to agriculture.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. What are the ways in which Ravi's small production unit was affected by rising competition?
2. Should producers such as Ravi stop production because their cost of production is higher compared to producers in other countries? What do you think?
3. Recent studies point out that small producers in India need three things to compete better in the market (a) better roads, power, water, raw materials, marketing and information network (b) improvements and modernisation of technology (c) timely availability of credit at reasonable interest rates.
   - Can you explain how these three things would help Indian producers?
   - Do you think MNCs will be interested in investing in these? Why?
   - Do you think the government has a role in making these facilities available? Why?
   - Can you think of any other step that the government could take? Discuss.

Competition and Uncertain Employment

Globalisation and the pressure of competition have substantially changed the lives of workers. Faced with growing competition, most employers these days prefer to employ workers 'flexibly'. This means that workers' jobs are no longer secure.

Let us see how the workers in the garment export industry in India are having to bear this pressure of competition.

Factory workers folding garments for export. Though globalisation has created opportunities for paid work for women, the condition of employment shows that women are denied their fair share of benefits.

Large MNCs in the garment industry in Europe and America order their products from Indian exporters. These large MNCs with worldwide network look for the cheapest goods in order to maximise their profits. To get these large orders, Indian garment exporters try hard to cut their own costs. As cost of raw materials cannot be reduced, exporters try to cut labour costs. Where earlier a factory used to employ workers on a permanent basis, now they employ workers only on a temporary basis so that they do not have to pay workers for the whole year. Workers also have to put in very long working hours and work night shifts on a regular basis during the peak season. Wages are low and workers are forced to work overtime to make both ends meet.

While this competition among the garment exporters has allowed the MNCs to make large profits, workers are denied their fair share of benefits brought about by globalisation.

A Garment Worker

35 year old Sushila has spent many years as a worker in garment export industry of Delhi. She was employed as a 'permanent worker' entitled to health insurance, provident fund, overtime at a double rate, when Sushila's factory closed in the late 1990s. After searching for a job for six months, she finally got a job 30 km. away from where she lives. Even after working in this factory for several years, she is a temporary worker and earns less than half of what she was earning earlier. Sushila leaves her house every morning, seven days a week at 7:30 a.m. and returns at 10 p.m. A day off from work means no wage. She has none of the benefits she used to get earlier. Factories closer to her home have widely fluctuating orders and therefore pay even less.

The conditions of work and the hardships of the workers described above have become common to many industrial units and services in India. Most workers, today, are employed in the unorganised sector. Moreover, increasingly conditions of work in the organised sector have come to resemble the unorganised sector. Workers in the organised sector such as Sushila no longer get the protection and benefits that they enjoyed earlier.

LET'S WORK THESE OUT

1. In what ways has competition affected workers, Indian exporters and foreign MNCs in the garment industry?
2. What can be done by each of the following so that the workers can get a fair share of benefits brought by globalisation?
   (a) government
   (b) employers at the exporting factories
   (c) MNCs
   (d) workers.
3. One of the present debates in India is whether companies should have flexible policies for employment. Based on what you have read in the chapter, summarise the point of view of the employers and workers.

THE STRUGGLE FOR A FAIR GLOBALISATION

The above evidence indicates that not everyone has benefited from globalisation. People with education, skill and wealth have made the best use of the new opportunities. On the other hand, there are many people who have not shared the benefits.

Since globalisation is now a reality, the question is how to make globalisation more 'fair'? Fair globalisation would create opportunities for all, and also ensure that the benefits of globalisation are shared better.

The government can play a major role in making this possible. Its policies must protect the interests, not only of the rich and the powerful, but all the people in the country. You have read about some of the possible steps that the government can take. For instance, the government can ensure that labour laws are properly implemented and the workers get their rights. It can support small producers to improve their performance till the time they become strong enough to compete. If necessary, the government can use trade and investment barriers. It can negotiate at the WTO for 'fairer rules'. It can also align with other developing countries with similar interests to fight against the domination of developed countries in the WTO.

In the past few years, massive campaigns and representation by people's organisations have influenced important decisions relating to trade and investments at the WTO. This has demonstrated that people also can play an important role in the struggle for fair globalisation.

A demonstration against WTO in Hong Kong, 2005

SUMMING UP

In this chapter, we looked at the present phase of globalisation. Globalisation is the process of rapid integration of countries. This is happening through greater foreign trade and foreign investment. MNCs are playing a major role in the globalisation process. More and more MNCs are looking for locations around the world that are cheap for their production. As a result, production is being organised in complex ways.

Technology, particularly IT, has played a big role in organising production across countries. In addition, liberalisation of trade and investment has facilitated globalisation by removing barriers to trade and investment. At the international level, WTO has put pressure on developing countries to liberalise trade and investment.

While globalisation has benefited well-off consumers and also producers with skill, education and wealth, many small producers and workers have suffered as a result of the rising competition. Fair globalisation would create opportunities for all, and also ensure that the benefits of globalisation are shared better.

EXERCISES

1 What do you understand by globalisation? Explain in your own words.

2. What was the reasons for putting barriers to foreign trade and foreign investment by the Indian government? Why did it wish to remove these barriers?

3. How would flexibility in labour laws help companies?

4. What are the various ways in which MNCs set up, or control, production in other countries?

5. Why do developed countries want developing countries to liberalise their trade and investment? What do you think should the developing countries demand in return?

6. "The impact of globalisation has not been uniform." Explain this statement.

7. How has liberalisation of trade and investment policies helped the globalisation process?

8. How does foreign trade lead to integration of markets across countries? Explain with an example other than those given here.

9. Globalisation will continue in the future. Can you imagine what the world would be like twenty years from now? Give reasons for your answer.

10. Supposing you find two people arguing: One is saying globalisation has hurt our country's development. The other is telling, globalisation is helping India develop. How would you respond to these organisations?

11. Fill in the blanks.

Indian buyers have a greater choice of goods than they did two decades back. This is closely associated with the process of _____. Markets in India are selling goods produced in many other countries. This means there is increasing _____ with other countries. Moreover, the rising number of brands that we see in the markets might be produced by MNCs in India. MNCs are investing in India because _____ _____. While consumers have more choices in the market, the effect of rising _____ and _____has meant greater _____among the producers.

12. Match the following.

(i) MNCs buy at cheap rates from small producers	(a) Automobiles
(ii) Quotas and taxes on imports are used to regulate trade	(b) Garments, footwear, sports items
(iii) Indian companies who have invested abroad	(c) Call centres
(iv) IT has helped in spreading of production of services	(d) Tata Motors, Infosys, Ranbaxy
(v) Several MNCs have invested in setting up factories in India for production	(e) Trade barriers

13. Choose the most appropriate option.

(i) The past two decades of globalisation has seen rapid movements in

(a) goods, services and people between countries.

(b) goods, services and investments between countries.

(c) goods, investments and people between countries.

(ii) The most common route for investments by MNCs in countries around the world is to

(a) set up new factories.

(b) buy existing local companies.

(c) form partnerships with local companies.

(iii) Globalisation has led to improvement in living conditions

(a) of all the people

(b) of people in the developed countries

(c) of workers in the developing countries

(d) none of the above

ADDITIONAL ACTIVITY / PROJECT

I. Take some branded products that we use everyday (soaps, toothpaste, garments, electronic goods, etc.). Check which of these are produced by MNCs.

II. Take any Indian industry or service of your choice. Collect information and photographs from newspapers, magazine clippings, books, television, internet, interviews with people on the following aspects of the industry.

(i) Various producers/companies in the industry

(ii) Is the product exported to other countries

(iii) Are there MNCs among the producers

(iv) Competition in the industry

(v) Conditions of work in the industry

(vi) Has there been any major change in the industry in the past fifteen years

(vii) Problems that people in the industry face.

Social Science

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Textbook in History for Class X

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Sri Aurobindo Marg
New Delhi 110 016 — **Phone : 011-26562708**

108, 100 Feet Road
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Bengaluru 560 085 — **Phone : 080-26725740**

Navjivan Trust Building
P.O.Navjivan
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Publication Team

Head, Publication Division	:	*Ashok Srivastava*
Chief Production Officer	:	*Shiv Kumar*
Chief Business Manager	:	*Gautam Ganguly*
Chief Editor (Contractual Service)	:	*Naresh Yadav*
Editorial Assistant	:	*Mathew John*
Production Officer	:	*Arun Chitkara*

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Foreword

The National Curriculum Framework (NCF) 2005 recommends that children's life at school must be linked to their life outside the school. This principle marks a departure from the legacy of bookish learning which continues to shape our system and causes a gap between the school, home and community. The syllabi and textbooks developed on the basis of NCF signify an attempt to implement this basic idea. They also attempt to discourage rote learning and the maintenance of sharp boundaries between different subject areas. We hope these measures will take us significantly further in the direction of a child-centred system of education outlined in the National Policy on Education (1986).

The success of this effort depends on the steps that school principals and teachers will take to encourage children to reflect on their own learning and to pursue imaginative activities and questions. We must recognise that, given space, time and freedom, children generate new knowledge by engaging with the information passed on to them by adults. Treating the prescribed textbook as the sole basis of examination is one of the key reasons why other resources and sites of learning are ignored. Inculcating creativity and initiative is possible if we perceive and treat children as participants in learning, not as receivers of a fixed body of knowledge.

These aims imply considerable change in school routines and mode of functioning. Flexibility in the daily time-table is as necessary as rigour in implementing the annual calendar so that the required number of teaching days are actually devoted to teaching. The methods used for teaching and evaluation will also determine how effective this textbook proves for making children's life at school a happy experience, rather than a source of stress or boredom. Syllabus designers have tried to address the problem of curricular burden by restructuring and reorienting knowledge at different stages with greater consideration for child psychology and the time available for teaching. The textbook attempts to enhance this endeavour by giving higher priority and space to opportunities for contemplation and wondering, discussion in small groups, and activities requiring hands-on experience.

NCERT appreciates the hard work done by the textbook development committee responsible for this book. We wish to thank the Chairperson of the Advisory Group on Social Science, Professor Hari Vasudevan and the Chief Advisor for this book, Professor Neeladri Bhattacharya for guiding the work of this committee. Several teachers contributed to the development of this textbook; we are grateful to their principals for making this possible. We are indebted to the institutions and organisations which have generously permitted us to draw upon their resources, material and personnel. We are especially grateful to the members of the National

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Monitoring Committee, appointed by the Department of Secondary and Higher Education, Ministry of Human Resource Development under the Chairpersonship of Professor Mrinal Miri and Professor G. P. Deshpande, for their valuable time and contribution. As an organisation committed to systemic reform and continuous improvement in the quality of its products, NCERT welcomes comments and suggestions which will enable us to undertake further revision and refinement.

Director
National Council of Educational
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New Delhi
20 November 2006

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Textbook Development Committee

Chairperson, Advisory Committee for Textbooks in Social Science for the Secondary Stage

Hari Vasudevan, *Professor,* Department of History, Calcutta University, Kolkata

Chief Advisor

Neeladri Bhattacharya, *Professor,* Centre for Historical Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi (Chapter V)

Members

Brij Tankha, *Professor,* Department of East Asian Studies, University of Delhi (Chapter II)

G. Balachandran, *Professor,* Graduate Institute of International Studies, Geneva (Chapter IV)

Janaki Nair, *Professor,* Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Kolkata (Chapter VI)

Monica Juneja, *Professor,* Maria-Goeppert-Mayer Guest Professor, Historisches Seminar, University of Hanover, Germany (Chapter I)

P.K. Dutta, *Professor,* Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Kolkata (Chapter VIII)

Rashmi Paliwal, Eklavya, Hoshangabad

Rekha Krishnan, *Head of Senior School,* Vasant Valley School, New Delhi

Sekhar Bandyopadhyay, *Professor,* Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand (Chapter III)

Shukla Sanyal, *Reader,* Department of History, Calcutta University, Kolkata (Chapter I)

Tanika Sarkar, *Professor,* Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi (Chapter VII)

Udaya Kumar, *Professor,* Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Kolkata (Chapter VIII)

Member-Coordinator

Kiran Devendra, *Professor,* Department of Elementary Education, NCERT, New Delhi

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THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a [1]**[SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC]** and to secure to all its citizens :

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the [2][unity and integrity of the Nation];

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY this twenty-sixth day of November, 1949 do **HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.**

1. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec.2, for "Sovereign Democratic Republic" (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)
2. Subs. by the Constitution (Forty-second Amendment) Act, 1976, Sec.2, for "Unity of the Nation" (w.e.f. 3.1.1977)

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We have made every effort to acknowledge credits , but we apologise in advance for any omission that may have inadvertently taken place.

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Introduction

We live in a world where the existence of nations is taken for granted. We see people as belonging to nations and having a nationality, and we assume that this sense of belonging has existed from time immemorial. We consider countries as the same as nations, and use the two terms as synonyms, making little distinction between them. We think of countries as unified entities, each with a demarcated international boundary, a defined territory, a national language, and a central government.

Yet if we were to travel in a time capsule to the mid-eighteenth century and look for nations as we know them today, we would not find them. If we were to ask people about their nationality, about their national identity, they would not understand our questions. For at that time, nations did not exist in their modern form. People lived within kingdoms, small states, principalities, chiefdoms and duchies, not within nations. As Eric Hobsbawm, a famous historian, once said, the most remarkable fact about the modern nation is its modernity. The history of its existence is no more than 250 years old.

How did the modern nation come into being? How did people begin to see themselves as belonging to a nation?

The sense of belonging to a nation developed only over a period of time. The first three chapters (in Section I) of this book will trace this history. You will see how the idea of nationalism emerged in Europe, how territories were unified, and national governments formed. It was a process that took many decades, involved many wars and revolutions, many ideological battles and political conflicts. From a discussion of Europe (Chapter I) we will shift our focus to the growth of nationalism in Indo-China and India. In both these regions, nationalism was shaped by the experience of colonialism and the anti-imperialist movement. But the national movements in these countries took on forms that were also widely different. Chapters II and III will help you understand how nationalism in colonial countries can develop in a variety of ways, glorify contrasting ideals, and be linked to different modes of struggle.

The story of nationalism in these chapters will move at several levels. You will of course read about great leaders like Giuseppe Mazzini, Ho Chi Minh and Mahatma Gandhi. But we cannot understand nationalism only by knowing about the words and deeds of important leaders, and the big and dramatic events they led and participated in. We have to also look at the aspirations and activities of ordinary people, see how nationalism is expressed in small events of everyday life, and shaped by a variety of seemingly dissimilar and unrelated social movements. To understand how nationalism spreads, we need to know not only what the leaders said, but also how their words were understood and interpreted by people. If we are to think about how people begin to identify with a nation, we must see not only the political events that are critical to the process, but also how nationalist sensibilities are nurtured by artists and writers, and through art and literature, songs and tales.

In Section II, we will shift our focus to economies and livelihoods. Last year you read about those social groups – pastoralists, forest dwellers and peasants – who are often seen as survivors from past times when in fact they are very much part of the modern world we live in. This year we will focus on developments that are seen as symbolising

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modernity – globalisation, industrialisation, urbanisation – and see the many sides of the history of these developments.

In Chapter IV you will see how the global world has emerged out of a long and complicated history. From ancient times, pilgrims, traders, travelers have traversed distances, carrying goods, information and skills, linking societies in ways that often had contradictory consequences. Items of food and species of plants spread from one region to another, transferring information and taste, as well as disease and death. As Western powers carried the flag of 'civilisation' deep into different parts of Africa, precious metals and slaves were taken away to Europe and America. When coffee and sugar were grown in the Caribbean plantations for the world market, an oppressive system of indentured labour came into being in India and China to supply workers for the plantations.

Chapter VI similarly will look at the many sides of the development of cities as they have come up in different parts of the world. Enchanted by the growth of cities, visitors to big cities could often see only the bridges and buildings, the roads and new modes of transport, and the array of glittering shops selling diverse goods. Cities seem to be places where trade and industries expand, people come in search of work and opportunities of employment open up. While looking at this history of growth, however, we should not forget the lives of those who do not find any job, or those who survive by vending and hawking on the streets, living in makeshift shelters or crowded tenements. Chapter VI tries to capture the many contrasting experiences of the city.

Section III will introduce you to the histories of print culture and the novel. Surrounded by things that appear in print, we might find it difficult today to imagine a time when printing was still unknown. Chapter VII will trace how the history of the contemporary world is intimately connected with the growth of print. You will see how printing made possible the spread of information and ideas, debates and discussions, advertising and propaganda, and a variety of new forms of literature. The novel, for instance, could become popular only because it could be printed and sold in large numbers. As novels were widely read, they began to influence the minds of people, shape identities and behaviour, and became connected to the culture and politics of the time. We often do not realise how our attitudes to the world are moulded by the literature we read.

When we discuss such themes of everyday life, we begin to see how history can help us reflect on even the seemingly ordinary things in the world.

Like the history book you read last year, *India and the Contemporary World II*, has eight chapters divided into three sections. You are *required* to read only five chapters: two each from Sections I and II, and one from Section III.

NEELADRI BHATTACHARYA
Chief Advisor – History

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The Rise of Nationalism in Europe

Fig. 1 — The Dream of Worldwide Democratic and Social Republics – The Pact Between Nations, a print prepared by Frédéric Sorrieu, 1848.

In 1848, Frédéric Sorrieu, a French artist, prepared a series of four prints visualising his dream of a world made up of 'democratic and social Republics', as he called them. The first print (Fig. 1) of the series, shows the peoples of Europe and America – men and women of all ages and social classes – marching in a long train, and offering homage to the statue of Liberty as they pass by it. As you would recall, artists of the time of the French Revolution personified Liberty as a female figure – here you can recognise the torch of Enlightenment she bears in one hand and the Charter of the Rights of Man in the other. On the earth in the foreground of the image lie the shattered remains of the symbols of **absolutist** institutions. In Sorrieu's **utopian** vision, the peoples of the world are grouped as distinct nations, identified through their flags and national costume. Leading the procession, way past the statue of Liberty, are the United States and Switzerland, which by this time were already nation-states. France,

New words

Absolutist – Literally, a government or system of rule that has no restraints on the power exercised. In history, the term refers to a form of monarchical government that was centralised, militarised and repressive

Utopian – A vision of a society that is so ideal that it is unlikely to actually exist

Activity

In what way do you think this print (Fig. 1) depicts a utopian vision?

identifiable by the revolutionary tricolour, has just reached the statue. She is followed by the peoples of Germany, bearing the black, red and gold flag. Interestingly, at the time when Sorrieu created this image, the German peoples did not yet exist as a united nation – the flag they carry is an expression of liberal hopes in 1848 to unify the numerous German-speaking principalities into a nation-state under a democratic constitution. Following the German peoples are the peoples of Austria, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, Lombardy, Poland, England, Ireland, Hungary and Russia. From the heavens above, Christ, saints and angels gaze upon the scene. They have been used by the artist to symbolise fraternity among the nations of the world.

This chapter will deal with many of the issues visualised by Sorrieu in Fig. 1. During the nineteenth century, nationalism emerged as a force which brought about sweeping changes in the political and mental world of Europe. The end result of these changes was the emergence of the *nation-state* in place of the multi-national dynastic empires of Europe. The concept and practices of a *modern* state, in which a centralised power exercised sovereign control over a clearly defined territory, had been developing over a long period of time in Europe. But a *nation-state* was one in which the majority of its citizens, and not only its rulers, came to develop a sense of common identity and shared history or descent. This commonness did not exist from time immemorial; it was forged through struggles, through the actions of leaders and the common people. This chapter will look at the diverse processes through which nation-states and nationalism came into being in nineteenth-century Europe.

Source A

Ernst Renan, 'What is a Nation?'

In a lecture delivered at the University of Sorbonne in 1882, the French philosopher Ernst Renan (1823-92) outlined his understanding of what makes a nation. The lecture was subsequently published as a famous essay entitled 'Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?' ('What is a Nation?'). In this essay Renan criticises the notion suggested by others that a nation is formed by a common language, race, religion, or territory:

'A nation is the culmination of a long past of endeavours, sacrifice and devotion. A heroic past, great men, glory, that is the social capital upon which one bases a national idea. To have common glories in the past, to have a common will in the present, to have performed great deeds together, to wish to perform still more, these are the essential conditions of being a people. A nation is therefore a large-scale solidarity ... Its existence is a daily **plebiscite** ... A province is its inhabitants; if anyone has the right to be consulted, it is the inhabitant. A nation never has any real interest in annexing or holding on to a country against its will. The existence of nations is a good thing, a necessity even. Their existence is a guarantee of liberty, which would be lost if the world had only one law and only one master.'

Source

New words

Plebiscite – A direct vote by which all the people of a region are asked to accept or reject a proposal

Discuss

Summarise the attributes of a nation, as Renan understands them. Why, in his view, are nations important?

1 The French Revolution and the Idea of the Nation

The first clear expression of nationalism came with the French Revolution in 1789. France, as you would remember, was a full-fledged territorial state in 1789 under the rule of an absolute monarch. The political and constitutional changes that came in the wake of the French Revolution led to the transfer of sovereignty from the monarchy to a body of French citizens. The revolution proclaimed that it was the people who would henceforth constitute the nation and shape its destiny.

Fig. 2 — The cover of a German almanac designed by the journalist Andreas Rebmann in 1798.
The image of the French Bastille being stormed by the revolutionary crowd has been placed next to a similar fortress meant to represent the bastion of despotic rule in the German province of Kassel. Accompanying the illustration is the slogan: 'The people must seize their own freedom!' Rebmann lived in the city of Mainz and was a member of a German Jacobin group.

From the very beginning, the French revolutionaries introduced various measures and practices that could create a sense of collective identity amongst the French people. The ideas of *la patrie* (the fatherland) and *le citoyen* (the citizen) emphasised the notion of a united community enjoying equal rights under a constitution. A new French flag, the tricolour, was chosen to replace the former royal standard. The Estates General was elected by the body of active citizens and renamed the National Assembly. New hymns were composed, oaths taken and martyrs commemorated, all in the name of the nation. A centralised administrative system was put in place and it formulated uniform laws for all citizens within its territory. Internal customs duties and dues were abolished and a uniform system of weights and measures was adopted. Regional dialects were discouraged and French, as it was spoken and written in Paris, became the common language of the nation.

The revolutionaries further declared that it was the mission and the destiny of the French nation to liberate the peoples of Europe from despotism, in other words to help other peoples of Europe to become nations.

When the news of the events in France reached the different cities of Europe, students and other members of educated middle classes began setting up Jacobin clubs. Their activities and campaigns prepared the way for the French armies which moved into Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and much of Italy in the 1790s. With the outbreak of the revolutionary wars, the French armies began to carry the idea of nationalism abroad.

Fig. 3 — Europe after the Congress of Vienna, 1815.

Within the wide swathe of territory that came under his control, Napoleon set about introducing many of the reforms that he had already introduced in France. Through a return to monarchy Napoleon had, no doubt, destroyed democracy in France, but in the administrative field he had incorporated revolutionary principles in order to make the whole system more rational and efficient. The Civil Code of 1804 – usually known as the Napoleonic Code – did away with all privileges based on birth, established equality before the law and secured the right to property. This Code was exported to the regions under French control. In the Dutch Republic, in Switzerland, in Italy and Germany, Napoleon simplified administrative divisions, abolished the feudal system and freed peasants from serfdom and manorial dues. In the towns too, guild restrictions were removed. Transport and communication systems were improved. Peasants, artisans, workers and new businessmen

Fig. 4 — The Planting of Tree of Liberty in Zweibrücken, Germany.
The subject of this colour print by the German painter Karl Kaspar Fritz is the occupation of the town of Zweibrücken by the French armies. French soldiers, recognisable by their blue, white and red uniforms, have been portrayed as oppressors as they seize a peasant's cart (left), harass some young women (centre foreground) and force a peasant down to his knees. The plaque being affixed to the Tree of Liberty carries a German inscription which in translation reads: 'Take freedom and equality from us, the model of humanity.' This is a sarcastic reference to the claim of the French as being liberators who opposed monarchy in the territories they entered.

enjoyed a new-found freedom. Businessmen and small-scale producers of goods, in particular, began to realise that uniform laws, standardised weights and measures, and a common national currency would facilitate the movement and exchange of goods and capital from one region to another.

However, in the areas conquered, the reactions of the local populations to French rule were mixed. Initially, in many places such as Holland and Switzerland, as well as in certain cities like Brussels, Mainz, Milan and Warsaw, the French armies were welcomed as harbingers of liberty. But the initial enthusiasm soon turned to hostility, as it became clear that the new administrative arrangements did not go hand in hand with political freedom. Increased taxation, censorship, forced conscription into the French armies required to conquer the rest of Europe, all seemed to outweigh the advantages of the administrative changes.

Fig. 5 — The courier of Rhineland loses all that he has on his way home from Leipzig.
Napoleon here is represented as a postman on his way back to France after he lost the battle of Leipzig in 1813. Each letter dropping out of his bag bears the names of the territories he lost.

2 The Making of Nationalism in Europe

If you look at the map of mid-eighteenth-century Europe you will find that there were no 'nation-states' as we know them today.

What we know today as Germany, Italy and Switzerland were divided into kingdoms, duchies and cantons whose rulers had their autonomous territories. Eastern and Central Europe were under autocratic monarchies within the territories of which lived diverse peoples. They did not see themselves as sharing a collective identity or a common culture. Often, they even spoke different languages and belonged to different ethnic groups. The Habsburg Empire that ruled over Austria-Hungary, for example, was a patchwork of many different regions and peoples. It included the Alpine regions – the Tyrol, Austria and the Sudetenland – as well as Bohemia, where the aristocracy was predominantly German-speaking. It also included the Italian-speaking provinces of Lombardy and Venetia. In Hungary, half of the population spoke Magyar while the other half spoke a variety of dialects. In Galicia, the aristocracy spoke Polish. Besides these three dominant groups, there also lived within the boundaries of the empire, a mass of subject peasant peoples – Bohemians and Slovaks to the north, Slovenes in Carniola, Croats to the south, and Roumans to the east in Transylvania. Such differences did not easily promote a sense of political unity. The only tie binding these diverse groups together was a common allegiance to the emperor.

How did nationalism and the idea of the nation-state emerge?

Some important dates

1797
Napoleon invades Italy; Napoleonic wars begin.

1814-1815
Fall of Napoleon; the Vienna Peace Settlement.

1821
Greek struggle for independence begins.

1848
Revolutions in Europe; artisans, industrial workers and peasants revolt against economic hardships; middle classes demand constitutions and representative governments; Italians, Germans, Magyars, Poles, Czechs, etc. demand nation-states.

1859-1870
Unification of Italy.

1866-1871
Unification of Germany.

1905
Slav nationalism gathers force in the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires.

2.1 The Aristocracy and the New Middle Class

Socially and politically, a landed aristocracy was the dominant class on the continent. The members of this class were united by a common way of life that cut across regional divisions. They owned estates in the countryside and also town-houses. They spoke French for purposes of diplomacy and in high society. Their families were often connected by ties of marriage. This powerful aristocracy was, however, numerically a small group. The majority of the population was made up of the peasantry. To the west, the bulk of the land was farmed by tenants and small owners, while in Eastern and Central Europe the pattern of landholding was characterised by vast estates which were cultivated by serfs.

In Western and parts of Central Europe the growth of industrial production and trade meant the growth of towns and the emergence of commercial classes whose existence was based on production for the market. Industrialisation began in England in the second half of the eighteenth century, but in France and parts of the German states it occurred only during the nineteenth century. In its wake, new social groups came into being: a working-class population, and middle classes made up of industrialists, businessmen, professionals. In Central and Eastern Europe these groups were smaller in number till late nineteenth century. It was among the educated, liberal middle classes that ideas of national unity following the abolition of aristocratic privileges gained popularity.

2.2 What did Liberal Nationalism Stand for?

Ideas of national unity in early-nineteenth-century Europe were closely allied to the ideology of liberalism. The term 'liberalism' derives from the Latin root *liber*, meaning free. For the new middle classes liberalism stood for freedom for the individual and equality of all before the law. Politically, it emphasised the concept of government by consent. Since the French Revolution, liberalism had stood for the end of autocracy and clerical privileges, a constitution and representative government through parliament. Nineteenth-century liberals also stressed the inviolability of private property.

Yet, equality before the law did not necessarily stand for universal **suffrage**. You will recall that in revolutionary France, which marked the first political experiment in liberal democracy, the right to vote and to get elected was granted exclusively to property-owning men. Men without property and all women were excluded from political rights. Only for a brief period under the Jacobins did all adult males enjoy suffrage. However, the Napoleonic Code went back to limited suffrage and reduced women to the status of a minor, subject to the authority of fathers and husbands. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries women and non-propertied men organised opposition movements demanding equal political rights.

New words

Suffrage – The right to vote

In the economic sphere, liberalism stood for the freedom of markets and the abolition of state-imposed restrictions on the movement of goods and capital. During the nineteenth century this was a strong demand of the emerging middle classes. Let us take the example of the German-speaking regions in the first half of the nineteenth century. Napoleon's administrative measures had created out of

countless small principalities a confederation of 39 states. Each of these possessed its own currency, and weights and measures. A merchant travelling in 1833 from Hamburg to Nuremberg to sell his goods would have had to pass through 11 customs barriers and pay a customs duty of about 5 per cent at each one of them. Duties were often levied according to the weight or measurement of the goods. As each region had its own system of weights and measures, this involved time-consuming calculation. The measure of cloth, for example, was the *elle* which in each region stood for a different length. An *elle* of textile material bought in Frankfurt would get you 54.7 cm of cloth, in Mainz 55.1 cm, in Nuremberg 65.6 cm, in Freiburg 53.5 cm.

Such conditions were viewed as obstacles to economic exchange and growth by the new commercial classes, who argued for the creation of a unified economic territory allowing the unhindered movement of goods, people and capital. In 1834, a customs union or *zollverein* was formed at the initiative of Prussia and joined by most of the German states. The union abolished tariff barriers and reduced the number of currencies from over thirty to two. The creation of a network of railways further stimulated mobility, harnessing economic interests to national unification. A wave of economic nationalism strengthened the wider nationalist sentiments growing at the time.

Source B

Economists began to think in terms of the national economy. They talked of how the nation could develop and what economic measures could help forge this nation together.

Friedrich List, Professor of Economics at the University of Tübingen in Germany, wrote in 1834:

'The aim of the zollverein is to bind the Germans economically into a nation. It will strengthen the nation materially as much by protecting its interests externally as by stimulating its internal productivity. It ought to awaken and raise national sentiment through a fusion of individual and provincial interests. The German people have realised that a free economic system is the only means to engender national feeling.'

Source

Discuss

Describe the political ends that List hopes to achieve through economic measures.

2.3 A New Conservatism after 1815

Following the defeat of Napoleon in 1815, European governments were driven by a spirit of **conservatism**. Conservatives believed that established, traditional institutions of state and society – like the monarchy, the Church, social hierarchies, property and the family – should be preserved. Most conservatives, however, did not propose a return to the society of pre-revolutionary days. Rather, they realised, from the changes initiated by Napoleon, that modernisation could in fact strengthen traditional institutions like the monarchy. It could make state power more effective and strong. A modern army, an efficient bureaucracy, a dynamic economy, the abolition of feudalism and serfdom could strengthen the autocratic monarchies of Europe.

In 1815, representatives of the European powers – Britain, Russia, Prussia and Austria – who had collectively defeated Napoleon, met at Vienna to draw up a settlement for Europe. The Congress was hosted by the Austrian Chancellor Duke Metternich. The delegates

New words

Conservatism – A political philosophy that stressed the importance of tradition, established institutions and customs, and preferred gradual development to quick change

drew up the Treaty of Vienna of 1815 with the object of undoing most of the changes that had come about in Europe during the Napoleonic wars. The Bourbon dynasty, which had been deposed during the French Revolution, was restored to power, and France lost the territories it had annexed under Napoleon. A series of states were set up on the boundaries of France to prevent French expansion in future. Thus the kingdom of the Netherlands, which included Belgium, was set up in the north and Genoa was added to Piedmont in the south. Prussia was given important new territories on its western frontiers, while Austria was given control of northern Italy. But the German confederation of 39 states that had been set up by Napoleon was left untouched. In the east, Russia was given part of Poland while Prussia was given a portion of Saxony. The main intention was to restore the monarchies that had been overthrown by Napoleon, and create a new conservative order in Europe.

Conservative regimes set up in 1815 were autocratic. They did not tolerate criticism and dissent, and sought to curb activities that questioned the legitimacy of autocratic governments. Most of them imposed censorship laws to control what was said in newspapers, books, plays and songs and reflected the ideas of liberty and freedom

Activity

Plot on a map of Europe the changes drawn up by the Vienna Congress.

Discuss

What is the caricaturist trying to depict?

Fig. 6 — The Club of Thinkers, anonymous caricature dating to c. 1820.
The plaque on the left bears the inscription: 'The most important question of today's meeting: How long will thinking be allowed to us?'
The board on the right lists the rules of the Club which include the following:
'1. Silence is the first commandment of this learned society.
2. To avoid the eventuality whereby a member of this club may succumb to the temptation of speech, muzzles will be distributed to members upon entering.'

associated with the French Revolution. The memory of the French Revolution nonetheless continued to inspire liberals. One of the major issues taken up by the liberal-nationalists, who criticised the new conservative order, was freedom of the press.

2.4 The Revolutionaries

During the years following 1815, the fear of repression drove many liberal-nationalists underground. Secret societies sprang up in many European states to train revolutionaries and spread their ideas. To be revolutionary at this time meant a commitment to oppose monarchical forms that had been established after the Vienna Congress, and to fight for liberty and freedom. Most of these revolutionaries also saw the creation of nation-states as a necessary part of this struggle for freedom.

One such individual was the Italian revolutionary Giuseppe Mazzini. Born in Genoa in 1807, he became a member of the secret society of the Carbonari. As a young man of 24, he was sent into exile in 1831 for attempting a revolution in Liguria. He subsequently founded two more underground societies, first, Young Italy in Marseilles, and then, Young Europe in Berne, whose members were like-minded young men from Poland, France, Italy and the German states. Mazzini believed that God had intended nations to be the natural units of mankind. So Italy could not continue to be a patchwork of small states and kingdoms. It had to be forged into a single unified republic within a wider alliance of nations. This unification alone could be the basis of Italian liberty. Following his model, secret societies were set up in Germany, France, Switzerland and Poland. Mazzini's relentless opposition to monarchy and his vision of democratic republics frightened the conservatives. Metternich described him as 'the most dangerous enemy of our social order'.

Fig. 7 — Giuseppe Mazzini and the founding of Young Europe in Berne 1833.
Print by Giacomo Mantegazza.

3 The Age of Revolutions: 1830–1848

As conservative regimes tried to consolidate their power, liberalism and nationalism came to be increasingly associated with revolution in many regions of Europe such as the Italian and German states, the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, Ireland and Poland. These revolutions were led by the liberal-nationalists belonging to the educated middle-class elite, among whom were professors, school-teachers, clerks and members of the commercial middle classes.

The first upheaval took place in France in July 1830. The Bourbon kings who had been restored to power during the conservative reaction after 1815, were now overthrown by liberal revolutionaries who installed a constitutional monarchy with Louis Philippe at its head. 'When France sneezes,' Metternich once remarked, 'the rest of Europe catches cold.' The July Revolution sparked an uprising in Brussels which led to Belgium breaking away from the United Kingdom of the Netherlands.

An event that mobilised nationalist feelings among the educated elite across Europe was the Greek war of independence. Greece had been part of the Ottoman Empire since the fifteenth century. The growth of revolutionary nationalism in Europe sparked off a struggle for independence amongst the Greeks which began in 1821. Nationalists in Greece got support from other Greeks living in exile and also from many West Europeans who had sympathies for ancient Greek culture. Poets and artists lauded Greece as the cradle of European civilisation and mobilised public opinion to support its struggle against a Muslim empire. The English poet Lord Byron organised funds and later went to fight in the war, where he died of fever in 1824. Finally, the Treaty of Constantinople of 1832 recognised Greece as an independent nation.

3.1 The Romantic Imagination and National Feeling

The development of nationalism did not come about only through wars and territorial expansion. Culture played an important role in creating the idea of the nation: art and poetry, stories and music helped express and shape nationalist feelings.

Let us look at Romanticism, a cultural movement which sought to develop a particular form of nationalist sentiment. Romantic artists and poets generally criticised the glorification of reason and science

Fig. 8 — The Massacre at Chios, Eugene Delacroix, 1824.
The French painter Delacroix was one of the most important French Romantic painters. This huge painting (4.19m x 3.54m) depicts an incident in which 20,000 Greeks were said to have been killed by Turks on the island of Chios. By dramatising the incident, focusing on the suffering of women and children, and using vivid colours, Delacroix sought to appeal to the emotions of the spectators, and create sympathy for the Greeks.

and focused instead on emotions, intuition and mystical feelings. Their effort was to create a sense of a shared collective heritage, a common cultural past, as the basis of a nation.

Other Romantics such as the German philosopher Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) claimed that true German culture was to be discovered among the common people – *das volk*. It was through folk songs, folk poetry and folk dances that the true spirit of the nation (*volksgeist*) was popularised. So collecting and recording these forms of folk culture was essential to the project of nation-building.

The emphasis on vernacular language and the collection of local folklore was not just to recover an ancient national spirit, but also to carry the modern nationalist message to large audiences who were mostly illiterate. This was especially so in the case of Poland, which had been partitioned at the end of the eighteenth century by the Great Powers – Russia, Prussia and Austria. Even though Poland no longer existed as an independent territory, national feelings were kept alive through music and language. Karol Kurpinski, for example, celebrated the national struggle through his operas and music, turning folk dances like the polonaise and mazurka into nationalist symbols.

Language too played an important role in developing nationalist sentiments. After Russian occupation, the Polish language was forced out of schools and the Russian language was imposed everywhere. In 1831, an armed rebellion against Russian rule took place which was ultimately crushed. Following this, many members of the clergy in Poland began to use language as a weapon of national resistance. Polish was used for Church gatherings and all religious instruction. As a result, a large number of priests and bishops were put in jail or sent to Siberia by the Russian authorities as punishment for their refusal to preach in Russian. The use of Polish came to be seen as a symbol of the struggle against Russian dominance.

3.2 Hunger, Hardship and Popular Revolt

The 1830s were years of great economic hardship in Europe. The first half of the nineteenth century saw an enormous increase in population all over Europe. In most countries there were more seekers of jobs than employment. Population from rural areas migrated to the cities to live in overcrowded slums. Small producers in towns were often faced with stiff competition from imports of cheap machine-made goods from England, where industrialisation was more advanced than on the continent. This was especially so in textile production, which was carried out mainly in homes or small workshops and was only partly mechanised. In those regions of Europe where the aristocracy still enjoyed power, peasants struggled under the burden of feudal dues and obligations. The rise of food prices or a year of bad harvest led to widespread pauperism in town and country.

The year 1848 was one such year. Food shortages and widespread unemployment brought the population of Paris out on the roads. Barricades were erected and Louis Philippe was forced to flee. A

Box 1

The Grimm Brothers: Folktales and Nation-building

Grimms' Fairy Tales is a familiar name. The brothers Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm were born in the German city of Hanau in 1785 and 1786 respectively. While both of them studied law, they soon developed an interest in collecting old folktales. They spent six years travelling from village to village, talking to people and writing down fairy tales, which were handed down through the generations. These were popular both among children and adults. In 1812, they published their first collection of tales. Subsequently, both the brothers became active in liberal politics, especially the movement for freedom of the press. In the meantime they also published a 33-volume dictionary of the German language.

The Grimm brothers also saw French domination as a threat to German culture, and believed that the folktales they had collected were expressions of a pure and authentic German spirit. They considered their projects of collecting folktales and developing the German language as part of the wider effort to oppose French domination and create a German national identity.

Discuss

Discuss the importance of language and popular traditions in the creation of national identity.

Fig. 9 — Peasants' uprising, 1848.

National Assembly proclaimed a Republic, granted suffrage to all adult males above 21, and guaranteed the right to work. National workshops to provide employment were set up.

Earlier, in 1845, weavers in Silesia had led a revolt against contractors who supplied them raw material and gave them orders for finished textiles but drastically reduced their payments. The journalist Wilhelm Wolff described the events in a Silesian village as follows:

> In these villages (with 18,000 inhabitants) cotton weaving is the most widespread occupation … The misery of the workers is extreme. The desperate need for jobs has been taken advantage of by the contractors to reduce the prices of the goods they order …
>
> On 4 June at 2 p.m. a large crowd of weavers emerged from their homes and marched in pairs up to the mansion of their contractor demanding higher wages. They were treated with scorn and threats alternately. Following this, a group of them forced their way into the house, smashed its elegant window-panes, furniture, porcelain … another group broke into the storehouse and plundered it of supplies of cloth which they tore to shreds … The contractor fled with his family to a neighbouring village which, however, refused to shelter such a person. He returned 24 hours later having requisitioned the army. In the exchange that followed, eleven weavers were shot.

Discuss

Describe the cause of the Silesian weavers' uprising. Comment on the viewpoint of the journalist.

Activity

Imagine you are a weaver who saw the events as they unfolded. Write a report on what you saw.

3.3 1848: The Revolution of the Liberals

Parallel to the revolts of the poor, unemployed and starving peasants and workers in many European countries in the year 1848, a revolution led by the educated middle classes was under way. Events of February 1848 in France had brought about the abdication of the monarch and a republic based on universal male suffrage had been proclaimed. In other parts of Europe where independent nation-states did not yet exist – such as Germany, Italy, Poland, the Austro-Hungarian Empire – men and women of the liberal middle classes combined their demands for constitutionalism with national unification. They took advantage of the growing popular unrest to push their demands for the creation of a nation-state on parliamentary principles – a constitution, freedom of the press and freedom of association.

In the German regions a large number of political associations whose members were middle-class professionals, businessmen and prosperous artisans came together in the city of Frankfurt and decided to vote for an all-German National Assembly. On 18 May 1848, 831 elected representatives marched in a festive procession to take their places in the Frankfurt parliament convened in the Church of St Paul. They drafted a constitution for a German nation to be headed by a monarchy subject to a parliament. When the deputies offered the crown on these terms to Friedrich Wilhelm IV, King of Prussia, he rejected it and joined other monarchs to oppose the elected assembly. While the opposition of the aristocracy and military became stronger, the social basis of parliament eroded. The parliament was dominated by the middle classes who resisted the demands of workers and artisans and consequently lost their support. In the end troops were called in and the assembly was forced to disband.

The issue of extending political rights to women was a controversial one within the liberal movement, in which large numbers of women had participated actively over the years. Women had formed their own political associations, founded newspapers and taken part in political meetings and demonstrations. Despite this they were denied

New words

Feminist – Awareness of women's rights and interests based on the belief of the social, economic and political equality of the genders

Source C

How were liberty and equality for women to be defined?

The liberal politician Carl Welcker, an elected member of the Frankfurt Parliament, expressed the following views:

'Nature has created men and women to carry out different functions ... Man, the stronger, the bolder and freer of the two, has been designated as protector of the family, its provider, meant for public tasks in the domain of law, production, defence. Woman, the weaker, dependent and timid, requires the protection of man. Her sphere is the home, the care of the children, the nurturing of the family ... Do we require any further proof that given such differences, equality between the sexes would only endanger harmony and destroy the dignity of the family?'

Louise Otto-Peters (1819-95) was a political activist who founded a women's journal and subsequently a **feminist** political association. The first issue of her newspaper (21 April 1849) carried the following editorial:

'Let us ask how many men, possessed by thoughts of living and dying for the sake of Liberty, would be prepared to fight for the freedom of the entire people, of all human beings? When asked this question, they would all too easily respond with a "Yes!", though their untiring efforts are intended for the benefit of only one half of humanity – men. But Liberty is indivisible! Free men therefore must not tolerate to be surrounded by the unfree ...'

An anonymous reader of the same newspaper sent the following letter to the editor on 25 June 1850:

'It is indeed ridiculous and unreasonable to deny women political rights even though they enjoy the right to property which they make use of. They perform functions and assume responsibilities without however getting the benefits that accrue to men for the same ... Why this injustice? Is it not a disgrace that even the stupidest cattle-herder possesses the right to vote, simply because he is a man, whereas highly talented women owning considerable property are excluded from this right, even though they contribute so much to the maintenance of the state?'

Fig. 10 — The Frankfurt parliament in the Church of St Paul.
Contemporary colour print. Notice the women in the upper left gallery.

suffrage rights during the election of the Assembly. When the Frankfurt parliament convened in the Church of St Paul, women were admitted only as observers to stand in the visitors' gallery.

Though conservative forces were able to suppress liberal movements in 1848, they could not restore the old order. Monarchs were beginning to realise that the cycles of revolution and repression could only be ended by granting concessions to the liberal-nationalist revolutionaries. Hence, in the years after 1848, the autocratic monarchies of Central and Eastern Europe began to introduce the changes that had already taken place in Western Europe before 1815. Thus serfdom and bonded labour were abolished both in the Habsburg dominions and in Russia. The Habsburg rulers granted more autonomy to the Hungarians in 1867.

Discuss

Compare the positions on the question of women's rights voiced by the three writers cited above. What do they reveal about liberal **ideology**?

New words

Ideology – System of ideas reflecting a particular social and political vision

4 The Making of Germany and Italy

4.1 Germany – Can the Army be the Architect of a Nation?

After 1848, nationalism in Europe moved away from its association with democracy and revolution. Nationalist sentiments were often mobilised by conservatives for promoting state power and achieving political domination over Europe.

This can be observed in the process by which Germany and Italy came to be unified as nation-states. As you have seen, nationalist feelings were widespread among middle-class Germans, who in 1848 tried to unite the different regions of the German confederation into a nation-state governed by an elected parliament. This liberal initiative to nation-building was, however, repressed by the combined forces of the monarchy and the military, supported by the large landowners (called Junkers) of Prussia. From then on, Prussia took on the leadership of the movement for national unification. Its chief minister, Otto von Bismarck, was the architect of this process carried out with the help of the Prussian army and bureaucracy. Three wars over seven years – with Austria, Denmark and France – ended in Prussian victory and completed the process of unification. In January 1871, the Prussian king, William I, was proclaimed German Emperor in a ceremony held at Versailles.

On the bitterly cold morning of 18 January 1871, an assembly comprising the princes of the German states, representatives of the army, important Prussian ministers including the chief minister Otto von Bismarck gathered in the unheated Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles to proclaim the new German Empire headed by Kaiser William I of Prussia.

The nation-building process in Germany had demonstrated the dominance of Prussian state power. The new state placed a strong emphasis on modernising the currency, banking, legal and judicial systems in Germany. Prussian measures and practices often became a model for the rest of Germany.

Fig. 11 — The proclamation of the German empire in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, Anton von Werner. *At the centre stands the Kaiser and the chief commander of the Prussian army, General von Roon. Near them is Bismarck. This monumental work (2.7m x 2.7m) was completed and presented by the artist to Bismarck on the latter's 70th birthday in 1885.*

Fig. 12 — Unification of Germany (1866-71).

4.2 Italy Unified

Like Germany, Italy too had a long history of political fragmentation. Italians were scattered over several dynastic states as well as the multi-national Habsburg Empire. During the middle of the nineteenth century, Italy was divided into seven states, of which only one, Sardinia-Piedmont, was ruled by an Italian princely house. The north was under Austrian Habsburgs, the centre was ruled by the Pope and the southern regions were under the domination of the Bourbon kings of Spain. Even the Italian language had not acquired one common form and still had many regional and local variations.

During the 1830s, Giuseppe Mazzini had sought to put together a coherent programme for a unitary Italian Republic. He had also formed a secret society called Young Italy for the dissemination of his goals. The failure of revolutionary uprisings both in 1831 and 1848 meant that the mantle now fell on Sardinia-Piedmont under its ruler King Victor Emmanuel II to unify the Italian states through war. In the eyes of the ruling elites of this region, a unified Italy offered them the possibility of economic development and political dominance.

Fig. 13 — Caricature of Otto von Bismarck in the German reichstag (parliament), from* Figaro*, Vienna, 5 March 1870.

Activity

Describe the caricature. How does it represent the relationship between Bismarck and the elected deputies of Parliament? What interpretation of democratic processes is the artist trying to convey?

Chief Minister Cavour who led the movement to unify the regions of Italy was neither a revolutionary nor a democrat. Like many other wealthy and educated members of the Italian elite, he spoke French much better than he did Italian. Through a tactful diplomatic alliance with France engineered by Cavour, Sardinia-Piedmont succeeded in defeating the Austrian forces in 1859. Apart from regular troops, a large number of armed volunteers under the leadership of Giuseppe Garibaldi joined the fray. In 1860, they marched into South Italy and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and succeeded in winning the support of the local peasants in order to drive out the Spanish rulers. In 1861 Victor Emmanuel II was proclaimed king of united Italy. However, much of the Italian population, among whom rates of illiteracy were very high, remained blissfully unaware of liberal-nationalist ideology. The peasant masses who had supported Garibaldi in southern Italy had never heard of *Italia*, and believed that *'La Talia'* was Victor Emmanuel's wife!

Activity

Look at Fig. 14(a). Do you think that the people living in any of these regions thought of themselves as Italians?

Examine Fig. 14(b). Which was the first region to become a part of unified Italy? Which was the last region to join? In which year did the largest number of states join?

Fig. 14(a) — Italian states before unification, 1858.

Fig. 14(b) — Italy after unification.
The map shows the year in which different regions (seen in Fig 14(a) become part of a unified Italy.

4.3 The Strange Case of Britain

The model of the nation or the nation-state, some scholars have argued, is Great Britain. In Britain the formation of the nation-state

was not the result of a sudden upheaval or revolution. It was the result of a long-drawn-out process. There was no British nation prior to the eighteenth century. The primary identities of the people who inhabited the British Isles were **ethnic** ones – such as English, Welsh, Scot or Irish. All of these ethnic groups had their own cultural and political traditions. But as the English nation steadily grew in wealth, importance and power, it was able to extend its influence over the other nations of the islands. The English parliament, which had seized power from the monarchy in 1688 at the end of a protracted conflict, was the instrument through which a nation-state, with England at its centre, came to be forged. The Act of Union (1707) between England and Scotland that resulted in the formation of the 'United Kingdom of Great Britain' meant, in effect, that England was able to impose its influence on Scotland. The British parliament was henceforth dominated by its English members. The growth of a British identity meant that Scotland's distinctive culture and political institutions were systematically suppressed. The Catholic clans that inhabited the Scottish Highlands suffered terrible repression whenever they attempted to assert their independence. The Scottish Highlanders were forbidden to speak their Gaelic language or wear their national dress, and large numbers were forcibly driven out of their homeland.

Ireland suffered a similar fate. It was a country deeply divided between Catholics and Protestants. The English helped the Protestants of Ireland to establish their dominance over a largely Catholic country. Catholic revolts against British dominance were suppressed. After a failed revolt led by Wolfe Tone and his United Irishmen (1798), Ireland was forcibly incorporated into the United Kingdom in 1801. A new 'British nation' was forged through the propagation of a dominant English culture. The symbols of the new Britain – the British flag (Union Jack), the national anthem (God Save Our Noble King), the English language – were actively promoted and the older nations survived only as subordinate partners in this union.

Activity

The artist has portrayed Garibaldi as holding on to the base of the boot, so that the King of Sardinia-Piedmont can enter it from the top. Look at the map of Italy once more. What statement is this caricature making?

Box 2

Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-82) is perhaps the most celebrated of Italian freedom fighters. He came from a family engaged in coastal trade and was a sailor in the merchant navy. In 1833 he met Mazzini, joined the Young Italy movement and participated in a republican uprising in Piedmont in 1834. The uprising was suppressed and Garibaldi had to flee to South America, where he lived in exile till 1848. In 1854, he supported Victor Emmanuel II in his efforts to unify the Italian states. In 1860, Garibaldi led the famous Expedition of the Thousand to South Italy. Fresh volunteers kept joining through the course of the campaign, till their numbers grew to about 30,000. They were popularly known as Red Shirts.

In 1867, Garibaldi led an army of volunteers to Rome to fight the last obstacle to the unification of Italy, the Papal States where a French garrison was stationed. The Red Shirts proved to be no match for the combined French and Papal troops. It was only in 1870 when, during the war with Prussia, France withdrew its troops from Rome that the Papal States were finally joined to Italy.

Fig. 15 – Garibaldi helping King Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia-Piedmont to pull on the boot named 'Italy'. English caricature of 1859.

New words

Ethnic – Relates to a common racial, tribal, or cultural origin or background that a community identifies with or claims

5 Visualising the Nation

While it is easy enough to represent a ruler through a portrait or a statue, how does one go about giving a face to a nation? Artists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries found a way out by personifying a nation. In other words they represented a country as if it were a person. Nations were then portrayed as female figures. The female form that was chosen to personify the nation did not stand for any particular woman in real life; rather it sought to give the abstract idea of the nation a concrete form. That is, the female figure became an **allegory** of the nation.

Fig. 16 — Postage stamps of 1850 with the figure of Marianne representing the Republic of France.

You will recall that during the French Revolution artists used the female allegory to portray ideas such as Liberty, Justice and the Republic. These ideals were represented through specific objects or symbols. As you would remember, the attributes of Liberty are the red cap, or the broken chain, while Justice is generally a blindfolded woman carrying a pair of weighing scales.

Similar female allegories were invented by artists in the nineteenth century to represent the nation. In France she was christened Marianne, a popular Christian name, which underlined the idea of a people's nation. Her characteristics were drawn from those of Liberty and the Republic – the red cap, the tricolour, the cockade. Statues of Marianne were erected in public squares to remind the public of the national symbol of unity and to persuade them to identify with it. Marianne images were marked on coins and stamps.

Similarly, Germania became the allegory of the German nation. In visual representations, Germania wears a crown of oak leaves, as the German oak stands for heroism.

Fig. 17 — Germania, Philip Veit, 1848.
The artist prepared this painting of Germania on a cotton banner, as it was meant to hang from the ceiling of the Church of St Paul where the Frankfurt parliament was convened in March 1848.

New words

Allegory – When an abstract idea (for instance, greed, envy, freedom, liberty) is expressed through a person or a thing. An allegorical story has two meanings, one literal and one symbolic

Box 3

Meanings of the symbols

Attribute	Significance
Broken chains	Being freed
Breastplate with eagle	Symbol of the German empire – strength
Crown of oak leaves	Heroism
Sword	Readiness to fight
Olive branch around the sword	Willingness to make peace
Black, red and gold tricolour	Flag of the liberal-nationalists in 1848, banned by the Dukes of the German states
Rays of the rising sun	Beginning of a new era

Activity

With the help of the chart in Box 3, identify the attributes of Veit's Germania and interpret the symbolic meaning of the painting. In an earlier allegorical rendering of 1836, Veit had portrayed the Kaiser's crown at the place where he has now located the broken chain. Explain the significance of this change.

Fig. 18 — The fallen Germania, Julius Hübner, 1850.

Activity

Describe what you see in Fig. 17. What historical events could Hübner be referring to in this allegorical vision of the nation?

Fig. 19 — Germania guarding the Rhine.
In 1860, the artist Lorenz Clasen was commissioned to paint this image. The inscription on Germania's sword reads: 'The German sword protects the German Rhine.'

Activity

Look once more at Fig. 10. Imagine you were a citizen of Frankfurt in March 1848 and were present during the proceedings of the parliament. How would you (a) as a man seated in the hall of deputies, and (b) as a woman observing from the galleries, relate to the banner of Germania hanging from the ceiling?

6 Nationalism and Imperialism

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century nationalism no longer retained its idealistic liberal-democratic sentiment of the first half of the century, but became a narrow creed with limited ends. During this period nationalist groups became increasingly intolerant of each other and ever ready to go to war. The major European powers, in turn, manipulated the nationalist aspirations of the subject peoples in Europe to further their own imperialist aims.

The most serious source of nationalist tension in Europe after 1871 was the area called the Balkans. The Balkans was a region of geographical and ethnic variation comprising modern-day Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, Greece, Macedonia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slovenia, Serbia and Montenegro whose inhabitants were broadly known as the Slavs. A large part of the Balkans was under the control of the Ottoman Empire. The spread of the ideas of romantic nationalism in the Balkans together with the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire made this region very explosive. All through the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire had sought to strengthen itself through modernisation and internal reforms but with very little success. One by one, its European subject nationalities broke away from its control and declared independence. The Balkan peoples based their claims for independence or political rights on nationality and used history to prove that they had once been independent but had subsequently been subjugated by foreign powers. Hence the rebellious nationalities in the Balkans thought of their struggles as attempts to win back their long-lost independence.

As the different Slavic nationalities struggled to define their identity and independence, the Balkan area became an area of intense conflict. The Balkan states were fiercely jealous of each other and each hoped to gain more territory at the expense of the others. Matters were further complicated because the Balkans also became the scene of big power rivalry. During this period, there was intense rivalry among the European powers over trade and colonies as well as naval and military might. These rivalries were very evident in the way the Balkan problem unfolded. Each power – Russia, Germany, England, Austro-Hungary – was keen on countering the hold of other powers over the Balkans, and extending its own control over the area. This led to a series of wars in the region and finally the First World War.

Fig. 20 — A map celebrating the British Empire.
At the top, angels are shown carrying the banner of freedom. In the foreground, Britannia — the symbol of the British nation — is triumphantly sitting over the globe. The colonies are represented through images of tigers, elephants, forests and primitive people. The domination of the world is shown as the basis of Britain's national pride.

Nationalism, aligned with imperialism, led Europe to disaster in 1914. But meanwhile, many countries in the world which had been colonised by the European powers in the nineteenth century began to oppose imperial domination. The anti-imperial movements that developed everywhere were nationalist, in the sense that they all struggled to form independent nation-states, and were inspired by a sense of collective national unity, forged in confrontation with imperialism. European ideas of nationalism were nowhere replicated, for people everywhere developed their own specific variety of nationalism. But the idea that societies should be organised into 'nation-states' came to be accepted as natural and universal.

Write in brief

1. Write a note on:
   a) Guiseppe Mazzini
   b) Count Camillo de Cavour
   c) The Greek war of independence
   d) Frankfurt parliament
   e) The role of women in nationalist struggles
2. What steps did the French revolutionaries take to create a sense of collective identity among the French people?
3. Who were Marianne and Germania? What was the importance of the way in which they were portrayed?
4. Briefly trace the process of German unification.
5. What changes did Napoleon introduce to make the administrative system more efficient in the territories ruled by him?

Write in brief

Discuss

1. Explain what is meant by the 1848 revolution of the liberals. What were the political, social and economic ideas supported by the liberals?
2. Choose three examples to show the contribution of culture to the growth of nationalism in Europe.
3. Through a focus on any two countries, explain how nations developed over the nineteenth century.
4. How was the history of nationalism in Britain unlike the rest of Europe?
5. Why did nationalist tensions emerge in the Balkans?

Discuss

Project

Project

Find out more about nationalist symbols in countries outside Europe. For one or two countries, collect examples of pictures, posters or music that are symbols of nationalism. How are these different from European examples?

The Nationalist Movement in Indo-China

Vietnam gained formal independence in 1945, before India, but it took another three decades of fighting before the Republic of Vietnam was formed. This chapter on Indo-China will introduce you to one of the important states of the peninsula, namely, Vietnam. Nationalism in Indo-China developed in a colonial context. The knitting together of a modern Vietnamese nation that brought the different communities together was in part the result of colonisation but, as importantly, it was shaped by the struggle against colonial domination.

If you see the historical experience of Indo-China in relation to that of India, you will discover important differences in the way colonial empires functioned and the anti-imperial movement developed. By looking at such differences and similarities you can understand the variety of ways in which nationalism has developed and shaped the contemporary world.

Fig. 1 – Map of Indo-China.

1 Emerging from the Shadow of China

Indo-China comprises the modern countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia (see Fig. 1). Its early history shows many different groups of people living in this area under the shadow of the powerful empire of China. Even when an independent country was established in what is now northern and central Vietnam, its rulers continued to maintain the Chinese system of government as well as Chinese culture.

Vietnam was also linked to what has been called the maritime silk route that brought in goods, people and ideas. Other networks of trade connected it to the hinterlands where non-Vietnamese people such as the Khmer Cambodians lived.

Fig. 2 – The port of Faifo.
This port was founded by Portuguese merchants. It was one of the ports used by European trading companies much before the nineteenth century.

1.1 Colonial Domination and Resistance

The colonisation of Vietnam by the French brought the people of the country into conflict with the colonisers in all areas of life. The most visible form of French control was military and economic domination but the French also built a system that tried to reshape the culture of the Vietnamese. Nationalism in Vietnam emerged through the efforts of different sections of society to fight against the French and all they represented.

Fig. 3 – Francis Garnier, a French officer who led an attack against the ruling Nguyen dynasty, being killed by soldiers of the court.
Garnier was part of the French team that explored the Mekong river. In 1873 he was commissioned by the French to try and establish a French colony in Tonkin in the north. Garnier carried out an attack on Hanoi, the capital of Tonkin, but was killed in the fight.

French troops landed in Vietnam in 1858 and by the mid-1880s they had established a firm grip over the northern region. After the Franco-Chinese war the French assumed control of Tonkin and Anaam and, in 1887, French Indo-China was formed. In the following decades the French sought to consolidate their position, and people in Vietnam began reflecting on the nature of the loss that Vietnam was suffering. Nationalist resistance developed out of this reflection.

Fig. 4 – The Mekong river, engraving by the French Exploratory Force, in which Garnier participated.
Exploring and mapping rivers was part of the colonial enterprise everywhere in the world. Colonisers wanted to know the route of the rivers, their origin, and the terrain they passed through. The rivers could then be properly used for trade and transport. During these explorations innumerable pictures and maps were produced.

The famous blind poet Ngyuyen Dinh Chieu (1822-88) bemoaned what was happening to his country:

> I would rather face eternal darkness
> Than see the faces of traitors.
> I would rather see no man
> Than encounter one man's suffering.
> I would rather see nothing
> Than witness the dismembering of the country in decline.

1.2 Why the French thought Colonies Necessary

Colonies were considered essential to supply natural resources and other essential goods. Like other Western nations, France also thought it was the mission of the 'advanced' European countries to bring the benefits of civilisation to backward peoples.

The French began by building canals and draining lands in the Mekong delta to increase cultivation. The vast system of irrigation works – canals and earthworks – built mainly with forced labour, increased rice production and allowed the export of rice to the international market. The area under rice cultivation went up from 274,000 hectares in 1873 to 1.1 million hectares in 1900 and 2.2 million in 1930. Vietnam exported two-thirds of its rice production and by 1931 had become the third largest exporter of rice in the world.

This was followed by infrastructure projects to help transport goods for trade, move military garrisons and control the entire region. Construction of a trans-Indo-China rail network that would link the northern and southern parts of Vietnam and China was begun. This final link with Yunan in China was completed by 1910. The second line was also built, linking Vietnam to Siam (as Thailand was then called), via the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh.

By the 1920s, to ensure higher levels of profit for their businesses, French business interests were pressurising the government in Vietnam to develop the infrastructure further.

1.3 Should Colonies be Developed?

Everyone agreed that colonies had to serve the interests of the mother country. But the question was – how? Some like Paul Bernard, an influential writer and policy-maker, strongly believed that the

Activity

Imagine a conversation between a French coloniser and a Vietnamese labourer in the canal project. The Frenchman believes he is bringing civilization to backward people and the Vietnamese labourer argues against it. In pairs act out the conversation they may have had, using evidence from the text.

economy of the colonies needed to be developed. He argued that the purpose of acquiring colonies was to make profits. If the economy was developed and the standard of living of the people improved, they would buy more goods. The market would consequently expand, leading to better profits for French business.

Bernard suggested that there were several barriers to economic growth in Vietnam: high population levels, low agricultural productivity and extensive indebtedness amongst the peasants. To reduce rural poverty and increase agricultural productivity it was necessary to carry out land reforms as the Japanese had done in the 1890s. However, this could not ensure sufficient employment. As the experience of Japan showed, industrialisation would be essential to create more jobs.

The colonial economy in Vietnam was, however, primarily based on rice cultivation and rubber plantations owned by the French and a small Vietnamese elite. Rail and port facilities were set up to service this sector. **Indentured** Vietnamese labour was widely used in the rubber plantations. The French, contrary to what Bernard would have liked, did little to industrialise the economy. In the rural areas landlordism spread and the standard of living declined.

New words

Indentured labour – A form of labour widely used in the plantations from the mid-nineteenth century. Labourers worked on the basis of contracts that did not specify any rights of labourers but gave immense power to employers. Employers could bring criminal charges against labourers and punish and jail them for non-fulfilment of contracts.

Fig. 5 – A French weapons merchant, Jean Dupuis, in Vietnam in the late nineteenth century.
Many like him explored the regions in the hope of making profits from trade. He was one of those who persuaded the French to try and establish a base in Vietnam.

2 The Dilemma of Colonial Education

French colonisation was not based only on economic exploitation. It was also driven by the idea of a 'civilising mission'. Like the British in India, the French claimed that they were bringing modern civilisation to the Vietnamese. They took for granted that Europe had developed the most advanced civilisation. So it became the duty of the Europeans to introduce these modern ideas to the colony even if this meant destroying local cultures, religions and traditions, because these were seen as outdated and prevented modern development.

Education was seen as one way to civilise the 'native'. But in order to educate them, the French had to resolve a dilemma. How far were the Vietnamese to be educated? The French needed an educated local labour force but they feared that education might create problems. Once educated, the Vietnamese may begin to question colonial domination. Moreover, French citizens living in Vietnam (called colons) began fearing that they might lose their jobs – as teachers, shopkeepers, policemen – to the educated Vietnamese. So they opposed policies that would give the Vietnamese full access to French education.

2.1 Talking Modern

The French were faced with yet another problem in the sphere of education: the elites in Vietnam were powerfully influenced by Chinese culture. To consolidate their power, the French had to counter this Chinese influence. So they systematically dismantled the traditional educational system and established French schools for the Vietnamese. But this was not easy. Chinese, the language used by the elites so far, had to be replaced. But what was to take its place? Was the language to be Vietnamese or French?

There were two broad opinions on this question. Some policy-makers emphasised the need to use the French language as the medium of instruction. By learning the language, they felt, the Vietnamese would be introduced to the culture and civilisation of France. This would help create an 'Asiatic France solidly tied to European France'. The educated people in Vietnam would respect French sentiments and ideals, see the superiority of French culture, and work for the French. Others were opposed to French being the only medium of instruction. They suggested that Vietnamese be taught in lower classes and French in the higher classes. The few

who learnt French and acquired French culture were to be rewarded with French citizenship.

However, only the Vietnamese elite – comprising a small fraction of the population – could enroll in the schools, and only a few among those admitted ultimately passed the school-leaving examination. This was largely because of a deliberate policy of failing students, particularly in the final year, so that they could not qualify for the better-paid jobs. Usually, as many as two-thirds of the students failed. In 1925, in a population of 17 million, there were less than 400 who passed the examination.

School textbooks glorified the French and justified colonial rule. The Vietnamese were represented as primitive and backward, capable of manual labour but not of intellectual reflection; they could work in the fields but not rule themselves; they were 'skilled copyists' but not creative. School children were told that only French rule could ensure peace in Vietnam: 'Since the establishment of French rule the Vietnamese peasant no longer lives in constant terror of pirates … Calm is complete, and the peasant can work with a good heart.'

2.2 Looking Modern

The Tonkin Free School was started in 1907 to provide a Western-style education. This education included classes in science, hygiene and French (these classes were held in the evening and had to be paid for separately). The school's approach to what it means to be 'modern' is a good example of the thinking prevalent at that time. It was not enough to learn science and Western ideas: to be modern the Vietnamese had to also look modern. The school encouraged the adoption of Western styles such as having a short haircut. For the Vietnamese this meant a major break with their own identity since they traditionally kept long hair. To underline the importance of a total change there was even a 'haircutting chant':

Comb in the left hand
Scissors in the right,
Snip, snip, clip, clip!
Watch out, be careful,
Drop stupid practices,
Dump childish things
Speak openly and frankly
Study Western customs

Activity

Imagine you are a student in the Tonkin Free School in 1910. How would you react to:

- what the textbooks say about the Vietnamese?
- what the school tells you about hairstyles?

Fig. 6 – A local caricature ridiculing the Vietnamese who has been westernised. *Abandoning his own culture, he has begun wearing Western clothes and playing tennis.*

2.3 Resistance in Schools

Teachers and students did not blindly follow the curriculum. Sometimes there was open opposition, at other times there was silent resistance. As the numbers of Vietnamese teachers increased in the lower classes, it became difficult to control what was actually taught. While teaching, Vietnamese teachers quietly modified the text and criticised what was stated.

In 1926 a major protest erupted in the Saigon Native Girls School. A Vietnamese girl sitting in one of the front seats was asked to move to the back of the class and allow a local French student to occupy the front bench. She refused. The principal, also a colon (French people in the colonies), expelled her. When angry students protested, they too were expelled, leading to a further spread of open protests. Seeing the situation getting out of control, the government forced the school to take the students back. The principal reluctantly agreed but warned the students, 'I will crush all Vietnamese under my feet. Ah! You wish my deportation. Know well that I will leave only after I am assured Vietnamese no longer inhabit Cochinchina.'

Elsewhere, students fought against the colonial government's efforts to prevent the Vietnamese from qualifying for white-collar jobs. They were inspired by patriotic feelings and the conviction that it was the duty of the educated to fight for the benefit of society. This brought them into conflict with the French as well as the traditional elite, since both saw their positions threatened. By the 1920s, students were forming various political parties, such as the Party of Young Annan, and publishing nationalist journals such as the *Annanese Student*.

Schools thus became an important place for political and cultural battles. The French sought to strengthen their rule in Vietnam through the control of education. They tried to change the values, norms and perceptions of the people, to make them believe in the superiority of French civilisation and the inferiority of the Vietnamese. Vietnamese intellectuals, on the other hand, feared that Vietnam was losing not just control over its territory but its very identity: its own culture and customs were being devalued and the people were developing a master-slave mentality. The battle against French colonial education became part of the larger battle against colonialism and for independence.

Some important dates

1802
Nguyen Anh becomes emperor symbolising the unification of the country under the Nguyen dynasty.

1867
Cochinchina (the South) becomes a French colony.

1887
Creation of the Indo-china Union, including Cochinchina, Annam, Tonkin, Cambodia and later, Laos.

1930
Ho Chi Minh forms the Vietnamese Communist Party.

1945
Vietminh start a general popular insurrection. Bao Dai abdicates. Ho Chi Minh declares independence in Hanoi (September 23).

1954
The French army is defeated at Dien Bien Phu.

1961
Kennedy decides to increase US military aid to South Vietnam.

1974
Paris Peace Treaty.

1975 (April 30)
NLF troops enter Saigon.

1976
The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is proclaimed.

3 Hygiene, Disease and Everyday Resistance

Education was not the only sphere of everyday life in which such political battles against colonialism were fought. In many other institutions we can see the variety of small ways in which the colonised expressed their anger against the colonisers.

3.1 Plague Strikes Hanoi

Take the case of health and hygiene. When the French set about creating a modern Vietnam, they decided to rebuild Hanoi. The latest ideas about architecture and modern engineering skills were employed to build a new and 'modern' city. In 1903, the modern part of Hanoi was struck by bubonic plague. In many colonial countries, measures to control the spread of disease created serious social conflicts. But in Hanoi events took a peculiarly interesting turn.

The French part of Hanoi was built as a beautiful and clean city with wide avenues and a well-laid-out sewer system, while the 'native

Fig. 7 – Modern Hanoi.
Colonial buildings like this one came up in the French part of Hanoi.

quarter' was not provided with any modern facilities. The refuse from the old city drained straight out into the river or, during heavy rains or floods, overflowed into the streets. Thus what was installed to create a hygienic environment in the French city became the cause of the plague. The large sewers in the modern part of the city, a symbol of modernity, were an ideal and protected breeding ground for rats. The sewers also served as a great transport system, allowing the rats to move around the city without any problem. And rats began to enter the well-cared-for homes of the French through the sewage pipes. What was to be done?

3.2 The Rat Hunt

To stem this invasion, a rat hunt was started in 1902. The French hired Vietnamese workers and paid them for each rat they caught. Rats began to be caught in thousands: on 30 May, for instance, 20,000 were caught but still there seemed to be no end. For the Vietnamese the rat hunt seemed to provide an early lesson in the success of collective bargaining. Those who did the dirty work of entering sewers found that if they came together they could negotiate a higher bounty. They also discovered innovative ways to profit from this situation. The bounty was paid when a tail was given as proof that a rat had been killed. So the rat-catchers took to just clipping the tails and releasing the rats, so that the process could be repeated, over and over again. Some people, in fact, began raising rats to earn a bounty.

Defeated by the resistance of the weak, the French were forced to scrap the bounty programme. None of this prevented the bubonic plague, which swept through the area in 1903 and in subsequent years. In a way, the rat menace marks the limits of French power and the contradictions in their 'civilising mission'. And the actions of the rat-catchers tell us of the numerous small ways in which colonialism was fought in everyday life.

Discuss

What does the 1903 plague and the measures to control it tell us about the French colonial attitude towards questions of health and hygiene?

4 Religion and Anti-colonialism

Colonial domination was exercised by control over all areas of private and public life. The French occupied Vietnam militarily but they also sought to reshape social and cultural life. While religion played an important role in strengthening colonial control, it also provided ways of resistance. Let us consider how this happened.

Vietnam's religious beliefs were a mixture of Buddhism, Confucianism and local practices. Christianity, introduced by French missionaries, was intolerant of this easygoing attitude and viewed the Vietnamese tendency to revere the supernatural as something to be corrected.

From the eighteenth century, many religious movements were hostile to the Western presence. An early movement against French control and the spread of Christianity was the Scholars Revolt in 1868. This revolt was led by officials at the imperial court angered by the spread of Catholicism and French power. They led a general uprising in

Box 1

Confucius (551-479 BCE), a Chinese thinker, developed a philosophical system based on good conduct, practical wisdom and proper social relationships. People were taught to respect their parents and submit to elders. They were told that the relationship between the ruler and the people was the same as that between children and parents.

Fig. 8 – The execution of Father Borie, a Catholic missionary.
Images like this by French artists were publicised in France to stir up religious fury.

Ngu An and Ha Tien provinces where over a thousand Catholics were killed. Catholic missionaries had been active in winning converts since the early seventeenth century, and by the middle of the eighteenth century had converted some 300,000. The French crushed the movement but this uprising served to inspire other patriots to rise up against them.

The elites in Vietnam were educated in Chinese and Confucianism. But religious beliefs among the peasantry were shaped by a variety of **syncretic** traditions that combined Buddhism and local beliefs. There were many popular religions in Vietnam that were spread by people who claimed to have seen a vision of God. Some of these religious movements supported the French, but others inspired movements against colonial rule.

One such movement was the Hoa Hao. It began in 1939 and gained great popularity in the fertile Mekong delta area. It drew on religious ideas popular in anti-French uprisings of the nineteenth century.

The founder of Hoa Hao was a man called Huynh Phu So. He performed miracles and helped the poor. His criticism against useless expenditure had a wide appeal. He also opposed the sale of child brides, gambling and the use of alcohol and opium.

The French tried to suppress the movement inspired by Huynh Phu So. They declared him mad, called him the Mad Bonze, and put him in a mental asylum. Interestingly, the doctor who had to prove him insane became his follower, and finally in 1941, even the French doctors declared that he was sane. The French authorities exiled him to Laos and sent many of his followers to **concentration camps**.

Movements like this always had a contradictory relationship with mainstream nationalism. Political parties often drew upon their support, but were uneasy about their activities. They could neither control or discipline these groups, nor support their rituals and practices.

Yet the significance of these movements in arousing anti-imperialist sentiments should not be underestimated.

New words

Syncretic – Characterised by syncretism; aims to bring together different beliefs and practices, seeing their essential unity rather than their difference

Concentration camp – A prison where people are detained without due process of law. The word evokes an image of a place of torture and brutal treatment

5 The Vision of Modernisation

French colonialism was resisted at many levels and in various forms. But all nationalists had to grapple with one set of questions: What was it to be Modern? What was it to be Nationalist? In order to be modern, was it necessary to regard tradition as backward and reject all earlier ideas and social practices? Was it necessary to consider the 'West' as the symbol of development and civilisation, and try and copy the West?

Different answers were offered to such questions. Some intellectuals felt that Vietnamese traditions had to be strengthened to resist the domination of the West, while others felt that Vietnam had to learn from the West even while opposing foreign domination. These differing visions led to complex debates, which could not be easily resolved.

In the late nineteenth century, resistance to French domination was very often led by Confucian scholar-activists, who saw their world crumbling. Educated in the Confucian tradition, Phan Boi Chau (1867-1940) was one such nationalist. He became a major figure in the anti-colonial resistance from the time he formed the Revolutionary Society (Duy Tan Hoi) in 1903, with Prince Cuong De as the head.

Phan Boi Chau met the Chinese reformer Liang Qichao (1873-1929) in Yokohama in 1905. Phan's most influential book, *The History of the Loss of Vietnam* was written under the strong influence and advice of Qichao. It became a widely read bestseller in Vietnam and China and was even made into a play. The book focuses on two connected themes: the loss of sovereignty and the severing of ties with China – ties that bound the elites of the two countries within a shared culture. It is this double loss that Phan laments, a lament that was typical of reformers from within the traditional elite.

Other nationalists strongly differed with Phan Boi Chau. One such was Phan Chu Trinh (1871-1926). He was intensely hostile to the monarchy and opposed to the idea of resisting the French with the help of the court. His desire was to establish a democratic **republic**. Profoundly influenced by the democratic ideals of the West, he did not want a wholesale rejection of Western civilisation. He accepted the French revolutionary ideal of liberty but charged the French for not abiding by the ideal. He demanded that the French set up legal and educational institutions, and develop agriculture and industries.

Source A

In Japan, Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chu Trinh spent time together, discussing their visions of Vietnamese independence, and debating their differences. This is what Phan Boi Chau later wrote about their discussions:

'Thereafter over more than ten days, he and I debated time and again, and our opinions were diametrically opposed. That is to say, he wished to overthrow the monarchy in order to create a basis for the promotion of popular rights; I, on the contrary, maintained that first the foreign enemy should be driven out, and after our nation's independence was restored we could talk about other things. My plan was to make use of the monarchy, which he opposed absolutely. His plan was to raise up the people to abolish the monarchy, with which I absolutely disagreed. In other words, he and I were pursuing one and the same goal, but our means were considerably different.'

Source

Discuss

What ideas did Phan Boi Chau and Phan Chu Trinh share in common? What did they differ on?

New words

Republic – A form of government based on popular consent and popular representation. It is based on the power of the people as opposed to monarchy

5.1 Other Ways of Becoming Modern: Japan and China

Early Vietnamese nationalists had a close relationship with Japan and China. They provided models for those looking to change, a refuge for those who were escaping French police, and a location where a wider Asian network of revolutionaries could be established.

In the first decade of the twentieth century a 'go east movement' became popular. In 1907-08 some 300 Vietnamese students went to Japan to acquire modern education. For many of them the primary objective was to drive out the French from Vietnam, overthrow the puppet emperor and re-establish the Nguyen dynasty that had been deposed by the French. These nationalists looked for foreign arms and help. They appealed to the Japanese as fellow Asians. Japan had modernised itself and had resisted colonisation by the West. Besides, its victory over Russia in 1907 proved its military capabilities. Vietnamese students established a branch of the Restoration Society in Tokyo but after 1908, the Japanese Ministry of Interior clamped down on them. Many, including Phan Boi Chau, were deported and forced to seek exile in China and Thailand.

Developments in China also inspired Vietnamese nationalists. In 1911, the long established monarchy in China was overthrown by a popular movement under Sun Yat-sen, and a Republic was set up. Inspired by these developments, Vietnamese students organised the Association for the Restoration of Vietnam (Viet-Nam Quan Phuc Hoi). Now the nature of the anti-French independence movement changed. The objective was no longer to set up a constitutional monarchy but a democratic republic.

Soon, however, the anti-imperialist movement in Vietnam came under a new type of leadership.

Fig. 9 – Cartoon of Vietnamese nationalists chasing away imperialists. *In all such nationalist representations of struggle the nationalists appear heroic, marching ahead, while the imperial forces flee.*

6 The Communist Movement and Vietnamese Nationalism

The Great Depression of the 1930s had a profound impact on Vietnam. The prices of rubber and rice fell, leading to rising rural debts, unemployment and rural uprisings, such as in the provinces of Nghe An and Ha Tinh. These provinces were among the poorest, had an old radical tradition, and have been called the 'electrical fuses' of Vietnam – when the system was under pressure they were the first to blow. The French put these uprisings down with great severity, even using planes to bomb demonstrators.

In February 1930, Ho Chi Minh brought together competing nationalist groups to establish the Vietnamese Communist (Vietnam Cong San Dang) Party, later renamed the Indo-Chinese Communist Party. He was inspired by the militant demonstrations of the European communist parties.

In 1940 Japan occupied Vietnam, as part of its imperial drive to control Southeast Asia. So nationalists now had to fight against the Japanese as well as the French. The League for the Independence of Vietnam (Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh), which came to be known as the Vietminh, fought the Japanese occupation and recaptured Hanoi in September 1945. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam was formed and Ho Chi Minh became Chairman.

6.1 The New Republic of Vietnam

The new republic faced a number of challenges. The French tried to regain control by using the emperor, Bao Dai, as their puppet. Faced with the French offensive, the Vietminh were forced to retreat to the hills. After eight years of fighting, the French were defeated in 1954 at Dien Bien Phu.

The Supreme French Commander of the French armies, General Henry Navarre had declared confidently in 1953 that they would soon be victorious. But on 7 May 1954, the Vietminh annihilated and captured more than 16,000 soldiers of the French Expeditionary Corps. The entire commanding staff, including a general, 16 colonels and 1,749 officers, were taken prisoner.

In the peace negotiations in Geneva that followed the French defeat, the Vietnamese were persuaded to accept the division of the country. North and south were split: Ho Chi Minh and the communists took

Source B

Declaration of independence

The declaration of the new republic began by reaffirming the principles of the declaration of independence of the United States in 1771 and of the French Revolution in 1791 but added that the French imperialists do not follow these principles for they

'have violated our fatherland and oppressed our fellow citizens. They have acted contrary to the ideals of humanity and justice.

'In the field of politics, they have deprived us of all liberties. They have imposed upon us inhuman laws ... They have built more prisons than schools. They have mercilessly slain our patriots; they have drowned our uprisings in rivers of blood.

'They have fettered public opinion; they have practiced **obscurantism** against our people ...

'For these reasons, we members of the Provisional Government, representing the entire population of Vietnam, declare that we shall henceforth have no connection with imperialist France; that we abolish all the privileges which the French have arrogated to themselves on our territory ...

'We solemnly proclaim to the entire world: Vietnam has the right to be free and independent, and in fact has become free and independent.'

Source

New words

Obscurantist – Person or ideas that mislead

power in the north while Bao Dai's regime was put in power in the south.

This division set in motion a series of events that turned Vietnam into a battlefield bringing death and destruction to its people as well as the environment. The Bao Dai regime was soon overthrown by a coup led by Ngo Dinh Diem. Diem built a repressive and authoritarian government. Anyone who opposed him was called a communist and was jailed and killed. Diem retained Ordinance 10, a French law that permitted Christianity but outlawed Buddhism. His dictatorial rule came to be opposed by a broad opposition united under the banner of the National Liberation Front (NLF).

With the help of the Ho Chi Minh government in the north, the NLF fought for the unification of the country. The US

Fig. 10 – The French Commander in Indo-China, General Henri Navarre (right).
Navarre wanted to attack the Vietminh even in their remote bases. As a consequence the French opened many fronts of attack and scattered their forces. Navarre's plans backfired in the North Eastern Valley of Dien Bien Phu.

Box 2

At Dien Bien Phu the French were outwitted by the Vietminh forces led by General Vo Nguyen Giap. The French Commander, Navarre, had not thought of all the problems he would face in the battle. The valley where French garrisons were located was flooded in the monsoon and the area was covered with bushes, making it difficult to move troops and tanks, or trace the Vietminh anti-aircraft guns hidden in the jungle.

From their base in the hills, the Vietminh surrounded the French garrisons in the valley below, digging trenches and tunnels to move without being detected. Supplies and reinforcements could not reach the besieged French garrison, the wounded French soldiers could not be moved, and the French airstrip became unusable because of continuous artillery fire.

Dien Bien Phu became a very important symbol of struggle. It strengthened Vietminh conviction in their capacity to fight powerful imperial forces through determination and proper strategy. Stories of the battle were retold in villages and cities to inspire people.

Fig. 11 – Supplies being taken to Dien Bien Phu.
Vietminh forces used bicycles and porters to transport supplies. They went through jungles and hidden tracks to escape enemy attacks.

Box 3

Ho Chi Minh (1890-1969)

Little is known about his early life mostly because Minh chose to downplay his personal background and identify himself with the cause of Vietnam. Probably born as Nguyen Van Thanh in Central Vietnam, he studied at French schools that produced leaders such as Ngo Dinh Diem, Vo Nguyen Giap and Pham Van Dong. He briefly taught in 1910, and in 1911, learnt baking and took a job on a French liner on the Saigon-Marseilles run. Minh became an active member of the Commintern, meeting Lenin and other leaders. In May 1941, after 30 years abroad in Europe, Thailand and China, Minh finally returned to Vietnam. In 1943 he took the name Ho Chi Minh (He Who Enlightens). He became president of the Vietnam Democratic Republic. Ho Chi Minh died on 3 September 1969. He led the party successfully for over 40 years, struggling to preserve Vietnamese autonomy.

watched this alliance with fear. Worried about communists gaining power, it decided to intervene decisively, sending in troops and arms.

6.2 The Entry of the US into the War

US entry into the war marked a new phase that proved costly to the Vietnamese as well as to the Americans. From 1965 to 1972, over 3,403,100 US services personnel served in Vietnam (7,484 were women). Even though the US had advanced technology and good

Fig. 12 – American soldiers searching rice fields for Vietcongs.

medical supplies, casualties were high. About 47,244 died in battle and 303,704 were wounded. (Of those wounded, 23,014 were listed by the Veterans Administration to be 100 per cent disabled.)

This phase of struggle with the US was brutal. Thousands of US troops arrived equipped with heavy weapons and tanks and backed by the most powerful bombers of the time – B52s. The wide spread attacks and use of chemical weapons – **Napalm,** Agent Orange, and phosphorous bombs – destroyed many villages and decimated jungles. Civilians died in large numbers.

The effect of the war was felt within the US as well. Many were critical of the government for getting involved in a war that they saw as indefensible. When the youth were drafted for the war, the anger spread. Compulsory service in the armed forces, however, could be waived for university graduates. This meant that many of those sent to fight did not belong to the privileged elite but were minorities and children of working-class families.

The US media and films played a major role in both supporting as well as criticising the war. Hollywood made films in support of the war, such as John Wayne's *Green Berets* (1968). This has been cited by many as an example of an unthinking propaganda film that was responsible for motivating many young men to die in the war. Other films were more critical as they tried to understand the reasons for this war. Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* (1979) reflected the moral confusion that the war had caused in the US.

The war grew out of a fear among US policy-planners that the victory of the Ho Chi Minh government would start a domino effect – communist governments would be established in other countries in the area. They underestimated the power of nationalism to move people to action, inspire them to sacrifice their home and family, live under horrific conditions, and fight for independence. They underestimated the power of a small country to fight the most technologically advanced country in the world.

Box 4

Agent Orange: The Deadly Poison

Agent Orange is a defoliant, a plant killer, so called because it was stored in drums marked with an orange band. Between 1961 and 1971, some 11 million gallons of this chemical was sprayed from cargo planes by US forces. Their plan was to destroy forests and fields, so that it would be easier to kill if there was no jungle cover for people to hide in. Over 14 per cent of the country's farmland was affected by this poison. Its effect has been staggering, continuing to affect people till today. Dioxin, an element of Agent Orange, is known to cause cancer and brain damage in children, and, according to a study, is also the cause of the high incidence of deformities found in the sprayed areas.

The tonnage of bombs, including chemical arms, used during the US intervention (mostly against civilian targets) in Vietnam exceeds that used throughout the Second World War.

Fig. 13 – In December 1972 Hanoi was bombed.

New words

Napalm – An organic compound used to thicken gasoline for firebombs. The mixture burns slowly and when it comes in contact with surfaces like the human body, it sticks and continues to burn. Developed in the US, it was used in the Second World War. Despite an international outcry, it was used in Vietnam.

6.3 The Ho Chi Minh Trail

The story of the Ho Chi Minh trail is one way of understanding the nature of the war that the Vietnamese fought against the US. It symbolises how the Vietnamese used their limited resources to great advantage. The trail, an immense network of footpaths and roads, was used to transport men and materials from the north to the south. The trail was improved from the late 1950s, and from 1967 about 20,000 North Vietnamese troops came south each month on this trail.

The trail had support bases and hospitals along the way. In some parts supplies were transported in trucks, but mostly they were carried by porters, who were mainly women. These porters carried about 25 kilos on their backs, or about 70 kilos on their bicycles.

Most of the trail was outside Vietnam in neighbouring Laos and Cambodia with branch lines extending into South Vietnam. The US regularly bombed this trail trying to disrupt supplies, but efforts to destroy this important supply line by intensive bombing failed because they were rebuilt very quickly.

Fig.14 – The Ho Chi Minh trail.
Notice how the trail moved through Laos and Cambodia.

Fig. 15 – Rebuilding damaged roads.
Roads damaged by bombs were quickly rebuilt.

Fig. 16 – On the Ho Chi Minh trail.

Source C

Letters of Mr Do Sam

Do Sam was a colonel in the North Vietnamese artillery regiment. He was part of the Tet Offensive started in 1968, to unify North and South Vietnam and win the battle against US. These are extracts from his letters written to his wife from the scene of battle. They show how, in the nationalist imagination, personal love mingles with love for the country and the desire for freedom. Sacrifice appears necessary for happiness.

Letter dated 6/1968

'You ask me what "you miss most when you think of me?" I miss the environment of our wedding ... I miss the small cozy room with lots of memories. I miss ...

'Right after our wedding I had to again leave to fight in order to protect the coastal areas of our country. What a short time we had before I had to station permanently in the South. The more I think, the more I feel for you; therefore I would have to be more determined to protect the country in order to bring happiness for millions of couples like us ...

'Last night the car kept heading south. This morning I am writing to you sitting on a stone, surrounded by the sound of streams and the rustle of trees, as if they were celebrating our happiness. Looking forward to the day when we can return victoriously. Then we could live in greater happiness, couldn't we? Wish you good health and miss me always ...'

Letter dated 6/1968

'Though you are always in my mind I have to focus on my work to contribute to the victory of the ongoing struggle of our nation ...

'I have promised myself that only when the South is liberated and peace and happiness return to the people, only then could I be free to focus on building our own happiness, only then I could be satisfied with our family life ...'

- Hung, Dang Vuong, *Những lá thư thời chiến Việt Nam* (Letters Written during the War in Vietnam), publication of Hoi nha van (Writers' Association), 2005. Translation by Nguen Quoc Anh.

Source

7 The Nation and Its Heroes

Another way of looking at social movements is to see how they affect different groups in society. Let us see how the roles of women were specified in the anti-imperialist movement in Vietnam, and what that tells us about nationalist ideology.

7.1 Women as Rebels

Women in Vietnam traditionally enjoyed greater equality than in China, particularly among the lower classes, but they had only limited freedom to determine their future and played no role in public life.

As the nationalist movement grew, the status of women came to be questioned and a new image of womanhood emerged. Writers and political thinkers began idealising women who rebelled against social norms. In the 1930s, a famous novel by Nhat Linh caused a scandal because it showed a woman leaving a forced marriage and marrying someone of her choice, someone who was involved in nationalist politics. This rebellion against social conventions marked the arrival of the new woman in Vietnamese society.

7.2 Heroes of Past Times

Rebel women of the past were similarly celebrated. In 1913, the nationalist Phan Boi Chau wrote a play based on the lives of the Trung sisters who had fought against Chinese domination in 39-43 CE. In this play he depicted these sisters as patriots fighting to save the Vietnamese nation from the Chinese. The actual reasons for the revolt are a matter of debate among scholars, but after Phan's play the Trung sisters came to be idealised and glorified. They were depicted in paintings, plays and novels as representing the indomitable will and the intense patriotism of the Vietnamese. We are told that they gathered a force of over 30,000, resisted the Chinese for two years, and when ultimately defeated, they committed suicide, instead of surrendering to the enemy.

Other women rebels of the past were part of the popular nationalist lore. One of the most venerated was Trieu Au who lived in the third century CE. Orphaned in childhood, she lived with her brother. On growing up she left home, went into the jungles, organised a large army and resisted Chinese rule. Finally, when her army was

Fig. 17 – Image of Trieu Au worshipped as a sacred figure.
Rebels who resisted Chinese rule continue to be celebrated.

crushed, she drowned herself. She became a sacred figure, not just a martyr who fought for the honour of the country. Nationalists popularised her image to inspire people to action.

7.3 Women as Warriors

In the 1960s, photographs in magazines and journals showed women as brave fighters. There were pictures of women militia shooting down planes. They were portrayed as young, brave and dedicated. Stories were written to show how happy they felt when they joined the army and could carry a rifle. Some stories spoke of their incredible bravery in single-handedly killing the enemy – Nguyen Thi Xuan, for instance, was reputed to have shot down a jet with just twenty bullets.

Women were represented not only as warriors but also as workers: they were shown with a rifle in one hand and a hammer in the other. Whether young or old, women began to be depicted as selflessly working and fighting to save the country. As casualties in the war increased in the 1960s, women were urged to join the struggle in larger numbers.

Many women responded and joined the resistance movement. They helped in nursing the wounded, constructing underground rooms and tunnels and fighting the enemy. Along the Ho Chi Minh trail young volunteers kept open 2,195 km of strategic roads and guarded 2,500 key points. They built six airstrips, neutralised tens of thousands of bombs, transported tens of thousands of kilograms of cargo, weapons and food and shot down fifteen planes. Between 1965 and 1975, of the 17,000 youth who worked on the trail, 70 to 80 per cent were women. One military historian argues that there were 1.5 million women in the regular army, the militia, the local forces and professional teams.

7.4 Women in Times of Peace

By the 1970s, as peace talks began to get under way and the end of the war seemed near, women were no longer represented as warriors. Now the image of women as workers begins to predominate. They are shown working in agricultural cooperatives, factories and production units, rather than as fighters.

Fig. 18 – With a gun in one hand.
Stories about women showed them eager to join the army. A common description was: 'A rosy-cheeked woman, here I am fighting side by side with you men. The prison is my school, the sword is my child, the gun is my husband.'

Fig. 19 – Vietnamese women doctors nursing the wounded.

8 The End of the War

The prolongation of the war created strong reactions even within the US. It was clear that the US had failed to achieve its objectives: the Vietnamese resistance had not been crushed; the support of the Vietnamese people for US action had not been won. In the meantime, thousands of young US soldiers had lost their lives, and countless Vietnamese civilians had been killed. This was a war that has been called the first television war. Battle scenes were shown on the daily news programmes. Many became disillusioned with what the US was doing and writers such as Mary McCarthy, and actors like Jane Fonda even visited North Vietnam and praised their heroic defence of the country. The scholar Noam Chomsky called the war 'the greatest threat to peace, to national self-determination, and to international cooperation'.

Fig. 20 – North Vietnamese prisoners in South Vietnam being released after the accord .

The widespread questioning of government policy strengthened moves to negotiate an end to the war. A peace settlement was signed in Paris in January 1974. This ended conflict with the US but fighting between the Saigon regime and the NLF continued. The NLF occupied the presidential palace in Saigon on 30 April 1975 and unified Vietnam.

Fig. 21 – Vietcong soldiers pose triumphantly atop a tank after Saigon is liberated.
What does this image tell us about the nature of Vietnamese nationalism?

Write in brief

1. Write a note on:
   a) What was meant by the 'civilising mission' of the colonisers
   b) Huynh Phu So
2. Explain the following:
   a) Only one-third of the students in Vietnam would pass the school-leaving examinations.
   b) The French began building canals and draining lands in the Mekong delta.
   c) The government made the Saigon Native Girls School take back the students it had expelled.
   d) Rats were most common in the modern, newly built areas of Hanoi.
3. Describe the ideas behind the Tonkin Free School. To what extent was it a typical example of colonial ideas in Vietnam?
4. What was Phan Chu Trinh's objective for Vietnam? How were his ideas different from those of Phan Boi Chau?

Write in brief

Discuss

1. With reference to what you have read in this chapter, discuss the influence of China on Vietnam's culture and life.
2. What was the role of religious groups in the development of anti-colonial feeling in Vietnam?
3. Explain the causes of the US involvement in the war in Vietnam. What effect did this involvement have on life within the US itself?
4. Write an evaluation of the Vietnamese war against the US from the point of
   a) a porter on the Ho Chi Minh trail.
   b) a woman soldier.
5. What was the role of women in the anti-imperial struggle in Vietnam? Compare this with the role of women in the nationalist struggle in India.

Discuss

Project

Find out about the anti-imperialist movement in any one country in South America. Imagine that a freedom fighter from this country meets a Vietminh soldier; they become friends and talk about their experiences of the freedom struggles in their countries. Write about the conversation they might have.

Project

Nationalism in India

As you have seen, modern nationalism in Europe came to be associated with the formation of nation-states. It also meant a change in people's understanding of who they were, and what defined their identity and sense of belonging. New symbols and icons, new songs and ideas forged new links and redefined the boundaries of communities. In most countries the making of this new national identity was a long process. How did this consciousness emerge in India?

In India, as in Vietnam and many other colonies, the growth of modern nationalism is intimately connected to the anti-colonial movement. People began discovering their unity in the process of their struggle with colonialism. The sense of being oppressed under colonialism provided a shared bond that tied many different groups together. But each class and group felt the effects of colonialism differently, their experiences were varied, and their notions of freedom were not always the same. The Congress under Mahatma Gandhi tried to forge these groups together within one movement. But the unity did not emerge without conflict.

In an earlier textbook you have read about the growth of nationalism in India up to the first decade of the twentieth century. In this chapter we will pick up the story from the 1920s and study the Non-Cooperation and Civil Disobedience Movements. We will explore how the Congress sought to develop the national movement, how different social groups participated in the movement, and how nationalism captured the imagination of people.

Fig. 1 – 6 April 1919. *Mass processions on the streets became a common feature during the national movement.*

1 The First World War, Khilafat and Non-Cooperation

In the years after 1919, we see the national movement spreading to new areas, incorporating new social groups, and developing new modes of struggle. How do we understand these developments? What implications did they have?

First of all, the war created a new economic and political situation. It led to a huge increase in defence expenditure which was financed by war loans and increasing taxes: customs duties were raised and income tax introduced. Through the war years prices increased – doubling between 1913 and 1918 – leading to extreme hardship for the common people. Villages were called upon to supply soldiers, and the **forced recruitment** in rural areas caused widespread anger. Then in 1918-19 and 1920-21, crops failed in many parts of India, resulting in acute shortages of food. This was accompanied by an influenza epidemic. According to the census of 1921, 12 to 13 million people perished as a result of famines and the epidemic.

New words

Forced recruitment – A process by which the colonial state forced people to join the army

People hoped that their hardships would end after the war was over. But that did not happen.

At this stage a new leader appeared and suggested a new mode of struggle.

1.1 The Idea of Satyagraha

Mahatma Gandhi returned to India in January 1915. As you know, he had come from South Africa where he had successfully fought

Fig. 2 – Indian workers in South Africa march through Volksrust, 6 November 1913.
Mahatma Gandhi was leading the workers from Newcastle to Transvaal. When the marchers were stopped and Gandhiji arrested, thousands of more workers joined the satyagraha *against racist laws that denied rights to non-whites.*

the racist regime with a novel method of mass agitation, which he called satyagraha. The idea of satyagraha emphasised the power of truth and the need to search for truth. It suggested that if the cause was true, if the struggle was against injustice, then physical force was not necessary to fight the oppressor. Without seeking vengeance or being aggressive, a satyagrahi could win the battle through non-violence. This could be done by appealing to the conscience of the oppressor. People – including the oppressors – had to be persuaded to see the truth, instead of being forced to accept truth through the use of violence. By this struggle, truth was bound to ultimately triumph. Mahatma Gandhi believed that this *dharma* of non-violence could unite all Indians.

After arriving in India, Mahatma Gandhi successfully organised satyagraha movements in various places. In 1916 he travelled to Champaran in Bihar to inspire the peasants to struggle against the oppressive plantation system. Then in 1917, he organised a satyagraha to support the peasants of the Kheda district of Gujarat. Affected by crop failure and a plague epidemic, the peasants of Kheda could not pay the revenue, and were demanding that revenue collection be relaxed. In 1918, Mahatma Gandhi went to Ahmedabad to organise a satyagraha movement amongst cotton mill workers.

1.2 The Rowlatt Act

Emboldened with this success, Gandhiji in 1919 decided to launch a nationwide satyagraha against the proposed Rowlatt Act (1919). This Act had been hurriedly passed through the Imperial Legislative Council despite the united opposition of the Indian members. It gave the government enormous powers to repress political activities, and allowed detention of political prisoners without trial for two years. Mahatma Gandhi wanted non-violent civil disobedience against such unjust laws, which would start with a *hartal* on 6 April.

Rallies were organised in various cities, workers went on strike in railway workshops, and shops closed down. Alarmed by the popular upsurge, and scared that lines of communication such as the railways and telegraph would be disrupted, the British administration decided to clamp down on nationalists. Local leaders were picked up from Amritsar, and Mahatma Gandhi was barred from entering Delhi. On 10 April, the police in Amritsar fired upon a peaceful procession, provoking widespread attacks on banks, post offices and railway stations. Martial law was imposed and General Dyer took command.

Source A

Mahatma Gandhi on *Satyagraha*

'It is said of "passive resistance" that it is the weapon of the weak, but the power which is the subject of this article can be used only by the strong. This power is not passive resistance; indeed it calls for intense activity. The movement in South Africa was not passive but active ...

' Satyagraha is not physical force. A *satyagrahi* does not inflict pain on the adversary; he does not seek his destruction ... In the use of *satyagraha*, there is no ill-will whatever.

' Satyagraha is pure soul-force. Truth is the very substance of the soul. That is why this force is called satyagraha. The soul is informed with knowledge. In it burns the flame of love. ... Non-violence is the supreme *dharma* ...

'It is certain that India cannot rival Britain or Europe in force of arms. The British worship the war-god and they can all of them become, as they are becoming, bearers of arms. The hundreds of millions in India can never carry arms. They have made the religion of non-violence their own ...'

Source

Activity

Read the text carefully. What did Mahatma Gandhi mean when he said *satyagraha* is active resistance?

On 13 April the infamous Jallianwalla Bagh incident took place. On that day a large crowd gathered in the enclosed ground of Jallianwalla Bagh. Some came to protest against the government's new repressive measures. Others had come to attend the annual Baisakhi fair. Being from outside the city, many villagers were unaware of the martial law that had been imposed. Dyer entered the area, blocked the exit points, and opened fire on the crowd, killing hundreds. His object, as he declared later, was to 'produce a moral effect', to create in the minds of satyagrahis a feeling of terror and awe.

As the news of Jallianwalla Bagh spread, crowds took to the streets in many north Indian towns. There were strikes, clashes with the police and attacks on government buildings. The government responded with brutal repression, seeking to humiliate and terrorise people: satyagrahis were forced to rub their noses on the ground, crawl on the streets, and do *salaam* (salute) to all sahibs; people were flogged and villages (around Gujranwala in Punjab, now in Pakistan) were bombed. Seeing violence spread, Mahatma Gandhi called off the movement.

Fig. 3 – General Dyer's 'crawling orders' being administered by British soldiers, Amritsar, Punjab, 1919.

While the Rowlatt satyagraha had been a widespread movement, it was still limited mostly to cities and towns. Mahatma Gandhi now felt the need to launch a more broad-based movement in India. But he was certain that no such movement could be organised without bringing the Hindus and Muslims closer together. One way of doing this, he felt, was to take up the Khilafat issue. The First World War had ended with the defeat of Ottoman Turkey. And there were rumours that a harsh peace treaty was going to be imposed on the Ottoman emperor – the spiritual head of the Islamic world (the Khalifa). To defend the Khalifa's temporal powers, a Khilafat Committee was formed in Bombay in March 1919. A young generation of Muslim leaders like the brothers Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali, began discussing with Mahatma Gandhi about the possibility of a united mass action on the issue. Gandhiji saw this as an opportunity to bring Muslims under the umbrella of a unified national movement. At the Calcutta session of the Congress in September 1920, he convinced other leaders of the need to start a non-cooperation movement in support of Khilafat as well as for swaraj.

1.3 Why Non-cooperation?

In his famous book *Hind Swaraj* (1909) Mahatma Gandhi declared that British rule was established in India with the cooperation of

Indians, and had survived only because of this cooperation. If Indians refused to cooperate, British rule in India would collapse within a year, and swaraj would come.

How could non-cooperation become a movement? Gandhiji proposed that the movement should unfold in stages. It should begin with the surrender of titles that the government awarded, and a **boycott** of civil services, army, police, courts and legislative councils, schools, and foreign goods. Then, in case the government used repression, a full civil disobedience campaign would be launched. Through the summer of 1920 Mahatma Gandhi and Shaukat Ali toured extensively, mobilising popular support for the movement.

New words

Boycott – The refusal to deal and associate with people, or participate in activities, or buy and use things; usually a form of protest

Many within the Congress were, however, concerned about the proposals. They were reluctant to boycott the council elections scheduled for November 1920, and they feared that the movement might lead to popular violence. In the months between September and December there was an intense tussle within the Congress. For a while there seemed no meeting point between the supporters and the opponents of the movement. Finally, at the Congress session at Nagpur in December 1920, a compromise was worked out and the Non-Cooperation programme was adopted.

How did the movement unfold? Who participated in it? How did different social groups conceive of the idea of Non-Cooperation?

Fig. 4 – The boycott of foreign cloth, July 1922.
Foreign cloth was seen as the symbol of Western economic and cultural domination.

2 Differing Strands within the Movement

The Non-Cooperation-Khilafat Movement began in January 1921. Various social groups participated in this movement, each with its own specific aspiration. All of them responded to the call of Swaraj, but the term meant different things to different people.

2.1 The Movement in the Towns

The movement started with middle-class participation in the cities. Thousands of students left government-controlled schools and colleges, headmasters and teachers resigned, and lawyers gave up their legal practices. The council elections were boycotted in most provinces except Madras, where the Justice Party, the party of the non-Brahmans, felt that entering the council was one way of gaining some power – something that usually only Brahmans had access to.

The effects of non-cooperation on the economic front were more dramatic. Foreign goods were boycotted, liquor shops **picketed**, and foreign cloth burnt in huge bonfires. The import of foreign cloth halved between 1921 and 1922, its value dropping from Rs 102 crore to Rs 57 crore. In many places merchants and traders refused to trade in foreign goods or finance foreign trade. As the boycott movement spread, and people began discarding imported clothes and wearing only Indian ones, production of Indian textile mills and handlooms went up.

New words

Picket – A form of demonstration or protest by which people block the entrance to a shop, factory or office

But this movement in the cities gradually slowed down for a variety of reasons. *Khadi* cloth was often more expensive than mass-produced mill cloth and poor people could not afford to buy it. How then could they boycott mill cloth for too long? Similarly the boycott of British institutions posed a problem. For the movement to be successful, alternative Indian institutions had to be set up so that they could be used in place of the British ones. These were slow to come up. So students and teachers began trickling back to government schools and lawyers joined back work in government courts.

Activity

The year is 1921. You are a student in a government-controlled school. Design a poster urging school students to answer Gandhiji's call to join the Non-Cooperation Movement.

2.2 Rebellion in the Countryside

From the cities, the Non-Cooperation Movement spread to the countryside. It drew into its fold the struggles of peasants and tribals

which were developing in different parts of India in the years after the war.

In Awadh, peasants were led by Baba Ramchandra – a *sanyasi* who had earlier been to Fiji as an indentured labourer. The movement here was against *talukdars* and landlords who demanded from peasants exorbitantly high rents and a variety of other cesses. Peasants had to do ***begar*** and work at landlords' farms without any payment. As tenants they had no security of tenure, being regularly evicted so that they could acquire no right over the leased land. The peasant movement demanded reduction of revenue, abolition of *begar*, and social boycott of oppressive landlords. In many places *nai – dhobi bandhs* were organised by panchayats to deprive landlords of the services of even barbers and washermen. In June 1920, Jawaharlal Nehru began going around the villages in Awadh, talking to the villagers, and trying to understand their grievances. By October, the Oudh Kisan Sabha was set up headed by Jawaharlal Nehru, Baba Ramchandra and a few others. Within a month, over 300 branches had been set up in the villages around the region. So when the Non-Cooperation Movement began the following year, the effort of the Congress was to integrate the Awadh peasant struggle into the wider struggle. The peasant movement, however, developed in forms that the Congress leadership was unhappy with. As the movement spread in 1921, the houses of *talukdars* and merchants were attacked, bazaars were looted, and grain hoards were taken over. In many places local leaders told peasants that Gandhiji had declared that no taxes were to be paid and land was to be redistributed among the poor. The name of the Mahatma was being invoked to sanction all action and aspirations.

New words

Begar – Labour that villagers were forced to contribute without any payment

Activity

If you were a peasant in Uttar Pradesh in 1920, how would you have responded to Gandhiji's call for Swaraj? Give reasons for your response.

Source B

On 6 January 1921, the police in United Provinces fired at peasants near Rae Bareli. Jawaharlal Nehru wanted to go to the place of firing, but was stopped by the police. Agitated and angry, Nehru addressed the peasants who gathered around him. This is how he later described the meeting:

'They behaved as brave men, calm and unruffled in the face of danger. I do not know how they felt but I know what my feelings were. For a moment my blood was up, non-violence was almost forgotten – but for a moment only. The thought of the great leader, who by God's goodness has been sent to lead us to victory, came to me, and I saw the *kisans* seated and standing near me, less excited, more peaceful than I was – and the moment of weakness passed, I spoke to them in all humility on non-violence – I needed the lesson more than they – and they heeded me and peacefully dispersed.'

Quoted in Sarvapalli Gopal, *Jawaharlal Nehru: A Biography*, Vol. I.

Source

Tribal peasants interpreted the message of Mahatma Gandhi and the idea of *swaraj* in yet another way. In the Gudem Hills of Andhra Pradesh, for instance, a militant guerrilla movement spread in the early 1920s – not a form of struggle that the Congress could approve. Here, as in other forest regions, the colonial government had closed large forest areas, preventing people from entering the forests to graze their cattle, or to collect fuelwood and fruits. This enraged the hill people. Not only were their livelihoods affected but they felt that their traditional rights were being denied. When the government began forcing them to contribute *begar* for road building, the hill people revolted. The person who came to lead them was an interesting figure. Alluri Sitaram Raju claimed that he had a variety of special powers: he could make correct astrological predictions and heal people, and he could survive even bullet shots. Captivated by Raju, the rebels proclaimed that he was an incarnation of God. Raju talked of the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi, said he was inspired by the Non-Cooperation Movement, and persuaded people to wear *khadi* and give up drinking. But at the same time he asserted that India could be liberated only by the use of force, not non-violence. The Gudem rebels attacked police stations, attempted to kill British officials and carried on guerrilla warfare for achieving swaraj. Raju was captured and executed in 1924, and over time became a folk hero.

2.3 Swaraj in the Plantations

Workers too had their own understanding of Mahatma Gandhi and the notion of swaraj. For plantation workers in Assam, freedom meant the right to move freely in and out of the confined space in which they were enclosed, and it meant retaining a link with the village from which they had come. Under the Inland Emigration Act of 1859, plantation workers were not permitted to leave the tea gardens without permission, and in fact they were rarely given such permission. When they heard of the Non-Cooperation Movement, thousands of workers defied the authorities, left the plantations and headed home. They believed that Gandhi Raj was coming and everyone would be given land in their own villages. They, however, never reached their destination. Stranded on the way by a railway and steamer strike, they were caught by the police and brutally beaten up.

Activity

Find out about other participants in the National Movement who were captured and put to death by the British. Can you think of a similar example from the national movement in Indo-China (Chapter 2)?

The visions of these movements were not defined by the Congress programme. They interpreted the term swaraj in their own ways, imagining it to be a time when all suffering and all troubles would be over. Yet, when the tribals chanted Gandhiji's name and raised slogans demanding '*Swatantra Bharat*', they were also emotionally relating to an all-India agitation. When they acted in the name of Mahatma Gandhi, or linked their movement to that of the Congress, they were identifying with a movement which went beyond the limits of their immediate locality.

Fig. 5 – Chauri Chaura, 1922.
At Chauri Chaura in Gorakhpur, a peaceful demonstration in a bazaar turned into a violent clash with the police. Hearing of the incident, Mahatma Gandhi called a halt to the Non-Cooperation Movement.

3 Towards Civil Disobedience

In February 1922, Mahatma Gandhi decided to withdraw the Non-Cooperation Movement. He felt the movement was turning violent in many places and satyagrahis needed to be properly trained before they would be ready for mass struggles. Within the Congress, some leaders were by now tired of mass struggles and wanted to participate in elections to the provincial councils that had been set up by the Government of India Act of 1919. They felt that it was important to oppose British policies within the councils, argue for reform and also demonstrate that these councils were not truly democratic. C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru formed the Swaraj Party within the Congress to argue for a return to council politics. But younger leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose pressed for more radical mass agitation and for full independence.

In such a situation of internal debate and dissension two factors again shaped Indian politics towards the late 1920s. The first was the effect of the worldwide economic depression. Agricultural prices began to fall from 1926 and collapsed after 1930. As the demand for agricultural goods fell and exports declined, peasants found it difficult to sell their harvests and pay their revenue. By 1930, the countryside was in turmoil.

Against this background the new Tory government in Britain constituted a Statutory Commission under Sir John Simon. Set up in response to the nationalist movement, the commission was to look into the functioning of the constitutional system in India and suggest changes. The problem was that the commission did not have a single Indian member. They were all British.

When the Simon Commission arrived in India in 1928, it was greeted with the slogan 'Go back Simon'. All parties, including the Congress and the Muslim League, participated in the demonstrations. In an effort to win them over, the viceroy, Lord Irwin, announced in October 1929, a vague offer of 'dominion status' for India in an unspecified future, and a Round Table Conference to discuss a future constitution. This did not satisfy the Congress leaders. The radicals within the Congress, led by

Fig. 6 – Meeting of Congress leaders at Allahabad, 1931. *Apart from Mahatma Gandhi, you can see Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (extreme left), Jawaharlal Nehru (extreme right) and Subhas Chandra Bose (fifth from right).*

Jawaharlal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose, became more assertive. The liberals and moderates, who were proposing a constitutional system within the framework of British dominion, gradually lost their influence. In December 1929, under the presidency of Jawaharlal Nehru, the Lahore Congress formalised the demand of 'Purna Swaraj' or full independence for India. It was declared that 26 January 1930, would be celebrated as the Independence Day when people were to take a pledge to struggle for complete independence. But the celebrations attracted very little attention. So Mahatma Gandhi had to find a way to relate this abstract idea of freedom to more concrete issues of everyday life.

3.1 The Salt March and the Civil Disobedience Movement

Mahatma Gandhi found in salt a powerful symbol that could unite the nation. On 31 January 1930, he sent a letter to Viceroy Irwin stating eleven demands. Some of these were of general interest; others were specific demands of different classes, from industrialists to peasants. The idea was to make the demands wide-ranging, so that all classes within Indian society could identify with them and everyone could be brought together in a united campaign. The most stirring of all was the demand to abolish the salt tax. Salt was something consumed by the rich and the poor alike, and it was one of the most essential items of food. The tax on salt and the government monopoly over its production, Mahatma Gandhi declared, revealed the most oppressive face of British rule.

Mahatma Gandhi's letter was, in a way, an ultimatum. If the demands were not fulfilled by 11 March, the letter stated, the Congress would launch a civil disobedience campaign. Irwin was unwilling to negotiate. So Mahatma Gandhi started his famous salt march accompanied by 78 of his trusted volunteers. The march was over 240 miles, from Gandhiji's ashram in Sabarmati to the Gujarati coastal town of Dandi. The volunteers walked for 24 days, about 10 miles a day. Thousands came to hear Mahatma Gandhi wherever he stopped, and he told them what he meant by swaraj and urged them to peacefully defy the British. On 6 April he reached Dandi, and ceremonially violated the law, manufacturing salt by boiling sea water.

This marked the beginning of the Civil Disobedience Movement. How was this movement different from the Non-Cooperation Movement? People were now asked not only to refuse cooperation

Source C

The Independence Day Pledge, 26 January 1930

'We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil and have the necessities of life, so that they may have full opportunities of growth. We believe also that if any government deprives a people of these rights and oppresses them, the people have a further right to alter it or to abolish it. The British Government in India has not only deprived the Indian people of their freedom but has based itself on the exploitation of the masses, and has ruined India economically, politically, culturally, and spiritually. We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence.'

Source

Fig. 7 – The Dandi march. *During the salt march Mahatma Gandhi was accompanied by 78 volunteers. On the way they were joined by thousands.*

with the British, as they had done in 1921-22, but also to break colonial laws. Thousands in different parts of the country broke the salt law, manufactured salt and demonstrated in front of government salt factories. As the movement spread, foreign cloth was boycotted, and liquor shops were picketed. Peasants refused to pay revenue and *chaukidari* taxes, village officials resigned, and in many places forest people violated forest laws – going into Reserved Forests to collect wood and graze cattle.

Worried by the developments, the colonial government began arresting the Congress leaders one by one. This led to violent clashes in many palaces. When Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a devout disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, was arrested in April 1930, angry crowds demonstrated in the streets of Peshawar, facing armoured cars and police firing. Many were killed. A month later, when Mahatma Gandhi himself was arrested, industrial workers in Sholapur attacked police posts, municipal buildings, lawcourts and railway stations – all structures that symbolised British rule. A frightened government responded with a policy of brutal repression. Peaceful satyagrahis were attacked, women and children were beaten, and about 100,000 people were arrested.

Fig. 8 – Police cracked down on satyagrahis, 1930.

In such a situation, Mahatma Gandhi once again decided to call off the movement and entered into a pact with Irwin on 5 March 1931. By this Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Gandhiji consented to participate in a Round Table Conference (the Congress had boycotted the first

Round Table Conference) in London and the government agreed to release the political prisoners. In December 1931, Gandhiji went to London for the conference, but the negotiations broke down and he returned disappointed. Back in India, he discovered that the government had begun a new cycle of repression. Ghaffar Khan and Jawaharlal Nehru were both in jail, the Congress had been declared illegal, and a series of measures had been imposed to prevent meetings, demonstrations and boycotts. With great apprehension, Mahatma Gandhi relaunched the Civil Disobedience Movement. For over a year, the movement continued, but by 1934 it lost its momentum.

3.2 How Participants saw the Movement

Let us now look at the different social groups that participated in the Civil Disobedience Movement. Why did they join the movement? What were their ideals? What did swaraj mean to them?

In the countryside, rich peasant communities – like the Patidars of Gujarat and the Jats of Uttar Pradesh – were active in the movement. Being producers of commercial crops, they were very hard hit by the trade depression and falling prices. As their cash income disappeared, they found it impossible to pay the government's revenue demand. And the refusal of the government to reduce the revenue demand led to widespread resentment. These rich peasants became enthusiastic supporters of the Civil Disobedience Movement, organising their communities, and at times forcing reluctant members, to participate in the boycott programmes. For them the fight for swaraj was a struggle against high revenues. But they were deeply disappointed when the movement was called off in 1931 without the revenue rates being revised. So when the movement was restarted in 1932, many of them refused to participate.

The poorer peasantry were not just interested in the lowering of the revenue demand. Many of them were small tenants cultivating land they had rented from landlords. As the Depression continued and cash incomes dwindled, the small tenants found it difficult to pay their rent. They wanted the unpaid rent to the landlord to be remitted. They joined a variety of radical movements, often led by Socialists and Communists. Apprehensive of raising issues that might upset the rich peasants and landlords, the Congress was unwilling to support 'no rent' campaigns in most places. So the relationship between the poor peasants and the Congress remained uncertain.

Box 1

'To the altar of this revolution we have brought our youth as incense'

Many nationalists thought that the struggle against the British could not be won through non-violence. In 1928, the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army (HSRA) was founded at a meeting in Ferozeshah Kotla ground in Delhi. Amongst its leaders were Bhagat Singh, Jatin Das and Ajoy Ghosh. In a series of dramatic actions in different parts of India, the HSRA targeted some of the symbols of British power. In April 1929, Bhagat Singh and Batukeswar Dutta threw a bomb in the Legislative Assembly. In the same year there was an attempt to blow up the train that Lord Irwin was travelling in. Bhagat Singh was 23 when he was tried and executed by the colonial government. During his trial, Bhagat Singh stated that he did not wish to glorify 'the cult of the bomb and pistol' but wanted a revolution in society:

'Revolution is the inalienable right of mankind. Freedom is the imprescriptible birthright of all. The labourer is the real sustainer of society ... To the altar of this revolution we have brought our youth as incense, for no sacrifice is too great for so magnificent a cause. We are content. We await the advent of revolution. *Inquilab Zindabad!*'

What about the business classes? How did they relate to the Civil Disobedience Movement? During the First World War, Indian merchants and industrialists had made huge profits and become powerful (see Chapter 5). Keen on expanding their business, they now reacted against colonial policies that restricted business activities. They wanted protection against imports of foreign goods, and a rupee-sterling foreign exchange ratio that would discourage imports. To organise business interests, they formed the Indian Industrial and Commercial Congress in 1920 and the Federation of the Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industries (FICCI) in 1927. Led by prominent industrialists like Purshottamdas Thakurdas and G. D. Birla, the industrialists attacked colonial control over the Indian economy, and supported the Civil Disobedience Movement when it was first launched. They gave financial assistance and refused to buy or sell imported goods. Most businessmen came to see swaraj as a time when colonial restrictions on business would no longer exist and trade and industry would flourish without constraints. But after the failure of the Round Table Conference, business groups were no longer uniformly enthusiastic. They were apprehensive of the spread of militant activities, and worried about prolonged disruption of business, as well as of the growing influence of socialism amongst the younger members of the Congress.

The industrial working classes did not participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement in large numbers, except in the Nagpur region. As the industrialists came closer to the Congress, workers stayed aloof. But in spite of that, some workers did participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement, selectively adopting some of the ideas of the Gandhian programme, like boycott of foreign goods, as part of their own movements against low wages and poor working conditions. There were strikes by railway workers in 1930 and dockworkers in 1932. In 1930 thousands of workers in Chotanagpur tin mines wore Gandhi caps and participated in protest rallies and boycott campaigns. But the Congress was reluctant to include workers' demands as part of its programme of struggle. It felt that this would alienate industrialists and divide the anti-imperial forces.

Another important feature of the Civil Disobedience Movement was the large-scale participation of women. During Gandhiji's salt march, thousands of women came out of their homes to listen to him. They participated in protest marches, manufactured salt, and

Some important dates

1918-19

Distressed UP peasants organised by Baba Ramchandra.

April 1919

Gandhian *hartal* against Rowlatt Act; Jallianwala Bagh massacre.

January 1921

Non-Cooperation and Khilafat movement launched.

February 1922

Chauri Chaura; Gandhiji withdraws Non-Cooperation movement.

May 1924

Alluri Sitarama Raju arrested ending a two-year armed tribal struggle.

December 1929

Lahore Congress; Congress adopts the demand for 'Purna Swaraj'.

1930

Ambedkar establishes Depressed Classes Association.

March 1930

Gandhiji begins Civil Disobedience Movement by breaking salt law at Dandi.

March 1931

Gandhiji ends Civil Disobedience Movement.

December 1931

Second Round Table Conference.

1932

Civil Disobedience re-launched.

Fig. 9 – Women join nationalist processions. *During the national movement, many women, for the first time in their lives, moved out of their homes on to a public arena. Amongst the marchers you can see many old women, and mothers with children in their arms.*

picketed foreign cloth and liquor shops. Many went to jail. In urban areas these women were from high-caste families; in rural areas they came from rich peasant households. Moved by Gandhiji's call, they began to see service to the nation as a sacred duty of women. Yet, this increased public role did not necessarily mean any radical change in the way the position of women was visualised. Gandhiji was convinced that it was the duty of women to look after home and hearth, be good mothers and good wives. And for a long time the Congress was reluctant to allow women to hold any position of authority within the organisation. It was keen only on their symbolic presence.

Discuss

Why did various classes and groups of Indians participate in the Civil Disobedience Movement?

3.3 The Limits of Civil Disobedience

Not all social groups were moved by the abstract concept of swaraj. One such group was the nation's 'untouchables', who from around the 1930s had begun to call themselves dalit or oppressed. For long the Congress had ignored the dalits, for fear of offending the *sanatanis,* the conservative high-caste Hindus. But Mahatma Gandhi declared that swaraj would not come for a hundred years if untouchability was not eliminated. He called the 'untouchables' harijan,

or the children of God, organised satyagraha to secure them entry into temples, and access to public wells, tanks, roads and schools. He himself cleaned toilets to dignify the work of the bhangi (the sweepers), and persuaded upper castes to change their heart and give up 'the sin of untouchability'. But many dalit leaders were keen on a different political solution to the problems of the community. They began organising themselves, demanding reserved seats in educational institutions, and a separate electorate that would choose dalit members for legislative councils. Political empowerment, they believed, would resolve the problems of their social disabilities. Dalit participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement was therefore limited, particularly in the Maharashtra and Nagpur region where their organisation was quite strong.

Dr B.R. Ambedkar, who organised the dalits into the Depressed Classes Association in 1930, clashed with Mahatma Gandhi at the second Round Table Conference by demanding separate electorates for dalits. When the British government conceded Ambedkar's demand, Gandhiji began a fast unto death. He believed that separate electorates for dalits would slow down the process of their integration into society. Ambedkar ultimately accepted Gandhiji's position and the result was the Poona Pact of September 1932. It gave the Depressed Classes (later to be known as the Schedule Castes) reserved seats in provincial and central legislative councils, but they were to be voted in by the general electorate. The dalit movement, however, continued to be apprehensive of the Congress-led national movement.

Some of the Muslim political organisations in India were also lukewarm in their response to the Civil Disobedience Movement. After the decline of the Non-Cooperation-Khilafat movement, a large section of Muslims felt alienated from the Congress. From the mid-1920s the Congress came to be more visibly associated with openly Hindu religious nationalist groups like the Hindu Mahasabha. As relations between Hindus and Muslims worsened, each community organised religious processions with militant fervour, provoking Hindu-Muslim communal clashes and riots in various cities. Every riot deepened the distance between the two communities.

The Congress and the Muslim League made efforts to renegotiate an alliance, and in 1927 it appeared that such a unity could be forged. The important differences were over the question of representation in the future assemblies that were to be elected. Muhammad Ali

Fig. 10 – Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Azad at Sevagram Ashram, Wardha, 1935.

Jinnah, one of the leaders of the Muslim League, was willing to give up the demand for separate electorates, if Muslims were assured reserved seats in the Central Assembly and representation in proportion to population in the Muslim-dominated provinces (Bengal and Punjab). Negotiations over the question of representation continued but all hope of resolving the issue at the All Parties Conference in 1928 disappeared when M.R. Jayakar of the Hindu Mahasabha strongly opposed efforts at compromise.

When the Civil Disobedience Movement started there was thus an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust between communities. Alienated from the Congress, large sections of Muslims could not respond to the call for a united struggle. Many Muslim leaders and intellectuals expressed their concern about the status of Muslims as a minority within India. They feared that the culture and identity of minorities would be submerged under the domination of a Hindu majority.

Source D

In 1930, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, as president of the Muslim League, reiterated the importance of separate electorates for the Muslims as an important safeguard for their minority political interests. His statement is supposed to have provided the intellectual justification for the Pakistan demand that came up in subsequent years. This is what he said:

'I have no hesitation in declaring that if the principle that the Indian Muslim is entitled to full and free development on the lines of his own culture and tradition in his own Indian home-lands is recognised as the basis of a permanent communal settlement, he will be ready to stake his all for the freedom of India. The principle that each group is entitled to free development on its own lines is not inspired by any feeling of narrow communalism ... A community which is inspired by feelings of ill-will towards other communities is low and ignoble. I entertain the highest respect for the customs, laws, religions and social institutions of other communities. Nay, it is my duty according to the teachings of the Quran, even to defend their places of worship, if need be. Yet I love the communal group which is the source of life and behaviour and which has formed me what I am by giving me its religion, its literature, its thought, its culture and thereby its whole past as a living operative factor in my present consciousness ...

'Communalism in its higher aspect, then, is indispensable to the formation of a harmonious whole in a country like India. The units of Indian society are not territorial as in European countries ... The principle of European democracy cannot be applied to India without recognising the fact of communal groups. The Muslim demand for the creation of a Muslim India within India is, therefore, perfectly justified...

'The Hindu thinks that separate electorates are contrary to the spirit of true nationalism, because he understands the word "nation" to mean a kind of universal amalgamation in which no communal entity ought to retain its private individuality. Such a state of things, however, does not exist. India is a land of racial and religious variety. Add to this the general economic inferiority of the Muslims, their enormous debt, especially in the Punjab, and their insufficient majorities in some of the provinces, as at present constituted and you will begin to see clearly the meaning of our anxiety to retain separate electorates.'

Source

Discuss

Read the Source D carefully. Do you agree with Iqbal's idea of communalism? Can you define communalism in a different way?

4 The Sense of Collective Belonging

Fig. 11 – Bal Gangadhar Tilak, an early-twentieth-century print.
Notice how Tilak is surrounded by symbols of unity. The sacred institutions of different faiths (temple, church, masjid) frame the central figure.

Nationalism spreads when people begin to believe that they are all part of the same nation, when they discover some unity that binds them together. But how did the nation become a reality in the minds of people? How did people belonging to different communities, regions or language groups develop a sense of collective belonging?

This sense of collective belonging came partly through the experience of united struggles. But there were also a variety of cultural processes through which nationalism captured people's imagination. History and fiction, folklore and songs, popular prints and symbols, all played a part in the making of nationalism.

The identity of the nation, as you know (see Chapter 1), is most often symbolised in a figure or image. This helps create an image with which people can identify the nation. It was in the twentieth century, with the growth of nationalism, that the identity of India came to be visually associated with the image of Bharat Mata. The image was first created by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay. In the 1870s he wrote 'Vande Mataram' as a hymn to the motherland. Later it was included in his novel *Anandamath* and widely sung during the Swadeshi movement in Bengal. Moved by the Swadeshi movement, Abanindranath Tagore painted his famous image of Bharat Mata (see Fig. 12). In this painting Bharat Mata is portrayed as an ascetic figure; she is calm, composed, divine and spiritual. In subsequent years, the image of Bharat Mata acquired many different forms, as it circulated in popular prints, and was painted by different artists (see Fig. 14). Devotion to this mother figure came to be seen as evidence of one's nationalism.

Fig. 12 – Bharat Mata, Abanindranath Tagore, 1905.
Notice that the mother figure here is shown as dispensing learning, food and clothing. The mala *in one hand emphasises her ascetic quality. Abanindranath Tagore, like Ravi Varma before him, tried to develop a style of painting that could be seen as truly Indian.*

Ideas of nationalism also developed through a movement to revive Indian folklore. In late-nineteenth-century India, nationalists began recording folk tales sung by bards and they toured villages to gather folk songs and legends. These tales, they believed, gave a true picture of traditional culture that had been corrupted and damaged by outside forces. It was essential to preserve this folk tradition in order to discover one's national identity and restore a sense of pride in one's past. In Bengal, Rabindranath Tagore himself began collecting ballads, nursery rhymes and myths, and led the movement for folk

Fig. 13 – Jawaharlal Nehru, a popular print.
Nehru is here shown holding the image of Bharat Mata and the map of India close to his heart. In a lot of popular prints, nationalist leaders are shown offering their heads to Bharat Mata. The idea of sacrifice for the mother was powerful within popular imagination.

revival. In Madras, Natesa Sastri published a massive four-volume collection of Tamil folk tales, *The Folklore of Southern India*. He believed that folklore was national literature; it was 'the most trustworthy manifestation of people's real thoughts and characteristics'.

As the national movement developed, nationalist leaders became more and more aware of such icons and symbols in unifying people and inspiring in them a feeling of nationalism. During the Swadeshi movement in Bengal, a tricolour flag (red, green and yellow) was designed. It had eight lotuses representing eight provinces of British India, and a crescent moon, representing Hindus and Muslims. By 1921, Gandhiji had designed the Swaraj flag. It was again a tricolour (red, green and white) and had a spinning wheel in the centre, representing the Gandhian ideal of self-help. Carrying the flag, holding it aloft, during marches became a symbol of defiance.

Another means of creating a feeling of nationalism was through reinterpretation of history. By the end of the nineteenth century many Indians began feeling that to instill a sense of pride in the nation, Indian history had to be thought about differently. The British saw Indians as backward and primitive, incapable of governing themselves. In response, Indians began looking into the past to discover India's great achievements. They wrote about the glorious developments in ancient times when art and architecture, science and mathematics, religion and culture, law and philosophy, crafts and trade had flourished. This glorious time, in their view, was followed by a history of decline, when India was colonised. These nationalist histories urged the readers to take pride in India's great achievements in the past and struggle to change the miserable conditions of life under British rule.

These efforts to unify people were not without problems. When the past being glorified was Hindu, when the images celebrated were drawn from Hindu iconography, then people of other communities felt left out.

Fig. 14 – Bharat Mata.
This figure of Bharat Mata is a contrast to the one painted by Abanindranath Tagore. Here she is shown with a trishul*, standing beside a lion and an elephant – both symbols of power and authority.*

Activity

Look at Figs. 12 and 14. Do you think these images will appeal to all castes and communities? Explain your views briefly.

Source E

'In earlier times, foreign travellers in India marvelled at the courage, truthfulness and modesty of the people of the *Arya vamsa*; now they remark mainly on the absence of those qualities. In those days Hindus would set out on conquest and hoist their flags in Tartar, China and other countries; now a few soldiers from a tiny island far away are lording it over the land of India.'

Tarinicharan Chattopadhyay, *Bharatbarsher Itihas (The History of Bharatbarsh)*, vol. 1, 1858.

Source

Conclusion

A growing anger against the colonial government was thus bringing together various groups and classes of Indians into a common struggle for freedom in the first half of the twentieth century. The Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi tried to channel people's grievances into organised movements for independence. Through such movements the nationalists tried to forge a national unity. But as we have seen, diverse groups and classes participated in these movements with varied aspirations and expectations. As their grievances were wide-ranging, freedom from colonial rule also meant different things to different people. The Congress continuously attempted to resolve differences, and ensure that the demands of one group did not alienate another. This is precisely why the unity within the movement often broke down. The high points of Congress activity and nationalist unity were followed by phases of disunity and inner conflict between groups.

In other words, what was emerging was a nation with many voices wanting freedom from colonial rule.

Write in brief

1. Explain:
   a) Why growth of nationalism in the colonies is linked to an anti-colonial movement.
   b) How the First World War helped in the growth of the National Movement in India.
   c) Why Indians were outraged by the Rowlatt Act.
   d) Why Gandhiji decided to withdraw the Non-Cooperation Movement.
2. What is meant by the idea of satyagraha?
3. Write a newspaper report on:
   a) The Jallianwala Bagh massacre
   b) The Simon Commission
4. Compare the images of Bharat Mata in this chapter with the image of Germania in Chapter 1.

Write in brief

Discuss

1. List all the different social groups which joined the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1921. Then choose any three and write about their hopes and struggles to show why they joined the movement.
2. Discuss the Salt March to make clear why it was an effective symbol of resistance against colonialism.
3. Imagine you are a woman participating in the Civil Disobedience Movement. Explain what the experience meant to your life.
4. Why did political leaders differ sharply over the question of separate electorates?

Discuss

Project

Find out about the anti-colonial movement in Kenya. Compare and contrast India's national movement with the ways in which Kenya became independent.

Project

The Making of a Global World

1 The Pre-modern World

When we talk of 'globalisation' we often refer to an economic system that has emerged since the last 50 years or so. But as you will see in this chapter, the making of the global world has a long history – of trade, of migration, of people in search of work, the movement of capital, and much else. As we think about the dramatic and visible signs of global interconnectedness in our lives today, we need to understand the phases through which this world in which we live has emerged.

All through history, human societies have become steadily more interlinked. From ancient times, travellers, traders, priests and pilgrims travelled vast distances for knowledge, opportunity and spiritual fulfilment, or to escape persecution. They carried goods, money, values, skills, ideas, inventions, and even germs and diseases. As early as 3000 BCE an active coastal trade linked the Indus valley civilisations with present-day West Asia. For more than a millennia, *cowries* (the Hindi *cowdi* or seashells, used as a form of currency) from the Maldives found their way to China and East Africa. The long-distance spread of disease-carrying germs may be traced as far back as the seventh century. By the thirteenth century it had become an unmistakable link.

Fig. 1 – Image of a ship on a memorial stone, Goa Museum, tenth century CE.
From the ninth century, images of ships appear regularly in memorial stones found in the western coast, indicating the significance of oceanic trade.

1.1 Silk Routes Link the World

The silk routes are a good example of vibrant pre-modern trade and cultural links between distant parts of the world. The name 'silk routes' points to the importance of West-bound Chinese silk cargoes along this route. Historians have identified several silk routes, over land and by sea, knitting together vast regions of Asia, and linking Asia with Europe and northern Africa. They are known to have existed since before the Christian Era and thrived almost till the fifteenth century. But Chinese pottery also travelled the same route, as did textiles and spices from India and Southeast Asia. In return, precious metals – gold and silver – flowed from Europe to Asia.

Fig. 2 – Silk route trade as depicted in a Chinese cave painting, eighth century, Cave 217, Mogao Grottoes, Gansu, China.

Trade and cultural exchange always went hand in hand. Early Christian missionaries almost certainly travelled this route to Asia, as did early Muslim preachers a few centuries later. Much before all this, Buddhism emerged from eastern India and spread in several directions through intersecting points on the silk routes.

1.2 Food Travels: Spaghetti and Potato

Food offers many examples of long-distance cultural exchange. Traders and travellers introduced new crops to the lands they travelled. Even 'ready' foodstuff in distant parts of the world might share common origins. Take spaghetti and noodles. It is believed that noodles travelled west from China to become spaghetti. Or, perhaps Arab traders took pasta to fifth-century Sicily, an island now in Italy. Similar foods were also known in India and Japan, so the truth about their origins may never be known. Yet such guesswork suggests the possibilities of long-distance cultural contact even in the pre-modern world.

Many of our common foods such as potatoes, soya, groundnuts, maize, tomatoes, chillies, sweet potatoes, and so on were not known to our ancestors until about five centuries ago. These foods were only introduced in Europe and Asia after Christopher Columbus accidentally discovered the vast continent that would later become known as the Americas.

Fig. 3 – Merchants from Venice and the Orient exchanging goods, from Marco Polo, Book of Marvels, *fifteenth century.*

(Here we will use 'America' to describe North America, South America and the Caribbean.) In fact, many of our common foods came from America's original inhabitants – the American Indians.

Sometimes the new crops could make the difference between life and death. Europe's poor began to eat better and live longer with the introduction of the humble potato. Ireland's poorest peasants became so dependent on potatoes that when disease destroyed the potato crop in the mid-1840s, hundreds of thousands died of starvation.

1.3 Conquest, Disease and Trade

The pre-modern world shrank greatly in the sixteenth century after European sailors found a sea route to Asia and also successfully crossed the western ocean to America. For centuries before, the Indian Ocean had known a bustling trade, with goods, people, knowledge, customs, etc. criss-crossing its waters. The Indian subcontinent was central to these flows and a crucial point in their networks. The entry of the Europeans helped expand or redirect some of these flows towards Europe.

Before its 'discovery', America had been cut off from regular contact with the rest of the world for millions of years. But from the sixteenth century, its vast lands and abundant crops and minerals began to transform trade and lives everywhere.

Precious metals, particularly silver, from mines located in present-day Peru and Mexico also enhanced Europe's wealth and financed its trade with Asia. Legends spread in seventeenth-century Europe about South America's fabled wealth. Many expeditions set off in search of El Dorado, the fabled city of gold.

The Portuguese and Spanish conquest and colonisation of America was decisively under way by the mid-sixteenth century. European conquest was not just a result of superior firepower. In fact, the most powerful weapon of the Spanish conquerors was not a conventional military weapon at all. It was the germs such as those of smallpox that they carried on their person. Because of their long isolation, America's original inhabitants had no immunity against these diseases that came from Europe. Smallpox in particular proved a deadly killer. Once introduced, it spread deep into the continent, ahead even of any Europeans reaching there. It killed and decimated whole communities, paving the way for conquest.

Fig. 4 – The Irish Potato Famine,* Illustrated London News*, 1849.
Hungry children digging for potatoes in a field that has already been harvested, hoping to discover some leftovers. During the Great Irish Potato Famine (1845 to 1849), around 1,000,000 people died of starvation in Ireland, and double the number emigrated in search of work.

Box 1

'Biological' warfare?

John Winthorp, the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay colony in New England, wrote in May 1634 that smallpox signalled God's blessing for the colonists: '... the natives ... were neere (near) all dead of small Poxe (pox), so as the Lord hathe (had) cleared our title to what we possess'.

Alfred Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism*.

Guns could be bought or captured and turned against the invaders. But not diseases such as smallpox to which the conquerors were mostly immune.

Until the nineteenth century, poverty and hunger were common in Europe. Cities were crowded and deadly diseases were widespread. Religious conflicts were common, and religious **dissenters** were persecuted. Thousands therefore fled Europe for America. Here, by the eighteenth century, plantations worked by slaves captured in Africa were growing cotton and sugar for European markets.

Until well into the eighteenth century, China and India were among the world's richest countries. They were also pre-eminent in Asian trade. However, from the fifteenth century, China is said to have restricted overseas contacts and retreated into isolation. China's reduced role and the rising importance of the Americas gradually moved the centre of world trade westwards. Europe now emerged as the centre of world trade.

New words

Dissenter – One who refuses to accept established beliefs and practices

Discuss

Explain what we mean when we say that the world 'shrank' in the 1500s.

Fig. 5 – Slaves for sale, New Orleans, **Illustrated London News*, 1851.***
A prospective buyer carefully inspecting slaves lined up before the auction. You can see two children along with four women and seven men in top hats and suit waiting to be sold. To attract buyers, slaves were often dressed in their best clothes.

2 The Nineteenth Century (1815–1914)

The world changed profoundly in the nineteenth century. Economic, political, social, cultural and technological factors interacted in complex ways to transform societies and reshape external relations.

Economists identify three types of movement or 'flows' within international economic exchanges. The first is the flow of trade which in the nineteenth century referred largely to trade in goods (e.g., cloth or wheat). The second is the flow of labour – the migration of people in search of employment. The third is the movement of capital for short-term or long-term investments over long distances.

All three flows were closely interwoven and affected peoples' lives more deeply now than ever before. The interconnections could sometimes be broken – for example, labour migration was often more restricted than goods or capital flows. Yet it helps us understand the nineteenth-century world economy better if we look at the three flows together.

2.1 A World Economy Takes Shape

A good place to start is the changing pattern of food production and consumption in industrial Europe. Traditionally, countries liked to be self-sufficient in food. But in nineteenth-century Britain, self-sufficiency in food meant lower living standards and social conflict. Why was this so?

Population growth from the late eighteenth century had increased the demand for food grains in Britain. As urban centres expanded and industry grew, the demand for agricultural products went up, pushing up food grain prices. Under pressure from landed groups, the government also restricted the import of corn. The laws allowing the government to do this were commonly known as the 'Corn Laws'. Unhappy with high food prices, industrialists and urban dwellers forced the abolition of the Corn Laws.

After the Corn Laws were scrapped, food could be imported into Britain more cheaply than it could be produced within the country. British agriculture was unable to compete with imports. Vast areas of land were now left uncultivated, and thousands of men and women were thrown out of work. They flocked to the cities or migrated overseas.

As food prices fell, consumption in Britain rose. From the mid-nineteenth century, faster industrial growth in Britain also led to higher incomes, and therefore more food imports. Around the world – in Eastern Europe, Russia, America and Australia – lands were cleared and food production expanded to meet the British demand.

It was not enough merely to clear lands for agriculture. Railways were needed to link the agricultural regions to the ports. New harbours had to be built and old ones expanded to ship the new cargoes. People had to settle on the lands to bring them under cultivation. This meant building homes and settlements. All these activities in turn required capital and labour. Capital flowed from financial centres such as London. The demand for labour in places where labour was in short supply – as in America and Australia – led to more migration.

Nearly 50 million people emigrated from Europe to America and Australia in the nineteenth century. All over the world some 150 million are estimated to have left their homes, crossed oceans and vast distances over land in search of a better future.

Fig. 6 – Emigrant ship leaving for the US, by M.W. Ridley, 1869.

Fig. 7 – Irish emigrants waiting to board the ship, by Michael Fitzgerald, 1874.

Thus by 1890, a global agricultural economy had taken shape, accompanied by complex changes in labour movement patterns, capital flows, ecologies and technology. Food no longer came from a nearby village or town, but from thousands of miles away. It was not grown by a peasant tilling his own land, but by an agricultural worker, perhaps recently arrived, who was now working on a large farm that only a generation ago had most likely been a forest. It was transported by railway, built for that very purpose, and by ships which were increasingly manned in these decades by low-paid workers from southern Europe, Asia, Africa and the Caribbean.

Activity

Imagine that you are an agricultural worker who has arrived in America from Ireland. Write a paragraph on why you chose to come and how you are earning your living.

Some of this dramatic change, though on a smaller scale, occurred closer home in west Punjab. Here the British Indian government built a network of irrigation canals to transform semi-desert wastes into fertile agricultural lands that could grow wheat and cotton for export. The Canal Colonies, as the areas irrigated by the new canals were called, were settled by peasants from other parts of Punjab.

Of course, food is merely an example. A similar story can be told for cotton, the cultivation of which expanded worldwide to feed British textile mills. Or rubber. Indeed, so rapidly did regional specialisation in the production of commodities develop, that between 1820 and 1914 world trade is estimated to have multiplied 25 to 40 times. Nearly 60 per cent of this trade comprised 'primary products' – that is, agricultural products such as wheat and cotton, and minerals such as coal.

2.2 Role of Technology

What was the role of technology in all this? The railways, steamships, the telegraph, for example, were important inventions without which we cannot imagine the transformed nineteenth-century world. But technological advances were often the result of larger social, political and economic factors. For example, colonisation stimulated new investments and improvements in transport: faster railways, lighter wagons and larger ships helped move food more cheaply and quickly from faraway farms to final markets.

Activity

Prepare a flow chart to show how Britain's decision to import food led to increased migration to America and Australia.

Fig. 8 — The Smithfield Club Cattle Show, **Illustrated London News,** ***1851.***
Cattle were traded at fairs, brought by farmers for sale. One of the oldest livestock markets in London was at Smithfield. In the mid-nineteenth century a huge poultry and meat market was established near the railway line connecting Smithfield to all the meat-supplying centres of the country.

The trade in meat offers a good example of this connected process. Till the 1870s, animals were shipped live from America to Europe and then slaughtered when they arrived there. But live animals took up a lot of ship space. Many also died in voyage, fell ill, lost weight, or became unfit to eat. Meat was hence an expensive luxury beyond the reach of the European poor. High prices in turn kept demand and production down until the development of a new technology, namely, refrigerated ships, which enabled the transport of perishable foods over long distances.

Now animals were slaughtered for food at the starting point – in America, Australia or New Zealand – and then transported to Europe as frozen meat. This reduced shipping costs and lowered meat prices in Europe. The poor in Europe could now consume a more varied diet. To the earlier monotony of bread and potatoes many, though not all, could now add meat (and butter and eggs) to their diet. Better living conditions promoted social peace within the country and support for imperialism abroad.

Fig. 9 – Meat being loaded on to the ship, **Alexandra, Illustrated London News,** ***1878.***
Export of meat was possible only after ships were refrigerated.

2.3 Late nineteenth-century Colonialism

Trade flourished and markets expanded in the late nineteenth century. But this was not only a period of expanding trade and increased prosperity. It is important to realise that there was a darker side to this process. In many parts of the world, the expansion of trade and a closer relationship with the world economy also meant a loss of freedoms and livelihoods. Late-nineteenth-century European conquests produced many painful economic, social and ecological changes through which the colonised societies were brought into the world economy.

Look at a map of Africa (Fig. 10). You will see some countries' borders run straight, as if they were drawn using a ruler. Well, in fact this was almost how rival European powers in Africa drew up the borders demarcating their respective territories. In 1885 the big European powers met in Berlin to complete the carving up of Africa between them.

Britain and France made vast additions to their overseas territories in the late nineteenth century. Belgium and Germany became new colonial powers. The US also became a colonial power in the late 1890s by taking over some colonies earlier held by Spain.

Let us look at one example of the destructive impact of colonialism on the economy and livelihoods of colonised people.

Fig. 10 – Map of colonial Africa at the end of the nineteenth century.

Box 2

Sir Henry Morton Stanley in Central Africa

Stanley was a journalist and explorer sent by the *New York Herald* to find Livingston, a missionary and explorer who had been in Africa for several years. Like other European and American explorers of the time, Stanley went with arms, mobilised local hunters, warriors and labourers to help him, fought with local tribes, investigated African terrains, and mapped different regions. These explorations helped the conquest of Africa. Geographical explorations were not driven by an innocent search for scientific information. They were directly linked to imperial projects.

Fig. 11 – Sir Henry Morton Stanley and his retinue in Central Africa, **Illustrated London News,** ***1871.***

2.4 Rinderpest, or the Cattle Plague

In Africa, in the 1890s, a fast-spreading disease of cattle plague or rinderpest had a terrifying impact on people's livelihoods and the local economy. This is a good example of the widespread European imperial impact on colonised societies. It shows how in this era of conquest even a disease affecting cattle reshaped the lives and fortunes of thousands of people and their relations with the rest of the world.

Fig. 12 – Transport to the Transvaal gold mines, **The Graphic*, 1887.***
Crossing the Wilge river was the quickest method of transport to the gold fields of Transvaal. After the discovery of gold in Witwatersrand, Europeans rushed to the region despite their fear of disease and death, and the difficulties of the journey. By the 1890s, South Africa contributed over 20 per cent of the world gold production.

Historically, Africa had abundant land and a relatively small population. For centuries, land and livestock sustained African livelihoods and people rarely worked for a wage. In late-nineteenth-century Africa there were few consumer goods that wages could buy. If you had been an African possessing land and livestock – and there was plenty of both – you too would have seen little reason to work for a wage.

In the late nineteenth century, Europeans were attracted to Africa due to its vast resources of land and minerals. Europeans came to Africa hoping to establish plantations and mines to produce crops and minerals for export to Europe. But there was an unexpected problem – a shortage of labour willing to work for wages.

Employers used many methods to recruit and retain labour. Heavy taxes were imposed which could be paid only by working for wages on plantations and mines. Inheritance laws were changed so that

Fig. 13 — Diggers at work in the Transvaal gold fields in South Africa, **The Graphic*, 1875.***

peasants were displaced from land: only one member of a family was allowed to inherit land, as a result of which the others were pushed into the labour market. Mineworkers were also confined in compounds and not allowed to move about freely.

Then came rinderpest, a devastating cattle disease.

Rinderpest arrived in Africa in the late 1880s. It was carried by infected cattle imported from British Asia to feed the Italian soldiers invading Eritrea in East Africa. Entering Africa in the east, rinderpest moved west 'like forest fire', reaching Africa's Atlantic coast in 1892. It reached the Cape (Africa's southernmost tip) five years later. Along the way rinderpest killed 90 per cent of the cattle.

The loss of cattle destroyed African livelihoods. Planters, mine owners and colonial governments now successfully monopolised what scarce cattle resources remained, to strengthen their power and to force Africans into the labour market. Control over the scarce resource of cattle enabled European colonisers to conquer and subdue Africa.

Similar stories can be told about the impact of Western conquest on other parts of the nineteenth-century world.

2.4 Indentured Labour Migration from India

The example of **indentured labour** migration from India also illustrates the two-sided nature of the nineteenth-century world. It was a world of faster economic growth as well as great misery, higher incomes for some and poverty for others, technological advances in some areas and new forms of coercion in others.

In the nineteenth century, hundreds of thousands of Indian and Chinese labourers went to work on plantations, in mines, and in road and railway construction projects around the world. In India, indentured labourers were hired under contracts which promised return travel to India after they had worked five years on their employer's plantation.

Most Indian indentured workers came from the present-day regions of eastern Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, central India and the dry districts of Tamil Nadu. In the mid-nineteenth century these regions experienced many changes – cottage industries declined, land rents rose, lands were cleared for mines and plantations. All this affected the lives of the poor: they failed to pay their rents, became deeply indebted and were forced to migrate in search of work.

New words

Indentured labour – A bonded labourer under contract to work for an employer for a specific amount of time, to pay off his passage to a new country or home

The main destinations of Indian indentured migrants were the Caribbean islands (mainly Trinidad, Guyana and Surinam), Mauritius and Fiji. Closer home, Tamil migrants went to Ceylon and Malaya. Indentured workers were also recruited for tea plantations in Assam.

Fig. 14 — Indian indentured labourers in a cocoa plantation in Trinidad, early nineteenth century.

Recruitment was done by agents engaged by employers and paid a small commission. Many migrants agreed to take up work hoping to escape poverty or oppression in their home villages. Agents also tempted the prospective migrants by providing false information about final destinations, modes of travel, the nature of the work, and living and working conditions. Often migrants were not even told that they were to embark on a long sea voyage. Sometimes agents even forcibly abducted less willing migrants.

Nineteenth-century indenture has been described as a 'new system of slavery'. On arrival at the plantations, labourers found conditions to be different from what they had imagined. Living and working conditions were harsh, and there were few legal rights.

But workers discovered their own ways of surviving. Many of them escaped into the wilds, though if caught they faced severe punishment. Others developed new forms of individual and collective self-expression, blending different cultural forms, old and new. In Trinidad the annual Muharram procession was transformed into a riotous carnival called 'Hosay' (for Imam Hussain) in which workers of all races and religions joined. Similarly, the protest religion of Rastafarianism (made famous by the Jamaican reggae star Bob Marley) is also said to reflect social and cultural links with Indian migrants to the Caribbean. 'Chutney music', popular in Trinidad and Guyana, is another creative contemporary expression of the post-indenture experience. These forms of cultural fusion are part of the making of the global world, where things from different places get mixed, lose their original characteristics and become something entirely new.

Discuss

Discuss the importance of language and popular traditions in the creation of national identity.

Fig. 15 — Indentured laboureres photographed for identification.
For the employers, the numbers and not the names mattered.

Most indentured workers stayed on after their contracts ended, or returned to their new homes after a short spell in India. Consequently, there are large communities of people of Indian descent in these countries. Have you heard of the Nobel Prize-winning writer

V.S. Naipaul? Some of you may have followed the exploits of West Indies cricketers Shivnarine Chanderpaul and Ramnaresh Sarwan. If you have wondered why their names sound vaguely Indian, the answer is that they are descended from indentured labour migrants from India.

From the 1900s India's nationalist leaders began opposing the system of indentured labour migration as abusive and cruel. It was abolished in 1921. Yet for a number of decades afterwards, descendants of Indian indentured workers, often thought of as 'coolies', remained an uneasy minority in the Caribbean islands. Some of Naipaul's early novels capture their sense of loss and alienation.

Fig. 16 — A contract form of an indentured labourer.

2.5 Indian Entrepreneurs Abroad

Growing food and other crops for the world market required capital. Large plantations could borrow it from banks and markets. But what about the humble peasant?

Enter the Indian banker. Do you know of the Shikaripuri shroffs and Nattukottai Chettiars? They were amongst the many groups of bankers and traders who financed export agriculture in Central and Southeast Asia, using either their own funds or those borrowed from European banks. They had a sophisticated system to transfer money over large distances, and even developed indigenous forms of corporate organisation.

Indian traders and moneylenders also followed European colonisers into Africa. Hyderabadi Sindhi traders, however, ventured beyond European colonies. From the 1860s they established flourishing emporia at busy ports worldwide, selling local and imported curios to tourists whose numbers were beginning to swell, thanks to the development of safe and comfortable passenger vessels.

Source A

The testimony of an indentured labourer

Extract from the testimony of Ram Narain Tewary, an indentured labourer who spent ten years on Demerara in the early twentieth century.

'... in spite of my best efforts, I could not properly do the works that were allotted to me ... In a few days I got my hands bruised all over and I could not go to work for a week for which I was prosecuted and sent to jail for 14 days. ... new emigrants find the tasks allotted to them extremely heavy and cannot complete them in a day. ... Deductions are also made from wages if the work is considered to have been done unsatisfactorily. Many people cannot therefore earn their full wages and are punished in various ways. In fact, the labourers have to spend their period of indenture in great trouble ...'

Source: Department of Commerce and Industry, Emigration Branch. 1916

Source

2.6 Indian Trade, Colonialism and the Global System

Historically, fine cottons produced in India were exported to Europe. With industrialisation, British cotton manufacture began to expand, and industrialists pressurised the government to restrict cotton imports and protect local industries. Tariffs were imposed on cloth imports into Britain. Consequently, the inflow of fine Indian cotton began to decline.

From the early nineteenth century, British manufacturers also began to seek overseas markets for their cloth. Excluded from the British

Fig. 17 – East India Company House, London.
This was the nerve centre of the worldwide operations of the East India Company.

market by tariff barriers, Indian textiles now faced stiff competition in other international markets. If we look at the figures of exports from India, we see a steady decline of the share of cotton textiles: from some 30 per cent around 1800 to 15 per cent by 1815. By the 1870s this proportion had dropped to below 3 per cent.

What, then, did India export? The figures again tell a dramatic story. While exports of manufactures declined rapidly, export of raw materials increased equally fast. Between 1812 and 1871, the share of raw cotton exports rose from 5 per cent to 35 per cent. Indigo used for dyeing cloth was another important export for

Fig. 18 – A distant view of Surat and its river.
All through the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Surat remained the main centre of overseas trade in the western Indian Ocean.

many decades. And, as you have read last year, opium shipments to China grew rapidly from the 1820s to become for a while India's single largest export. Britain grew opium in India and exported it to China and, with the money earned through this sale, it financed its tea and other imports from China.

Over the nineteenth century, British manufactures flooded the Indian market. Food grain and raw material exports from India to Britain and the rest of the world increased. But the value of British exports to India was much higher than the value of British imports from India. Thus Britain had a 'trade surplus' with India. Britain used this surplus to balance its trade deficits with other countries – that is, with countries from which Britain was importing more than it was selling to. This is how a multilateral settlement system works – it allows one country's deficit with another country to be settled by its surplus with a third country. By helping Britain balance its deficits, India played a crucial role in the late-nineteenth-century world economy.

Britain's trade surplus in India also helped pay the so-called 'home charges' that included private remittances home by British officials and traders, interest payments on India's external debt, and pensions of British officials in India.

Fig. 19 – The trade routes that linked India to the world at the end of the seventeenth century.

3 The Inter-war Economy

The First World War (1914-18) was mainly fought in Europe. But its impact was felt around the world. Notably for our concerns in this chapter, it plunged the first half of the twentieth century into a crisis that took over three decades to overcome. During this period the world experienced widespread economic and political instability, and another catastrophic war.

3.1 Wartime Transformations

The First World War, as you know, was fought between two power blocs. On the one side were the Allies – Britain, France and Russia (later joined by the US); and on the opposite side were the Central Powers – Germany, Austria-Hungary and Ottoman Turkey. When the war began in August 1914, many governments thought it would be over by Christmas. It lasted more than four years.

The First World War was a war like no other before. The fighting involved the world's leading industrial nations which now harnessed the vast powers of modern industry to inflict the greatest possible destruction on their enemies.

This war was thus the first modern industrial war. It saw the use of machine guns, tanks, aircraft, chemical weapons, etc. on a massive scale. These were all increasingly products of modern large-scale industry. To fight the war, millions of soldiers had to be recruited from around the world and moved to the frontlines on large ships and trains. The scale of death and destruction – 9 million dead and 20 million injured – was unthinkable before the industrial age, without the use of industrial arms.

Most of the killed and maimed were men of working age. These deaths and injuries reduced the able-bodied workforce in Europe. With fewer numbers within the family, household incomes declined after the war.

During the war, industries were restructured to produce war-related goods. Entire societies were also reorganised for war – as men went to battle, women stepped in to undertake jobs that earlier only men were expected to do.

Fig. 20 – Workers in a munition factory during the First World War.
Production of armaments increased rapidly to meet war demands.

The war led to the snapping of economic links between some of the world's largest economic powers which were now fighting each other to pay for them. So Britain borrowed large sums of money from US banks as well as the US public. Thus the war transformed the US from being an international debtor to an international creditor. In other words, at the war's end, the US and its citizens owned more overseas assets than foreign governments and citizens owned in the US.

3.2 Post-war Recovery

Post-war economic recovery proved difficult. Britain, which was the world's leading economy in the pre-war period, in particular faced a prolonged crisis. While Britain was preoccupied with war, industries had developed in India and Japan. After the war Britain found it difficult to recapture its earlier position of dominance in the Indian market, and to compete with Japan internationally. Moreover, to finance war expenditures Britain had borrowed liberally from the US. This meant that at the end of the war Britain was burdened with huge external debts.

The war had led to an economic boom, that is, to a large increase in demand, production and employment. When the war boom ended, production contracted and unemployment increased. At the same time the government reduced bloated war expenditures to bring them into line with peacetime revenues. These developments led to huge job losses – in 1921 one in every five British workers was out of work. Indeed, anxiety and uncertainty about work became an enduring part of the post-war scenario.

Many agricultural economies were also in crisis. Consider the case of wheat producers. Before the war, eastern Europe was a major supplier of wheat in the world market. When this supply was disrupted during the war, wheat production in Canada, America and Australia expanded dramatically. But once the war was over, production in eastern Europe revived and created a glut in wheat output. Grain prices fell, rural incomes declined, and farmers fell deeper into debt.

3.3 Rise of Mass Production and Consumption

In the US, recovery was quicker. We have already seen how the war helped boost the US economy. After a short period of economic

trouble in the years after the war, the US economy resumed its strong growth in the early 1920s.

One important feature of the US economy of the 1920s was mass production. The move towards mass production had begun in the late nineteenth century, but in the 1920s it became a characteristic feature of industrial production in the US. A well-known pioneer of mass production was the car manufacturer Henry Ford. He adapted the assembly line of a Chicago slaughterhouse (in which slaughtered animals were picked apart by butchers as they came down a conveyor belt) to his new car plant in Detroit. He realised that the 'assembly line' method would allow a faster and cheaper way of producing vehicles. The assembly line forced workers to repeat a single task mechanically and continuously – such as fitting a particular part to the car – at a pace dictated by the conveyor belt. This was a way of increasing the output per worker by speeding up the pace of work. Standing in front of a conveyor belt no worker could afford to delay the motions, take a break, or even have a friendly word with a workmate. As a result, Henry Ford's cars came off the assembly line at three-minute intervals, a speed much faster than that achieved by previous methods. The T-Model Ford was the world's first mass-produced car.

Fig. 21 – T-Model automobiles lined up outside the factory.

At first workers at the Ford factory were unable to cope with the stress of working on assembly lines in which they could not control the pace of work. So they quit in large numbers. In desperation Ford doubled the daily wage to $5 in January 1914. At the same time he banned trade unions from operating in his plants.

Henry Ford recovered the high wage by repeatedly speeding up the production line and forcing workers to work ever harder. So much so, he would soon describe his decision to double the daily wage as the 'best cost-cutting decision' he had ever made.

Fordist industrial practices soon spread in the US. They were also widely copied in Europe in the 1920s. Mass production lowered costs and prices of engineered goods. Thanks to higher wages, more workers could now afford to purchase durable consumer goods such as cars. Car production in the US rose from 2 million in 1919 to more than 5 million in 1929. Similarly, there was a spurt in the purchase of refrigerators, washing machines, radios, gramophone players, all through a system of 'hire purchase' (i.e., on

credit repaid in weekly or monthly instalments). The demand for refrigerators, washing machines, etc. was also fuelled by a boom in house construction and home ownership, financed once again by loans.

The housing and consumer boom of the 1920s created the basis of prosperity in the US. Large investments in housing and household goods seemed to create a cycle of higher employment and incomes, rising consumption demand, more investment, and yet more employment and incomes.

In 1923, the US resumed exporting capital to the rest of the world and became the largest overseas lender. US imports and capital exports also boosted European recovery and world trade and income growth over the next six years.

All this, however, proved too good to last. By 1929 the world would be plunged into a depression such as it had never experienced before.

3.4 The Great Depression

The Great Depression began around 1929 and lasted till the mid-1930s. During this period most parts of the world experienced catastrophic declines in production, employment, incomes and trade. The exact timing and impact of the depression varied across countries. But in general, agricultural regions and communities were the worst affected. This was because the fall in agricultural prices was greater and more prolonged than that in the prices of industrial goods.

The depression was caused by a combination of several factors. We have already seen how fragile the post-war world economy was. First: agricultural overproduction remained a problem. This was made worse by falling agricultural prices. As prices slumped and agricultural incomes declined, farmers tried to expand production and bring a larger volume of produce to the market to maintain their overall income. This worsened the glut in the market, pushing down prices even further. Farm produce rotted for a lack of buyers.

Second: in the mid-1920s, many countries financed their investments through loans from the US. While it was often extremely easy to raise loans in the US when the going was good, US overseas lenders panicked at the first sign of trouble. In the first half of 1928, US

Box 3

Fig. 22 – Migrant agricultural worker's family, homeless and hungry, during the Great Depression, 1936. *Courtesy: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.*

Many years later, Dorothea Lange, the photographer who shot this picture, recollected the moment of her encounter with the hungry mother:

'I saw and approached the hungry and desperate mother, as if drawn by a magnet ... I did not ask her name or her history. She told me her age, that she was thirty-two. She said that they (i.e., she and her seven children) had been living on frozen vegetables from the surrounding fields, and birds that the children killed ... There she sat ... with her children huddled around her, and seemed to know that my pictures might help her, and so she helped me ...'

From: *Popular Photography*, February 1960.

overseas loans amounted to over $ 1 billion. A year later it was one quarter of that amount. Countries that depended crucially on US loans now faced an acute crisis.

The withdrawal of US loans affected much of the rest of the world, though in different ways. In Europe it led to the failure of some major banks and the collapse of currencies such as the British pound sterling. In Latin America and elsewhere it intensified the slump in agricultural and raw material prices. The US attempt to protect its economy in the depression by doubling import duties also dealt another severe blow to world trade.

The US was also the industrial country most severely affected by the depression. With the fall in prices and the prospect of a depression, US banks had also slashed domestic lending and called back loans. Farms could not sell their harvests, households were ruined, and businesses collapsed. Faced with falling incomes, many households in the US could not repay what they had borrowed, and were forced to give up their homes, cars and other consumer durables. The consumerist prosperity of the 1920s now disappeared in a puff of dust. As unemployment soared, people trudged long distances looking for any work they could find. Ultimately, the US banking system itself collapsed. Unable to recover investments, collect loans and repay depositors, thousands of banks went bankrupt and were forced to close. The numbers are phenomenal: by 1933 over 4,000 banks had closed and between 1929 and 1932 about 110, 000 companies had collapsed.

By 1935, a modest economic recovery was under way in most industrial countries. But the Great Depression's wider effects on society, politics and international relations, and on peoples' minds, proved more enduring.

Fig. 23 – People lining up for unemployment benefits, US, photograph by Dorothea Lange, 1938. *Courtesy: Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.*
When an unemployment census showed 10 million people out of work, the local government in many US states began making small allowances to the unemployed. These long queues came to symbolise the poverty and unemployment of the depression years.

3.5 India and the Great Depression

If we look at the impact of the depression on India we realise how integrated the global economy had become by the early twentieth century. The tremors of a crisis in one part of the world were quickly relayed to other parts, affecting lives, economies and societies worldwide.

In the nineteenth century, as you have seen, colonial India had become an exporter of agricultural goods and importer of manufactures. The depression immediately affected Indian trade. India's exports

and imports nearly halved between 1928 and 1934. As international prices crashed, prices in India also plunged. Between 1928 and 1934, wheat prices in India fell by 50 per cent.

Peasants and farmers suffered more than urban dwellers. Though agricultural prices fell sharply, the colonial government refused to reduce revenue demands. Peasants producing for the world market were the worst hit.

Consider the jute producers of Bengal. They grew raw jute that was processed in factories for export in the form of gunny bags. But as gunny exports collapsed, the price of raw jute crashed more than 60 per cent. Peasants who borrowed in the hope of better times or to increase output in the hope of higher incomes faced ever lower prices, and fell deeper and deeper into debt. Thus the Bengal jute growers' lament:

> grow more jute, brothers, with the hope of greater cash.
> Costs and debts of jute will make your hopes get dashed.
> When you have spent all your money and got the crop off the ground,
> … traders, sitting at home, will pay only Rs 5 a maund.

Across India, peasants' indebtedness increased. They used up their savings, mortgaged lands, and sold whatever jewellery and precious metals they had to meet their expenses. In these depression years, India became an exporter of precious metals, notably gold. The famous economist John Maynard Keynes thought that Indian gold exports promoted global economic recovery. They certainly helped speed up Britain's recovery, but did little for the Indian peasant. Rural India was thus seething with unrest when Mahatma Gandhi launched the civil disobedience movement at the height of the depression in 1931.

The depression proved less grim for urban India. Because of falling prices, those with fixed incomes – say town-dwelling landowners who received rents and middle-class salaried employees – now found themselves better off. Everything cost less. Industrial investment also grew as the government extended tariff protection to industries, under the pressure of nationalist opinion.

Discuss

Who profits from jute cultivation according to the jute growers' lament? Explain.

4 Rebuilding a World Economy: The Post-war Era

The Second World War broke out a mere two decades after the end of the First World War. It was fought between the Axis powers (mainly Nazi Germany, Japan and Italy) and the Allies (Britain, France, the Soviet Union and the US). It was a war waged for six years on many fronts, in many places, over land, on sea, in the air.

Once again death and destruction was enormous. At least 60 million people, or about 3 per cent of the world's 1939 population, are believed to have been killed, directly or indirectly, as a result of the war. Millions more were injured.

Unlike in earlier wars, most of these deaths took place outside the battlefields. Many more civilians than soldiers died from war-related causes. Vast parts of Europe and Asia were devastated, and several cities were destroyed by aerial bombardment or relentless artillery attacks. The war caused an immense amount of economic devastation and social disruption. Reconstruction promised to be long and difficult.

Fig. 24 – German forces attack Russia, July 1941. *Hitler's attempt to invade Russia was a turning point in the war.*

Two crucial influences shaped post-war reconstruction. The first was the US's emergence as the dominant economic, political and military power in the Western world. The second was the dominance of the Soviet Union. It had made huge sacrifices to defeat Nazi Germany, and transformed itself from a backward agricultural country into a world power during the very years when the capitalist world was trapped in the Great Depression.

Fig. 25 – Stalingrad in Soviet Russia devastated by the war.

4.1 Post-war Settlement and the Bretton Woods Institutions

Economists and politicians drew two key lessons from inter-war economic experiences. First, an industrial society based on mass production cannot be sustained without mass consumption. But to ensure mass consumption, there was a need for high and stable incomes. Incomes could not be stable if employment was unstable. Thus stable incomes also required steady, full employment.

But markets alone could not guarantee full employment. Therefore governments would have to step in to minimise

fluctuations of price, output and employment. Economic stability could be ensured only through the intervention of the government.

The second lesson related to a country's economic links with the outside world. The goal of full employment could only be achieved if governments had power to control flows of goods, capital and labour.

Thus in brief, the main aim of the post-war international economic system was to preserve economic stability and full employment in the industrial world. Its framework was agreed upon at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference held in July 1944 at Bretton Woods in New Hampshire, USA.

Fig. 26 – Mount Washington Hotel situated in Bretton Woods, US.
This is the place where the famous conference was held.

The Bretton Woods conference established the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to deal with external surpluses and deficits of its member nations. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (popularly known as the World Bank) was set up to finance post-war reconstruction. The IMF and the World Bank are referred to as the Bretton Woods institutions or sometimes the Bretton Woods twins. The post-war international economic system is also often described as the Bretton Woods system.

The IMF and the World Bank commenced financial operations in 1947. Decision-making in these institutions is controlled by the Western industrial powers. The US has an effective right of veto over key IMF and World Bank decisions.

The international monetary system is the system linking national currencies and monetary system. The Bretton Woods system was based on fixed exchange rates. In this system, national currencies, for example the Indian rupee, were pegged to the dollar at a fixed exchange rate. The dollar itself was anchored to gold at a fixed price of $35 per ounce of gold.

Discuss

Briefly summarise the two lessons learnt by economists and politicians from the inter-war economic experience?

4.2 The Early Post-war Years

The Bretton Woods system inaugurated an era of unprecedented growth of trade and incomes for the Western industrial nations and Japan. World trade grew annually at over 8 per cent between 1950 and 1970 and incomes at nearly 5 per cent. The growth was also mostly stable, without large fluctuations. For much of this period the unemployment rate, for example, averaged less than 5 per cent in most industrial countries.

These decades also saw the worldwide spread of technology and enterprise. Developing countries were in a hurry to catch up with the advanced industrial countries. Therefore, they invested vast amounts of capital, importing industrial plant and equipment featuring modern technology.

4.3 Decolonisation and Independence

When the Second World War ended, large parts of the world were still under European colonial rule. Over the next two decades most colonies in Asia and Africa emerged as free, independent nations. They were, however, overburdened by poverty and a lack of resources, and their economies and societies were handicapped by long periods of colonial rule.

The IMF and the World Bank were designed to meet the financial needs of the industrial countries. They were not equipped to cope with the challenge of poverty and lack of development in the former colonies. But as Europe and Japan rapidly rebuilt their economies, they grew less dependent on the IMF and the World Bank. Thus from the late 1950s the Bretton Woods institutions began to shift their attention more towards developing countries.

As colonies, many of the less developed regions of the world had been part of Western empires. Now, ironically, as newly independent countries facing urgent pressures to lift their populations out of poverty, they came under the guidance of international agencies dominated by the former colonial powers. Even after many years of decolonisation, the former colonial powers still controlled vital resources such as minerals and land in many of their former colonies.

Large corporations of other powerful countries, for example the US, also often managed to secure rights to exploit developing countries' natural resources very cheaply.

At the same time, most developing countries did not benefit from the fast growth the Western economies experienced in the 1950s and 1960s. Therefore they organised themselves as a group – the Group of 77 (or G-77) – to demand a new international economic order (NIEO). By the NIEO they meant a system that would give them real control over their natural resources, more development assistance, fairer prices for raw materials, and better access for their manufactured goods in developed countries' markets.

Box 4

What are MNCs?

Multinational corporations (MNCs) are large companies that operate in several countries at the same time. The first MNCs were established in the 1920s. Many more came up in the 1950s and 1960s as US businesses expanded worldwide and Western Europe and Japan also recovered to become powerful industrial economies. The worldwide spread of MNCs was a notable feature of the 1950s and 1960s. This was partly because high import **tariffs** imposed by different governments forced MNCs to locate their manufacturing operations and become 'domestic producers' in as many countries as possible.

New words

Tariff – Tax imposed on a country's imports from the rest of the world. Tariffs are levied at the point of entry, i.e., at the border or the airport.

4.4 End of Bretton Woods and the Beginning of 'Globalisation'

Despite years of stable and rapid growth, not all was well in this post-war world. From the 1960s the rising costs of its overseas involvements weakened the US's finances and competitive strength. The US dollar now no longer commanded confidence as the world's principal currency. It could not maintain its value in relation to gold. This eventually led to the collapse of the system of **fixed exchange rates** and the introduction of a system of **floating exchange rates**.

From the mid-1970s the international financial system also changed in important ways. Earlier, developing countries could turn to international institutions for loans and development assistance. But now they were forced to borrow from Western commercial banks and private lending institutions. This led to periodic debt crises in the developing world, and lower incomes and increased poverty, especially in Africa and Latin America.

The industrial world was also hit by unemployment that began rising from the mid-1970s and remained high until the early 1990s. From the late 1970s MNCs also began to shift production operations to low-wage Asian countries.

China had been cut off from the post-war world economy since its revolution in 1949. But new economic policies in China and the collapse of the Soviet Union and Soviet-style communism in Eastern Europe brought many countries back into the fold of the world economy.

Wages were relatively low in countries like China. Thus they became attractive destinations for investment by foreign MNCs competing to capture world markets. Have you noticed that most of the TVs, mobile phones, and toys we see in the shops seem to be made in China? This is because of the low-cost structure of the Chinese economy, most importantly its low wages.

The relocation of industry to low-wage countries stimulated world trade and capital flows. In the last two decades the world's economic geography has been transformed as countries such as India, China and Brazil have undergone rapid economic transformation.

New words

Exchange rates – They link national currencies for purposes of international trade. There are broadly two kinds of exchange rates: fixed exchange rate and floating exchange rate

Fixed exchange rates – When exchange rates are fixed and governments intervene to prevent movements in them

Flexible or floating exchange rates – These rates fluctuate depending on demand and supply of currencies in foreign exchange markets, in principle without interference by governments

Write in brief

1. Give two examples of different types of global exchanges which took place before the seventeenth century, choosing one example from Asia and one from the Americas.
2. Explain how the global transfer of disease in the pre-modern world helped in the colonisation of the Americas.
3. Write a note to explain the effects of the following:
   a) The British government's decision to abolish the Corn Laws.
   b) The coming of rinderpest to Africa.
   c) The death of men of working-age in Europe because of the World War.
   d) The Great Depression on the Indian economy.
   e) The decision of MNCs to relocate production to Asian countries.
4. Give two examples from history to show the impact of technology on food availability.
5. What is meant by the Bretton Woods Agreement?

Write in brief

Discuss

6. Imagine that you are an indentured Indian labourer in the Caribbean. Drawing from the details in this chapter, write a letter to your family describing your life and feelings.
7. Explain the three types of movements or flows within international economic exchange. Find one example of each type of flow which involved India and Indians, and write a short account of it.
8. Explain the causes of the Great Depression.
9. Explain what is referred to as the G-77 countries. In what ways can G-77 be seen as a reaction to the activities of the Bretton Woods twins?

Discuss

Project

Find out more about gold and diamond mining in South Africa in the nineteenth century. Who controlled the gold and diamond companies? Who were the miners and what were their lives like?

Project

The Age of Industrialisation

Fig. 1 – Dawn of the Century, published by E.T. Paull Music Co., New York, England, 1900.

In 1900, a popular music publisher E.T. Paull produced a music book that had a picture on the cover page announcing the 'Dawn of the Century' (Fig. 1). As you can see from the illustration, at the centre of the picture is a goddess-like figure, the angel of progress, bearing the flag of the new century. She is gently perched on a wheel with wings, symbolising time. Her flight is taking her into the future. Floating about, behind her, are the signs of progress: railway, camera, machines, printing press and factory.

This glorification of machines and technology is even more marked in a picture which appeared on the pages of a trade magazine over a hundred years ago (Fig. 2). It shows two magicians. The one at the top is Aladdin from the **Orient** who built a beautiful palace with his

New words

Orient – The countries to the east of the Mediterranean, usually referring to Asia. The term arises out of a western viewpoint that sees this region as pre-modern, traditional and mysterious

magic lamp. The one at the bottom is the modern mechanic, who with his modern tools weaves a new magic: builds bridges, ships, towers and high-rise buildings. Aladdin is shown as representing the East and the past, the mechanic stands for the West and modernity.

These images offer us a triumphant account of the modern world. Within this account the modern world is associated with rapid technological change and innovations, machines and factories, railways and steamships. The history of industrialisation thus becomes simply a story of development, and the modern age appears as a wonderful time of technological progress.

These images and associations have now become part of popular imagination. Do you not see rapid industrialisation as a time of progress and modernity? Do you not think that the spread of railways and factories, and construction of high-rise buildings and bridges is a sign of society's development?

How have these images developed? And how do we relate to these ideas? Is industrialisation always based on rapid technological development? Can we today continue to glorify continuous mechanisation of all work? What has industrialisation meant to people's lives? To answer such questions we need to turn to the history of industrialisation.

In this chapter we will look at this history by focusing first on Britain, the first industrial nation, and then India, where the pattern of industrial change was conditioned by colonial rule.

Fig. 2 – Two Magicians, published in* Inland Printers*, 26 January 1901.

Activity

Give two examples where modern development that is associated with progress has lead to problems. You may like to think of areas related to environmental issues, nuclear weapons or disease.

1 Before the Industrial Revolution

All too often we associate industrialisation with the growth of factory industry. When we talk of industrial production we refer to factory production. When we talk of industrial workers we mean factory workers. Histories of industrialisation very often begin with the setting up of the first factories.

There is a problem with such ideas. Even before factories began to dot the landscape in England and Europe, there was large-scale industrial production for an international market. This was not based on factories. Many historians now refer to this phase of industrialisation as **proto**-industrialisation.

New words

Proto – Indicating the first or early form of something

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, merchants from the towns in Europe began moving to the countryside, supplying money to peasants and artisans, persuading them to produce for an international market. With the expansion of world trade and the acquisition of colonies in different parts of the world, the demand for goods began growing. But merchants could not expand production within towns. This was because here urban crafts and trade guilds were powerful. These were associations of producers that trained craftspeople, maintained control over production, regulated competition and prices, and restricted the entry of new people into the trade. Rulers granted different guilds the monopoly right to produce and trade in specific products. It was therefore difficult for new merchants to set up business in towns. So they turned to the countryside.

In the countryside poor peasants and artisans began working for merchants. As you have seen in the textbook last year, this was a time when open fields were disappearing and commons were being enclosed. Cottagers and poor peasants who had earlier depended on common lands for their survival, gathering their firewood, berries, vegetables, hay and straw, had to now look for alternative sources of income. Many had tiny plots of land which could not provide work for all members of the household. So when merchants came around and offered advances to produce goods for them, peasant households eagerly agreed. By working for the merchants, they

Fig. 3 – Spinning in the eighteenth century.
You can see each member of the family involved in the production of yarn. Notice that one wheel is moving only one spindle.

could remain in the countryside and continue to cultivate their small plots. Income from proto-industrial production supplemented their shrinking income from cultivation. It also allowed them a fuller use of their family labour resources.

Within this system a close relationship developed between the town and the countryside. Merchants were based in towns but the work was done mostly in the countryside. A merchant clothier in England purchased wool from a wool **stapler**, and carried it to the spinners; the yarn (thread) that was spun was taken in subsequent stages of production to weavers, **fullers**, and then to dyers. The finishing was done in London before the export merchant sold the cloth in the international market. London in fact came to be known as a finishing centre.

This proto-industrial system was thus part of a network of commercial exchanges. It was controlled by merchants and the goods were produced by a vast number of producers working within their family farms, not in factories. At each stage of production 20 to 25 workers were employed by each merchant. This meant that each clothier was controlling hundreds of workers.

New words

Stapler – A person who 'staples' or sorts wool according to its fibre

Fuller – A person who 'fulls' – that is, gathers – cloth by pleating

Carding – The process in which fibres, such as cotton or wool, are prepared prior to spinning

1.1 The Coming Up of the Factory

The earliest factories in England came up by the 1730s. But it was only in the late eighteenth century that the number of factories multiplied.

The first symbol of the new era was cotton. Its production boomed in the late nineteenth century. In 1760 Britain was importing 2.5 million pounds of raw cotton to feed its cotton industry. By 1787 this import soared to 22 million pounds. This increase was linked to a number of changes within the process of production. Let us look briefly at some of these.

A series of inventions in the eighteenth century increased the efficacy of each step of the production process (**carding**, twisting and spinning, and rolling). They enhanced the output per worker, enabling each worker to produce more, and they made possible the production of stronger threads and yarn. Then Richard Arkwright created the cotton mill. Till this time, as you have seen, cloth production was spread all over the countryside and carried out within village households. But now, the costly new machines could be purchased, set up and maintained in the mill. Within the mill all the

Fig. 4 – A Lancashire cotton mill, painted by C.E. Turner,* The Illustrated London News, *1925.
The artist said: 'Seen through the humid atmosphere that makes Lancashire the best cotton-spinning locality in the world, a huge cotton-mill aglow with electricity in the twilight, is a most impressive sight.'

processes were brought together under one roof and management. This allowed a more careful supervision over the production process, a watch over quality, and the regulation of labour, all of which had been difficult to do when production was in the countryside.

In the early nineteenth century, factories increasingly became an intimate part of the English landscape. So visible were the imposing new mills, so magical seemed to be the power of new technology, that contemporaries were dazzled. They concentrated their attention on the mills, almost forgetting the bylanes and the workshops where production still continued.

Activity

The way in which historians focus on industrialisation rather than on small workshops is a good example of how what we believe today about the past is influenced by what historians choose to notice and what they ignore. Note down one event or aspect of your own life which adults such as your parents or teachers may think is unimportant, but which you believe to be important.

Fig. 5 – Industrial Manchester by M. Jackson, **The Illustrated London News,** ***1857.***
Chimneys billowing smoke came to characterise the industrial landscape.

1.2 The Pace of Industrial Change

How rapid was the process of industrialisation? Does industrialisation mean only the growth of factory industries?

First: The most dynamic industries in Britain were clearly cotton and metals. Growing at a rapid pace, cotton was the leading sector in the first phase of industrialisation up to the 1840s. After that the iron and steel industry led the way. With the expansion of railways, in England from the 1840s and in the colonies from the 1860s, the demand for iron and steel increased rapidly. By 1873 Britain was exporting iron and steel worth about £77 million, double the value of its cotton export.

Activity

Look at Figs. 4 and 5. Can you see any difference in the way the two images show industrialisation? Explain your view briefly.

Second: the new industries could not easily displace traditional industries. Even at the end of the nineteenth century, less than 20 per cent of the total workforce was employed in technologically advanced industrial sectors. Textiles was a dynamic sector, but a large portion of the output was produced not within factories, but outside, within domestic units.

Fig. 6 – A fitting shop at a railway works in England,* The Illustrated London News*, 1849.
In the fitting shop new locomotive engines were completed and old ones repaired.

Third: the pace of change in the 'traditional' industries was not set by steam-powered cotton or metal industries, but they did not remain entirely stagnant either. Seemingly ordinary and small innovations were the basis of growth in many non-mechanised sectors such as food processing, building, pottery, glass work, tanning, furniture making, and production of implements.

Fourth: technological changes occurred slowly. They did not spread dramatically across the industrial landscape. New technology was expensive and merchants and industrialists were cautious about using it. The machines often broke down and repair was costly. They were not as effective as their inventors and manufacturers claimed.

Consider the case of the steam engine. James Watt improved the steam engine produced by Newcomen and patented the new engine in 1781. His industrialist friend Mathew Boulton manufactured the new model. But for years he could find no buyers. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were no more than 321 steam engines all over England. Of these, 80 were in cotton industries, nine in wool industries, and the rest in mining, canal works and iron works. Steam engines were not used in any of the other industries till much later in the century. So even the most powerful new technology that enhanced the productivity of labour manifold was slow to be accepted by industrialists.

Historians now have come to increasingly recognise that the typical worker in the mid-nineteenth century was not a machine operator but the traditional craftsperson and labourer.

Fig. 7 – A spinning factory in 1830.
You can see how giant wheels moved by steam power could set in motion hundreds of spindles to manufacture thread.

2 Hand Labour and Steam Power

In Victorian Britain there was no shortage of human labour. Poor peasants and vagrants moved to the cities in large numbers in search of jobs, waiting for work. As you will know, when there is plenty of labour, wages are low. So industrialists had no problem of labour shortage or high wage costs. They did not want to introduce machines that got rid of human labour and required large capital investment.

In many industries the demand for labour was seasonal. Gas works and breweries were especially busy through the cold months. So they needed more workers to meet their peak demand. Bookbinders and printers, catering to Christmas demand, too needed extra hands before December. At the waterfront, winter was the time that ships were repaired and spruced up. In all such industries where production fluctuated with the season, industrialists usually preferred hand labour, employing workers for the season.

Fig. 8 – People on the move in search of work, **The Illustrated London News*, 1879.***
Some people were always on the move selling small goods and looking for temporary work.

A range of products could be produced only with hand labour. Machines were oriented to producing uniforms, standardised goods for a mass market. But the demand in the market was often for goods with intricate designs and specific shapes. In mid-nineteenth-century Britain, for instance, 500 varieties of

Source A

Will Thorne is one of those who went in search of seasonal work, loading bricks and doing odd jobs. He describes how job-seekers walked to London in search of work:

'I had always wanted to go to London, and my desire ... was stimulated by letters from an old workmate ... who was now working at the Old Kent Road Gas Works ... I finally decided to go ... in November, 1881. With two friends I started out to walk the journey, filled with the hope that we would be able to obtain employment, when we get there, with the kind assistance of my friend ... we had little money when we started, not enough to pay for our food and lodgings each night until we arrived in London. Some days we walked as much as twenty miles, and other days less. Our money was gone at the end of the third day ... For two nights we slept out – once under a haystack, and once in an old farm shed ... On arrival in London we tried to find ... my friend ... but ... were unsuccessful. Our money was gone, so there was nothing for us to do but to walk around until late at night, and then try to find some place to sleep. We found an old building and slept in it that night. The next day, Sunday, late in the afternoon, we got to the Old Kent Gas Works, and applied for work. To my great surprise, the man we had been looking for was working at the time. He spoke to the foreman and I was given a job.'

Quoted in Raphael Samuel, 'Comers and Goers', in H.J. Dyos and Michael Wolff, eds, *The Victorian City: Images and Realities*, 1973.

Source

Activity

Imagine that you are a merchant writing back to a salesman who has been trying to persuade you to buy a new machine. Explain in your letter what you have heard and why you do not wish to invest in the new technology.

hammers were produced and 45 kinds of axes. These required human skill, not mechanical technology.

In Victorian Britain, the upper classes – the aristocrats and the bourgeoisie – preferred things produced by hand. Handmade products came to symbolise refinement and class. They were better finished, individually produced, and carefully designed. Machine-made goods were for export to the colonies.

In countries with labour shortage, industrialists were keen on using mechanical power so that the need for human labour can be minimised. This was the case in nineteenth-century America. Britain, however, had no problem hiring human hands.

Fig. 9 – Workers in an iron works, north-east England, painting by William Bell Scott, 1861. *Many artists from the late nineteenth century began idealising workers: they were shown suffering hardship and pain for the cause of the nation.*

2.1 Life of the Workers

The abundance of labour in the market affected the lives of workers. As news of possible jobs travelled to the countryside, hundreds tramped to the cities. The actual possibility of getting a job depended on existing networks of friendship and kin relations. If you had a relative or a friend in a factory, you were more likely to get a job quickly. But not everyone had social connections. Many job-seekers had to wait weeks, spending nights under bridges or in night

Fig. 10 – Houseless and Hungry, painting by Samuel Luke Fildes, 1874.
This painting shows the homeless in London applying for tickets to stay overnight in a workhouse. These shelters were maintained under the supervision of the Poor Law Commissioners for the 'destitute, wayfarers, wanderers and foundling'. Staying in these workhouses was a humiliating experience: everyone was subjected to a medical examination to see whether they were carrying disease, their bodies were cleansed, and their clothes purified. They had to also do hard labour.

shelters. Some stayed in Night Refuges that were set up by private individuals; others went to the Casual Wards maintained by the Poor Law authorities.

Seasonality of work in many industries meant prolonged periods without work. After the busy season was over, the poor were on the streets again. Some returned to the countryside after the winter, when the demand for labour in the rural areas opened up in places. But most looked for odd jobs, which till the mid-nineteenth century were difficult to find.

Wages increased somewhat in the early nineteenth century. But they tell us little about the welfare of the workers. The average figures hide the variations between trades and the fluctuations from year to year. For instance, when prices rose sharply during the prolonged Napoleonic War, the real value of what the workers earned fell significantly, since the same wages could now buy fewer things. Moreover, the income of workers depended not on the wage rate alone. What was also critical was the period of employment: the number of days of work determined the average daily income of the workers. At the best of times till the mid-nineteenth century, about 10 per cent of the urban population were extremely poor. In periods of economic slump, like the 1830s, the proportion of unemployed went up to anything between 35 and 75 per cent in different regions.

The fear of unemployment made workers hostile to the introduction of new technology. When the **Spinning Jenny** was introduced in

Fig. 11 – A Spinning Jenny, a drawing by T.E. Nicholson, 1835.
Notice the number of spindles that could be operated with one wheel.

New words

Spinning Jenny – Devised by James Hargreaves in 1764, this machine speeded up the spinning process and reduced labour demand. By turning one single wheel a worker could set in motion a number of spindles and spin several threads at the same time.

Source B

A magistrate reported in 1790 about an incident when he was called in to protect a manufacturer's property from being attacked by workers:

'From the depredations of a lawless Banditti of colliers and their wives, for the wives had lost their work to spinning engines ... they advanced at first with much insolence, avowing their intention of cutting to pieces the machine lately introduced in the woollen manufacture; which they suppose, if generally adopted, will lessen the demand for manual labour. The women became clamorous. The men were more open to conviction and after some expostulation were induced to desist from their purpose and return peaceably home.'

J.L. Hammond and B. Hammond, *The Skilled Labourer 1760-1832*, quoted in Maxine Berg, *The Age of Manufactures*.

Source

Discuss

Look at Figs. 3, 7 and 11, then reread source B. Explain why many workers were opposed to the use of the Spinning Jenny.

Fig. 12 – A shallow underground railway being constructed in central London, **Illustrated Times*, 1868.***
From the 1850s railway stations began coming up all over London. This meant a demand for large numbers of workers to dig tunnels, erect timber scaffolding, do the brick and iron works. Job-seekers moved from one construction site to another.

the woollen industry, women who survived on hand spinning began attacking the new machines. This conflict over the introduction of the jenny continued for a long time.

After the 1840s, building activity intensified in the cities, opening up greater opportunities of employment. Roads were widened, new railway stations came up, railway lines were extended, tunnels dug, drainage and sewers laid, rivers embanked. The number of workers employed in the transport industry doubled in the 1840s, and doubled again in the subsequent 30 years.

3 Industrialisation in the Colonies

Let us now move to India to see how a colony industrialises. Once again we will look not only at factory industries but also at the non-mechanised sector. We will limit our discussion primarily to textile industries.

3.1 The Age of Indian Textiles

Before the age of machine industries, silk and cotton goods from India dominated the international market in textiles. Coarser cottons were produced in many countries, but the finer varieties often came from India. Armenian and Persian merchants took the goods from Punjab to Afghanistan, eastern Persia and Central Asia. Bales of fine textiles were carried on camel back via the north-west frontier, through mountain passes and across deserts. A vibrant sea trade operated through the main pre-colonial ports. Surat on the Gujarat coast connected India to the Gulf and Red Sea Ports; Masulipatam on the Coromandel coast and Hoogly in Bengal had trade links with Southeast Asian ports.

A variety of Indian merchants and bankers were involved in this network of export trade – financing production, carrying goods and supplying exporters. Supply merchants linked the port towns to the inland regions. They gave advances to weavers, procured the woven cloth from weaving villages, and carried the supply to the ports. At the port, the big shippers and export merchants had brokers who negotiated the price and bought goods from the supply merchants operating inland.

By the 1750s this network, controlled by Indian merchants, was breaking down.

The European companies gradually gained power – first securing a variety of concessions from local courts, then the monopoly rights to trade. This resulted in a decline of the old ports of Surat and Hoogly through which local merchants had operated. Exports from these ports fell dramatically, the credit that had financed the earlier trade began drying up, and the local bankers slowly went bankrupt. In the last years of the seventeenth century, the gross value of trade that passed through Surat had been Rs 16 million. By the 1740s it had slumped to Rs 3 million.

Activity

On a map of Asia, find and draw the sea and land links of the textile trade from India to Central Asia, West Asia and Southeast Asia.

Fig. 13 – The English factory at Surat, a seventeenth-century drawing.

While Surat and Hoogly decayed, Bombay and Calcutta grew. This shift from the old ports to the new ones was an indicator of the growth of colonial power. Trade through the new ports came to be controlled by European companies, and was carried in European ships. While many of the old trading houses collapsed, those that wanted to survive had to now operate within a network shaped by European trading companies.

How did these changes affect the life of weavers and other artisans?

3.2 What Happened to Weavers?

The consolidation of East India Company power after the 1760s did not initially lead to a decline in textile exports from India. British cotton industries had not yet expanded and Indian fine textiles were in great demand in Europe. So the company was keen on expanding textile exports from India.

Before establishing political power in Bengal and Carnatic in the 1760s and 1770s, the East India Company had found it difficult to ensure a regular supply of goods for export. The French, Dutch,

Fig. 14 – A weaver at work, Gujarat.

Portuguese as well as the local traders competed in the market to secure woven cloth. So the weaver and supply merchants could bargain and try selling the produce to the best buyer. In their letters back to London, Company officials continuously complained of difficulties of supply and the high prices.

However, once the East India Company established political power, it could assert a monopoly right to trade. It proceeded to develop a system of management and control that would eliminate competition, control costs, and ensure regular supplies of cotton and silk goods. This it did through a series of steps.

First: the Company tried to eliminate the existing traders and brokers connected with the cloth trade, and establish a more direct control over the weaver. It appointed a paid servant called the *gomastha* to supervise weavers, collect supplies, and examine the quality of cloth.

Second: it prevented Company weavers from dealing with other buyers. One way of doing this was through the system of advances. Once an order was placed, the weavers were given loans to purchase the raw material for their production. Those who took loans had to hand over the cloth they produced to the *gomastha*. They could not take it to any other trader.

As loans flowed in and the demand for fine textiles expanded, weavers eagerly took the advances, hoping to earn more. Many weavers had small plots of land which they had earlier cultivated along with weaving, and the produce from this took care of their family needs. Now they had to lease out the land and devote all their time to weaving. Weaving, in fact, required the labour of the entire family, with children and women all engaged in different stages of the process.

Soon, however, in many weaving villages there were reports of clashes between weavers and *gomasthas*. Earlier supply merchants had very often lived within the weaving villages, and had a close relationship with the weavers, looking after their needs and helping them in times of crisis. The new *gomasthas* were outsiders, with no long-term social link with the village. They acted arrogantly, marched into villages with **sepoys** and peons, and punished weavers for delays in supply – often beating and flogging them. The weavers lost the space to bargain for prices and sell to different buyers: the price they received from the Company was miserably low and the loans they had accepted tied them to the Company.

New words

Sepoy – This is how the British pronounced the word *sipahi,* meaning an Indian soldier in the service of the British

In many places in Carnatic and Bengal, weavers deserted villages and migrated, setting up looms in other villages where they had some family relation. Elsewhere, weavers along with the village traders revolted, opposing the Company and its officials. Over time many weavers began refusing loans, closing down their workshops and taking to agricultural labour.

By the turn of the nineteenth century, cotton weavers faced a new set of problems.

3.3 Manchester Comes to India

In 1772, Henry Patullo, a Company official, had ventured to say that the demand for Indian textiles could never reduce, since no other nation produced goods of the same quality. Yet by the beginning of the nineteenth century we see the beginning of a long decline of textile exports from India. In 1811-12 piece-goods accounted for 33 per cent of India's exports; by 1850-51 it was no more than 3 per cent.

Why did this happen? What were its implications?

As cotton industries developed in England, industrial groups began worrying about imports from other countries. They pressurised the government to impose import duties on cotton textiles so that Manchester goods could sell in Britain without facing any competition from outside. At the same time industrialists persuaded the East India Company to sell British manufactures in Indian markets as well. Exports of British cotton goods increased dramatically in the early nineteenth century. At the end of the eighteenth century there had been virtually no import of cotton piece-goods into India. But by 1850 cotton piece-goods constituted over 31 per cent of the value of Indian imports; and by the 1870s this figure was over 50 per cent.

Cotton weavers in India thus faced two problems at the same time: their export market collapsed, and the local market shrank, being glutted with Manchester imports. Produced by machines at lower costs, the imported cotton goods were so cheap that weavers could not easily compete with them. By the 1850s, reports from most weaving regions of India narrated stories of decline and desolation.

By the 1860s, weavers faced a new problem. They could not get sufficient supply of raw cotton of good quality. When the American

Source C

The Commissioner of Patna wrote:

'It appears that twenty yeas ago, a brisk trade was carried on in the manufacture of cloth at Jahanabad, and Behar, which has in the former place entirely ceased, while in the latter the amount of manufacture is very limited, in consequence of the cheap and durable goods from Manchester with which the Native manufactures are unable to compete.'

Quoted in J. Krishnamurty, 'Deindustrialisation in Gangetic Bihar during the nineteenth century', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 1985.

Source D

Reporting on the Koshtis, a community of weavers, the *Census Report of Central Provinces* stated:

'The Koshtis, like the weavers of the finer kinds of cloth in other parts of India, have fallen upon evil times. They are unable to compete with the showy goods which Manchester sends in such profusion, and they have of late years emigrated in great numbers, chiefly to Berar, where as day labourers they are able to obtain wages ...'

Census Report of Central Provinces, 1872, quoted in Sumit Guha, 'The handloom industry in Central India, 1825-1950', *The Indian Economic and Social History Review.*

Fig. 15 – Bombay harbour, a late-eighteenth-century drawing.
Bombay and Calcutta grew as trading ports from the 1780s. This marked the decline of the old trading order and the growth of the colonial economy.

Civil War broke out and cotton supplies from the US were cut off, Britain turned to India. As raw cotton exports from India increased, the price of raw cotton shot up. Weavers in India were starved of supplies and forced to buy raw cotton at exorbitant prices. In this, situation weaving could not pay.

Then, by the end of the nineteenth century, weavers and other craftspeople faced yet another problem. Factories in India began production, flooding the market with machine- goods. How could weaving industries possibly survive?

4 Factories Come Up

The first cotton mill in Bombay came up in 1854 and it went into production two years later. By 1862 four mills were at work with 94,000 spindles and 2,150 looms. Around the same time jute mills came up in Bengal, the first being set up in 1855 and another one seven years later, in 1862. In north India, the Elgin Mill was started in Kanpur in the 1860s, and a year later the first cotton mill of Ahmedabad was set up. By 1874, the first spinning and weaving mill of Madras began production.

Who set up the industries? Where did the capital come from? Who came to work in the mills?

Fig. 16 – Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy.
Jeejeebhoy was the son of a Parsi weaver. Like many others of his time, he was involved in the China trade and shipping. He owned a large fleet of ships, but competition from English and American shippers forced him to sell his ships by the 1850s.

4.1 The Early Entrepreneurs

Industries were set up in different regions by varying sorts of people. Let us see who they were.

The history of many business groups goes back to trade with China. From the late eighteenth century, as you have read in your book last year, the British in India began exporting opium to China and took tea from China to England. Many Indians became junior players in this trade, providing finance, procuring supplies, and shipping consignments. Having earned through trade, some of these businessmen had visions of developing industrial enterprises in India. In Bengal, Dwarkanath Tagore made his fortune in the China trade before he turned to industrial investment, setting up six joint-stock companies in the 1830s and 1840s. Tagore's enterprises sank along with those of others in the wider business crises of the 1840s, but later in the nineteenth century many of the China traders became successful industrialists. In Bombay, Parsis like Dinshaw Petit and Jamsetjee Nusserwanjee Tata who built huge industrial empires in India, accumulated their initial wealth partly from exports to China, and partly from raw cotton shipments to England. Seth Hukumchand, a Marwari businessman who set up the first Indian jute mill in Calcutta in 1917, also traded with China. So did the father as well as grandfather of the famous industrialist G.D. Birla.

Fig. 17 – Dwarkanath Tagore.
Dwarkanath Tagore believed that India would develop through westernisation and industrialisation. He invested in shipping, shipbuilding, mining, banking, plantations and insurance.

Capital was accumulated through other trade networks. Some merchants from Madras traded with Burma while others had links with the Middle East and East Africa. There were yet other

commercial groups, but they were not directly involved in external trade. They operated within India, carrying goods from one place to another, banking money, transferring funds between cities, and financing traders. When opportunities of investment in industries opened up, many of them set up factories.

As colonial control over Indian trade tightened, the space within which Indian merchants could function became increasingly limited. They were barred from trading with Europe in manufactured goods, and had to export mostly raw materials and food grains – raw cotton, opium, wheat and indigo – required by the British. They were also gradually edged out of the shipping business.

Till the First World War, European Managing Agencies in fact controlled a large sector of Indian industries. Three of the biggest ones were Bird Heiglers & Co., Andrew Yule, and Jardine Skinner & Co. These Agencies mobilised capital, set up joint-stock companies and managed them. In most instances Indian financiers provided the capital while the European Agencies made all investment and business decisions. The European merchant-industrialists had their own chambers of commerce which Indian businessmen were not allowed to join.

Fig. 18 – Partners in enterprise – J.N. Tata, R.D. Tata, Sir R.J. Tata, and Sir D.J. Tata.
In 1912, J.N. Tata set up the first iron and steel works in India at Jamshedpur. Iron and steel industries in India started much later than textiles. In colonial India industrial machinery, railways and locomotives were mostly imported. So capital goods industries could not really develop in any significant way till Independence.

4.2 Where Did the Workers Come From?

Factories needed workers. With the expansion of factories, this demand increased. In 1901, there were 584,000 workers in Indian factories. By 1946 the number was over 2,436, 000. Where did the workers come from?

In most industrial regions workers came from the districts around. Peasants and artisans who found no work in the village went to the industrial centres in search of work. Over 50 per cent workers in the Bombay cotton industries in 1911 came from the neighbouring district of Ratnagiri, while the mills of Kanpur got most of their textile hands from the villages within the district of Kanpur. Most often millworkers moved between the village and the city, returning to their village homes during harvests and festivals.

Over time, as news of employment spread, workers travelled great distances in the hope of work in the mills. From the United Provinces, for instance, they went to work in the textile mills of Bombay and in the jute mills of Calcutta.

Fig. 19 – Young workers of a Bombay mill, early twentieth century.
When workers went back to their village homes, they liked dressing up.

Getting jobs was always difficult, even when mills multiplied and the demand for workers increased. The numbers seeking work were always more than the jobs available. Entry into the mills was also restricted. Industrialists usually employed a jobber to get new recruits. Very often the jobber was an old and trusted worker. He got people from his village, ensured them jobs, helped them settle in the city and provided them money in times of crisis. The jobber therefore became a person with some authority and power. He began demanding money and gifts for his favour and controlling the lives of workers.

The number of factory workers increased over time. However, as you will see, they were a small proportion of the total industrial workforce.

Fig. 20 – A head jobber.
Notice how the posture and clothes emphasise the jobber's position of authority.

Source E

Vasant Parkar, who was once a millworker in Bombay, said:

'The workers would pay the jobbers money to get their sons work in the mill ... The mill worker was closely associated with his village, physically and emotionally. He would go home to cut the harvest and for sowing. The Konkani would go home to cut the paddy and the Ghati, the sugarcane. It was an accepted practice for which the mills granted leave.'

Meena Menon and Neera Adarkar, *One Hundred Years: One Hundred Voices*, 2004.

Source

Fig. 21 – Spinners at work in an Ahmedabad mill.
Women worked mostly in the spinning departments.

Source F

Bhai Bhosle, a trade unionist of Bombay, recollected his childhood in the 1930s and 1940s:

'In those days, the shift was 10 hours – from 5 pm to 3 am – terrible working hours. My father worked for 35 years; he got the asthma like disease and could not work any more...Then my father went back to village.'

Meena Menon and Neera Adarkar, *One Hundred Years: One Hundred Voices*.

Source

5 The Peculiarities of Industrial Growth

European Managing Agencies, which dominated industrial production in India, were interested in certain kinds of products. They established tea and coffee plantations, acquiring land at cheap rates from the colonial government; and they invested in mining, indigo and jute. Most of these were products required primarily for export trade and not for sale in India.

When Indian businessmen began setting up industries in the late nineteenth century, they avoided competing with Manchester goods in the Indian market. Since yarn was not an important part of British imports into India, the early cotton mills in India produced coarse cotton yarn (thread) rather than fabric. When yarn was imported it was only of the superior variety. The yarn produced in Indian spinning mills was used by handloom weavers in India or exported to China.

By the first decade of the twentieth century a series of changes affected the pattern of industrialisation. As the swadeshi movement gathered momentum, nationalists mobilised people to boycott foreign cloth. Industrial groups organised themselves to protect their collective interests, pressurising the government to increase tariff protection and grant other concessions. From 1906, moreover, the export of Indian yarn to China declined since produce from Chinese and Japanese mills flooded the Chinese market. So industrialists in India began shifting from yarn to cloth production. Cotton piece-goods production in India doubled between 1900 and 1912.

Yet, till the First World War, industrial growth was slow. The war created a dramatically new situation. With British mills busy with war production to meet the needs of the army, Manchester imports into India declined. Suddenly, Indian mills had a vast home market to supply. As the war prolonged, Indian factories were called upon to supply war needs: jute bags, cloth for army uniforms, tents and leather boots, horse and mule saddles and a host of other items. New factories were set up and old

Fig. 22 – The first office of the Madras Chamber of Commerce.
By the late nineteenth century merchants in different regions began meeting and forming Chambers of Commerce to regulate business and decide on issues of collective concern.

ones ran multiple shifts. Many new workers were employed and everyone was made to work longer hours. Over the war years industrial production boomed.

After the war, Manchester could never recapture its old position in the Indian market. Unable to modernise and compete with the US, Germany and Japan, the economy of Britain crumbled after the war. Cotton production collapsed and exports of cotton cloth from Britain fell dramatically. Within the colonies, local industrialists gradually consolidated their position, substituting foreign manufactures and capturing the home market.

5.1 Small-scale Industries Predominate

While factory industries grew steadily after the war, large industries formed only a small segment of the economy. Most of them – about 67 per cent in 1911 – were located in Bengal and Bombay. Over the rest of the country, small-scale production continued to predominate. Only a small proportion of the total industrial labour force worked in registered factories: 5 per cent in 1911 and 10 per cent in 1931. The rest worked in small workshops and household units, often located in alleys and bylanes, invisible to the passer-by.

In fact, in some instances, handicrafts production actually expanded in the twentieth century. This is true even in the case of the handloom sector that we have discussed. While cheap machine-made thread wiped out the spinning industry in the nineteenth century, the weavers survived, despite problems. In the twentieth century, handloom cloth production expanded steadily: almost trebling between 1900 and 1940.

How did this happen?

This was partly because of technological changes. Handicrafts people adopt new technology if that helps them improve production without excessively pushing up costs. So, by the second decade of the twentieth century we find weavers using looms with a **fly shuttle.** This increased productivity per worker, speeded up production and reduced labour demand. By 1941, over 35 per cent of handlooms in India were fitted with fly shuttles: in regions like Travancore, Madras, Mysore, Cochin, Bengal the proportion was 70 to 80 per cent. There were several other small innovations that helped weavers improve their productivity and compete with the mill sector.

Fig. 23 – A Hand-woven Cloth.
The intricate designs of hand-woven cloth could not be easily copied by the mills.

New words

Fly shuttle – It is a mechanical device used for weaving, moved by means of ropes and pullies. It places the horizontal threads (called the weft) into the verticle threads (called the warp). The invention of the fly shuttle made it possible for weavers to operate large looms and weave wide pieces of cloth.

Certain groups of weavers were in a better position than others to survive the competition with mill industries. Amongst weavers some produced coarse cloth while others wove finer varieties. The coarser cloth was bought by the poor and its demand fluctuated violently. In times of bad harvests and famines, when the rural poor had little to eat, and their cash income disappeared, they could not possibly buy cloth. The demand for the finer varieties bought by the well-to-do was more stable. The rich could buy these even when the poor starved. Famines did not affect the sale of Banarasi or Baluchari saris. Moreover, as you have seen, mills could not imitate specialised weaves. Saris with woven borders, or the famous lungis and handkerchiefs of Madras, could not be easily displaced by mill production.

Weavers and other craftspeople who continued to expand production through the twentieth century, did not necessarily prosper. They lived hard lives and worked long hours. Very often the entire household – including all the women and children – had to work at various stages of the production process. But they were not simply remnants of past times in the age of factories. Their life and labour was integral to the process of industrialisation.

Fig. 24 – Location of large-scale industries in India, 1931. *The circles indicate the size of industries in the different regions.*

6 Market for Goods

We have seen how British manufacturers attempted to take over the Indian market, and how Indian weavers and craftsmen, traders and industrialists resisted colonial controls, demanded tariff protection, created their own spaces, and tried to extend the market for their produce.

But when new products are produced people have to be persuaded to buy them. They have to feel like using the product. How was this done?

One way in which new consumers are created is through advertisements. As you know, advertisements make products appear desirable and necessary. They try to shape the minds of people and create new needs. Today we live in a world where advertisements surround us. They appear in newspapers, magazines, hoardings, street walls, television screens. But if we look back into history we find that from the very beginning of the industrial age, advertisements have played a part in expanding the markets for products, and in shaping a new consumer culture.

When Manchester industrialists began selling cloth in India, they put labels on the cloth bundles. The label was needed to make the place of manufacture and the name of the company familiar to the buyer. The label was also to be a mark of quality. When buyers saw 'MADE IN MANCHESTER' written in bold on the label, they were expected to feel confident about buying the cloth.

Fig. 25 – Gripe Water calendar of 1928 by M.V. Dhurandhar.
The image of baby Krishna was most commonly used to popularise baby products.

Fig. 26(a)

Fig. 26(b)

Fig. 26(a) – Manchester labels, early twentieth century.
Images of numerous Indian gods and goddesses – Kartika, Lakshmi, Saraswati – are shown in imported cloth labels approving the quality of the product being marketed.

Fig. 26(b) – Maharaja Ranjit Singh on a Manchester label.
Historic figures are used to create respect for the product.

But labels did not only carry words and texts. They also carried images and were very often beautifully illustrated. If we look at these old labels, we can have some idea of the mind of the manufacturers, their calculations, and the way they appealed to the people.

Images of Indian gods and goddesses regularly appeared on these labels. It was as if the association with gods gave divine approval to the goods being sold. The imprinted image of Krishna or Saraswati was also intended to make the manufacture from a foreign land appear somewhat familiar to Indian people.

By the late nineteenth century, manufacturers were printing calendars to popularise their products. Unlike newspapers and magazines, calendars were used even by people who could not read. They were hung in tea shops and in poor people's homes just as much as in offices and middle-class apartments. And those who hung the calendars had to see the advertisements, day after day, through the year. In these calendars, once again, we see the figures of gods being used to sell new products.

Like the images of gods, figures of important personages, of emperors and nawabs, adorned advertisement and calendars. The message very often seemed to say: if you respect the royal figure, then respect this product; when the product was being used by kings, or produced under royal command, its quality could not be questioned.

When Indian manufacturers advertised the nationalist message was clear and loud. If you care for the nation then buy products that Indians produce. Advertisements became a vehicle of the nationalist message of swadeshi.

Fig. 27 – Sunlight soap calendar of 1934.
Here God Vishnu is shown bringing sunlight from across the skies.

Fig. 28 – An Indian mill cloth label.
The goddess is shown offering cloth produced in an Ahmedabad mill, and asking people to use things made in India.

Conclusion

Clearly, the age of industries has meant major technological changes, growth of factories, and the making of a new industrial labour force. However, as you have seen, hand technology and small-scale production remained an important part of the industrial landscape.

Look again at Figs. 1 and 2. What would you now say of the images they project?

Write in brief

1. Explain the following:
   a) Women workers in Britain attacked the Spinning Jenny.
   b) In the seventeenth century merchants from towns in Europe began employing peasants and artisans within the villages.
   c) The port of Surat declined by the end of the eighteenth century.
   d) The East India Company appointed *gomasthas* to supervise weavers in India.
2. Write True or False against each statement:
   a) At the end of the nineteenth century, 80 per cent of the total workforce in Europe was employed in the technologically advanced industrial sector.
   b) The international market for fine textiles was dominated by India till the eighteenth century.
   c) The American Civil War resulted in the reduction of cotton exports from India.
   d) The introduction of the fly shuttle enabled handloom workers to improve their productivity.
3. Explain what is meant by proto-industrialisation.

Write in brief

Discuss

1. Why did some industrialists in nineteenth-century Europe prefer hand labour over machines?
2. How did the East India Company procure regular supplies of cotton and silk textiles from Indian weavers?
3. Imagine that you have been asked to write an article for an encyclopaedia on Britain and the history of cotton. Write your piece using information from the entire chapter.
4. Why did industrial production in India increase during the First World War?

Discuss

Project work

Project

Select any one industry in your region and find out its history. How has the technology changed? Where do the workers come from? How are the products advertised and marketed? Try and talk to the employers and some workers to get their views about the industry's history.

Work, Life and Leisure
Cities in the Contemporary World

In 1880, Durgacharan Ray wrote a novel, *Debganer Martye Aagaman* (*The Gods Visit Earth*), in which Brahma, the Creator in Hindu mythology, took a train to Calcutta with some other gods. As Varuna, the Rain God, conducted them around the capital of British India, the gods were wonderstruck by the big, modern city – the train itself, the large ships on the river Ganges, factories belching smoke, bridges and monuments and a dazzling array of shops selling a wide range of commodities. The gods were so impressed by the marvels of the teeming metropolis that they decided to build a Museum and a High Court in Heaven!

The city of Calcutta in the nineteenth century was brimming with opportunities – for trade and commerce, education and jobs. But the gods were disturbed by another aspect of city life – its cheats and thieves, its grinding poverty, and the poor quality of housing for many. Brahma himself got tricked into buying a pair of cheap glasses and when he tried to buy a pair of shoes, he was greatly confused by the shopkeepers who accused one another of being swindlers. The gods were also perturbed at the confusion of caste, religious and gender identities in the city. All social distinctions that appeared to be natural and normal seemed to be breaking down.

Like Durgacharan Ray, many others in nineteenth-century India were both amazed and confused by what they saw in the cities. The city seemed to offer a series of contrasting images and experiences – wealth and poverty, splendour and dirt, opportunities and disappointments.

Were cities always like the one described above? Though urbanisation has a long history, the modern city worldwide has developed only over the last 200 years. Three historical processes have shaped modern cities in decisive ways: the rise of industrial capitalism, the establishment of colonial rule over large parts of the world, and the development of democratic ideals. This chapter will trace some of the processes of this urbanisation. It will explore how the modern city emerges, and what happens within the city.

1 Characteristics of the City

To begin with, how do we distinguish between cities on the one hand and towns and villages on the other? Towns and cities that first appeared along river valleys, such as Ur, Nippur and Mohenjodaro, were larger in scale than other human settlements. Ancient cities could develop only when an increase in food supplies made it possible to support a wide range of non-food producers. Cites were often the centres of political power, administrative network, trade and industry, religious institutions, and intellectual activity, and supported various social groups such as artisans, merchants and priests.

Cities themselves can vary greatly in size and complexity. They can be densely settled modern-day **metropolises**, which combine political and economic functions for an entire region, and support very large populations. Or they can be smaller urban centres with limited functions.

This chapter will discuss the history of **urbanisation** in the modern world. We will look in some detail at two modern cities, as examples of metropolitan development. The first is London, the largest city in the world, and an imperial centre in the nineteenth century, and the second is Bombay, one of the most important modern cities in the Indian subcontinent.

Activity

Can you think of appropriate examples from Indian history for each of these categories: a religious centre, a market town, a regional capital, a metropolis? Find out about the history of any one of them.

New words

Metropolis – A large, densely populated city of a country or state, often the capital of the region

Urbanisation – Development of a city or town

1.1 Industrialisation and the Rise of the Modern City in England

Industrialisation changed the form of urbanisation in the modern period. However, even as late as the 1850s, many decades after the beginning of the industrial revolution, most Western countries were largely rural. The early industrial cities of Britain such as Leeds and Manchester attracted large numbers of migrants to the textile mills set up in the late eighteenth century. In 1851, more than three-quarters of the adults living in Manchester were migrants from rural areas.

Now let us look at London. By 1750, one out of every nine people of England and Wales lived in London. It was a colossal city with a population of about 675,000. Over the nineteenth century, London continued to expand. Its population multiplied fourfold in the 70 years between 1810 and 1880, increasing from 1 million to about 4 million.

The city of London was a powerful magnet for migrant populations, even though it did not have large factories. 'Nineteenth century London,' says the historian Gareth Stedman Jones, 'was a city of clerks and shopkeepers, of small masters and skilled artisans, of a growing number of semi skilled and sweated outworkers, of soldiers and servants, of casual labourers, street sellers, and beggars.' Apart from the London dockyards, five major types of industries employed large numbers: clothing and footwear, wood and furniture, metals and engineering, printing and stationery, and precision products such as surgical instruments, watches, and objects of precious metal. During the First World War (1914-18) London began manufacturing motor cars and electrical goods, and the number of large factories increased until they accounted for nearly one-third of all jobs in the city.

Fig. 1 – The growth of London, a map showing its population in four different eras.

1.2 Marginal Groups

As London grew, crime flourished. We are told that 20,000 criminals were living in London in the 1870s. We know a great deal about criminal activities in this period, for crime became an object of widespread concern. The police were worried about law and order, **philanthropists** were anxious about public morality, and industrialists wanted a hard-working and orderly labour force. So the population of criminals was counted, their activities were watched, and their ways of life were investigated.

In the mid-nineteenth century, Henry Mayhew wrote several volumes on the London labour, and compiled long lists of those who made a living from crime. Many of whom he listed as 'criminals' were in fact poor people who lived by stealing lead from roofs, food from shops, lumps of coal, and clothes drying on hedges. There were others who were more skilled at their trade, expert at their jobs. They were the cheats and tricksters, pickpockets and petty thieves crowding the streets of London. In an attempt to discipline the population, the authorities imposed high penalties for crime and offered work to those who were considered the 'deserving poor'.

Factories employed large numbers of women in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. With technological developments, women gradually lost their industrial jobs, and were forced to work within households. The 1861 census recorded a quarter of a million domestic servants in London, of whom the vast majority were

New words

Philanthropist – Someone who works for social upliftment and charity, donating time and money for the purpose

women, many of them recent migrants. A large number of women used their homes to increase family income by taking in lodgers or through such activities as tailoring, washing or matchbox making. However, there was a change once again in the twentieth century. As women got employment in wartime industries and offices, they withdrew from domestic service.

Large number of children were pushed into low-paid work, often by their parents. Andrew Mearns, a clergyman who wrote *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* in the 1880s, showed why crime was more profitable than labouring in small underpaid factories: 'A child seven years old is easily known to make 10 shillings 6 pence a week from thieving … Before he can gain as much as the young thief [a boy] must make 56 gross of matchboxes a week, or 1,296 a day.' It was only after the passage of the Compulsory Elementary Education Act in 1870, and the factory acts beginning from 1902, that children were kept out of industrial work.

Activity

Imagine that you are a newspaper reporter writing a piece on the changes you see in London in 1811. What problems are you likely to write about? Who would have gained from the changes?

1.3 Housing

Older cities like London changed dramatically when people began pouring in after the Industrial Revolution. Factory or workshop

Fig. 2 – A Stranger's Home, **The Illustrated London News,** ***1870.***
Night Refuges and Strangers' Homes were opened in winter by charitable societies and local authorities in many towns. The poor flocked to these places in the hope of food, warmth and shelter.

owners did not house the migrant workers. Instead, individual landowners put up cheap, and usually unsafe, **tenements** for the new arrivals.

Although poverty was not unknown in the countryside, it was more concentrated and starkly visible in the city. In 1887, Charles Booth, a Liverpool shipowner, conducted the first social survey of low-skilled London workers in the East End of London. He found that as many as 1 million Londoners (about one-fifth of the population of London at the time) were very poor and were expected to live only up to an average age of 29 (compared to the average life expectancy of 55 among the gentry and the middle class). These people were more than likely to die in a 'workhouse, hospital or lunatic asylum'. London, he concluded 'needed the rebuilding of at least 400,000 rooms to house its poorest citizens'.

For a while the better-off city dwellers continued to demand that slums simply be cleared away. But gradually a larger and larger number of people began to recognise the need for housing for the poor. What were the reasons for this increasing concern? First, the vast mass of one-room houses occupied by the poor were seen as a serious threat to public health: they were overcrowded, badly ventilated, and lacked sanitation. Second, there were worries about fire hazards created by poor housing. Third, there was a widespread fear of social disorder, especially after the Russian Revolution in 1917. Workers' mass housing schemes were planned to prevent the London poor from turning rebellious.

Fig. 3 – Rat-trap seller, cartoon by Rowlandson, 1799.
Rowlandson recorded the types of trades in London that were beginning to disappear with the development of industrial capitalism.

New words

Tenement – Run-down and often overcrowded apartment house, especially in a poor section of a large city

Activity

In many cities of India today, there are moves to clear away the slums where poor people live. Discuss whether or not it is the responsibility of the government to make arrangements for houses for these people.

Fig. 4 – A London slum in 1889.
What are the different uses of street space that are visible in this picture? What would have changed in the conditions of working class housing in the twentieth century?

Fig. 5 – For the poor, the street often was the only place for rest, leisure and fun. **The Illustrated London News*, 1856.***
Over the nineteenth century, the elites became increasingly worried about drunkenness and squalor on the streets. Gradually, a ***temperance movement*** *developed to fight against the evils of drinking.*

1.4 Cleaning London

A variety of steps were taken to clean up London. Attempts were made to decongest localities, green the open spaces, reduce pollution and landscape the city. Large blocks of apartments were built, akin to those in Berlin and New York – cities which had similar housing problems. Rent control was introduced in Britain during the First World War to ease the impact of a severe housing shortage.

The congestion in the nineteenth-century industrial city also led to a yearning for clean country air. Many wealthy residents of London were able to afford a holiday home in the countryside. Demands were made for new 'lungs' for the city, and some attempts

Activity

Imagine you are investigating the conditions in which the London poor lived. Write a note discussing all the dangers to public health which were created by these conditions.

Source A

'The children too must not be forgotten in the open spaces. The *kinderbank*, or low seat to suit their short legs, should always be provided and where possible spaces of turf be supplied with swings or seesaws, with ponds for sailing boats, and with sand pits where these can be kept sufficiently clean.'

Source

New words

Temperance movement – A largely middle-class-led social reform movement which emerged in Britain and America from the nineteenth century onwards. It identified alcoholism as the cause of the ruin of families and society, and aimed at reducing the consumption of alcoholic drinks particularly amongst the working classes.

were made to bridge the difference between city and countryside through such ideas as the Green Belt around London.

Architect and planner Ebenezer Howard developed the principle of the Garden City, a pleasant space full of plants and trees, where people would both live and work. He believed this would also produce better-quality citizens. Following Howard's ideas Raymond Unwin and Barry Parker designed the garden city of New Earswick. There were common garden spaces, beautiful views, and great attention to detail. In the end, only well-off workers could afford these houses.

Between the two World Wars (1919-39) the responsibility for housing the working classes was accepted by the British state, and a million houses, most of them single-family cottages, were built by local authorities. Meanwhile, the city had extended beyond the range where people could walk to work, and the development of suburbs made new forms of mass transport absolutely necessary.

Fig. 6 – New Earswick, a garden suburb.
Notice the enclosed green space to produce a new community life.

1.5 Transport in the City

How could people be persuaded to leave the city and live in garden suburbs unless there were some means of travelling to the city for work? The London underground railway partially solved the housing crisis by carrying large masses of people to and from the city.

The very first section of the Underground in the world opened on 10 January 1863 between Paddington and Farrington Street in London. On that day 10,000 passengers were carried, with trains running every ten minutes. By 1880 the expanded train service was carrying 40 million passengers a year. At first people were afraid to travel underground. This is what one newspaper reader warned:

> The compartment in which I sat was filled with passengers who were smoking pipes. The atmosphere was a mixture of sulphur, coal dust and foul fumes from the gas lamps above, so that by the time we reached Moorgate, I was near dead of **asphyxiation** and heat. I should think these underground railways must soon be discontinued for they are a menace to health.

Fig. 7 – Railway lines being laid in London, **Illustrated Times,** ***1868.***

Many felt that the 'iron monsters' added to the mess and unhealthiness of the city. Charles Dickens wrote in *Dombey and Son* (1848) about the massive destruction in the process of construction:

> Houses were knocked down; streets broken through and stopped; deep pits and trenches dug in the ground; enormous heaps of earth and clay thrown up; … there were a hundred thousand shapes and substances of incompleteness, wildly mingled out their places, upside down, burrowing in the earth . . .

To make approximately two miles of railway, 900 houses had to be destroyed. Thus the London tube railway led to a massive displacement of the London poor, especially between the two World Wars.

Yet the Underground eventually became a huge success. By the twentieth century, most large metropolises such as New York, Tokyo and Chicago could not do without their well-functioning transit systems. As a result, the population in the city became more dispersed. Better-planned suburbs and a good railway network enabled large numbers to live outside central London and travel to work.

These new conveniences wore down social distinctions and also created new ones. How did these changes affect domestic and public life? Did they have the same significance for all social groups?

New words

Asphyxiation – Suffocation due to lack of oxygen supply

Fig. 8 – London Underground advertisement for Golders Green, around 1900.
You can see the Underground advertisement persuading people to move to green, uncrowded and picturesque suburbs.

Fig. 9 – Cows on the streets of London, **The Graphic*, 1877.***
Clearing streets was part of the project of building a modern city. In the nineteenth century, cows regularly blocked traffic on London roads.

2 Social Change in the City

In the eighteenth century, the family had been a unit of production and consumption as well as of political decision-making. The function and the shape of the family were completely transformed by life in the industrial city.

Ties between members of households loosened, and among the working class the institution of marriage tended to break down. Women of the upper and middle classes in Britain, on the other hand, faced increasingly higher levels of isolation, although their lives were made easier by domestic maids who cooked, cleaned and cared for young children on low wages.

Women who worked for wages had some control over their lives, particularly among the lower social classes. However, many social reformers felt that the family as an institution had broken down, and needed to be saved or reconstructed by pushing these women back into the home.

2.1 Men, Women and Family in the City

The city no doubt encouraged a new spirit of **individualism** among both men and women, and a freedom from the collective values that were a feature of the smaller rural communities. But men and women did not have equal access to this new urban space. As women lost their industrial jobs and conservative people railed against their presence in public spaces, women were forced to withdraw into their homes. The public space became increasingly a male preserve, and the domestic sphere was seen as the proper place for women. Most political movements of the nineteenth century, such as Chartism (a movement demanding the vote for all adult males) and the 10-hour movement (limiting hours of work in factories), mobilised large numbers of men. Only gradually did women come to participate in political movements for suffrage that demanded the

New words

Individualism – A theory which promotes the liberty, rights or independent action of the individual, rather than of the community

right to vote for women, or for married women's rights to property (from the 1870s).

By the twentieth century, the urban family had been transformed yet again, partly by the experience of the valuable wartime work done by women, who were employed in large numbers to meet war demands. The family now consisted of much smaller units.

Above all, the family became the heart of a new market – of goods and services, and of ideas. If the new industrial city provided opportunities for mass work, it also raised the problem of mass leisure on Sundays and other common holidays. How did people organise their new-found leisure time?

2.2 Leisure and Consumption

For wealthy Britishers, there had long been an annual 'London Season'. Several cultural events, such as the opera, the theatre and classical music performances were organised for an elite group of 300-400 families in the late eighteenth century. Meanwhile, working classes met in pubs to have a drink, exchange news and sometimes also to organise for political action.

Many new types of large-scale entertainment for the common people came into being, some made possible with money from the state. Libraries, art galleries and museums were established in the nineteenth century to provide people with a sense of history and pride in the achievements of the British. At first, visitors to the British Museum in London numbered just about 15,000 every year, but when entry was made free in 1810, visitors swamped the museum: their number jumped to 127,643 in 1824-25, shooting up to 825, 901 by 1846. Music halls were popular among the lower classes, and, by the early twentieth century, cinema became the great mass entertainment for mixed audiences.

British industrial workers were increasingly encouraged to spend their holidays by the sea, so as to derive the benefits of the sun and bracing winds. Over 1 million British people went to the seaside at Blackpool in 1883; by 1939 their numbers had gone up to 7 million.

Fig. 10 – A famous London resort, painting by T.E. Turner, 1923.
Pleasure gardens came in the nineteenth century to provide facilities for sports, entertainment and refreshments for the well-to-do.

Fig. 11 – Sailor's Home in East London, **The Illustrated London News,** ***1873.***
The working poor created spaces of entertainment wherever they lived.

Fig. 12 – A tavern with coaches parked in front, early nineteenth century.
The image makes clear the connection taverns had with horse-drawn coaches in the early nineteenth century. Before the railway age, taverns were places where horse-drawn coaches halted, and tired travellers had food and drink and rested the night. Taverns were located on coach routes and had facilities for overnight stays. After the coming of the railway and bus transport, taverns went into decline along with horse-drawn coach transport. Pubs came up near railway stations and bus depots. Here people could stop for a quick drink and chat.

3 Politics in the City

In the severe winter of 1886, when outdoor work came to a standstill, the London poor exploded in a riot, demanding relief from the terrible conditions of poverty. Alarmed shopkeepers closed down their establishments, fearing the 10,000-strong crowd that was marching from Deptford to London. The marchers had to be dispersed by the police. A similar riot occurred in late 1887; this time, it was brutally suppressed by the police in what came to be known as the Bloody Sunday of November 1887.

Two years later, thousands of London's dockworkers went on strike and marched through the city. According to one writer, 'thousands of the strikers had marched through the city without a pocket being picked or a window being broken …' The 12-day strike was called to gain recognition for the dockworkers' union.

From these examples you can see that large masses of people could be drawn into political causes in the city. A large city population was thus both a threat and an opportunity. State authorities went to great lengths to reduce the possibility of rebellion and enhance urban aesthetics, as the example of Paris shows.

Fig. 13 – A scene during the dockworkers' strike, 1889.

Box 1

Haussmanisation of Paris

In 1852, Louis Napoleon III (a nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte) crowned himself emperor. After taking over, he undertook the rebuilding of Paris with vigour. The chief architect of the new Paris was Baron Haussmann, the Prefect of the Seine. His name has come to stand for the forcible reconstruction of cities to enhance their beauty and impose order. The poor were evicted from the centre of Paris to reduce the possibility of political rebellion and to beautify the city.

For 17 years after 1852, Haussmann rebuilt Paris. Straight, broad avenues or boulevards and open spaces were designed, and full-grown trees transplanted. By 1870, one-fifth of the streets of Paris were Haussmann's creation. In addition, policemen were employed, night patrols were begun, and bus shelters and tap water introduced.

Public works on this scale employed a large number of people: one in five working persons in Paris was in the building trade in the 1860s. Yet this reconstruction displaced up to 350,000 people from the centre of Paris.

Even some of the wealthier inhabitants of Paris thought that the city had been monstrously transformed. The Goncourt brothers, writing in the 1860s, for instance, lamented the passing of an earlier way of life, and the development of an upper-class culture. Others believed that Haussmann had 'killed the street' and its life, to produce an empty, boring city, full of similar-looking boulevards and facades. In a play called *Maison Neuve* written in 1866, an old shopkeeper said, 'Nowadays for the slightest excursion there are miles to go! An eternal sidewalk going on and on forever! A tree, a bench, a kiosk! A tree, a bench, a kiosk! A tree, a bench ...'

The outcry against Haussmann's Paris soon got converted into civic pride as the new capital became the toast of all Europe. Paris became the hub of many new architectural, social and intellectual developments that were very influential right through the twentieth century, even in other parts of the globe.

Fig. 14 – Plan of principal streets in Paris built by Baron Haussmann between 1850 and 1870.

Fig. 15 – A cartoon representing Haussmann as the 'Attila of the Straight Line', holding a compass and a set square, and dominating the plan of Paris.

4 The City in Colonial India

In sharp contrast to Western Europe in the same period, Indian cities did not mushroom in the nineteenth century. The pace of urbanisation in India was slow under colonial rule. In the early twentieth century, no more than 11 per cent of Indians were living in cities. A large proportion of these urban dwellers were residents of the three **Presidency cities**. These were multi-functional cities: they had major ports, warehouses, homes and offices, army camps, as well as educational institutions, museums and libraries. Bombay was the premier city of India. It expanded rapidly from the late nineteenth century, its population going up from 644,405 in 1872 to nearly 1,500,000 in 1941.

Let us look at how Bombay developed.

New words

Presidency cities – The capitals of the Bombay, Bengal and Madras Presidencies in British India

Discuss

Read Source B carefully. What are the common features of city life that the authors note? What are the contradictory experiences they point to?

Fig. 16 – A bustling street in Null Bazaar, Bombay, photograph by Raja Deen Dayal, late nineteenth century.

Source B

Contradictory experiences of cities

Kali Prasanna Singh wrote a satire in Bengali describing an evening scene in the Indian part of Calcutta around 1862:

'Gradually the darkness thickens. At this time, thanks to English shoes, striped Santipur scarfs [sic] and Simla dhuties, you can't tell high from low. Groups of fast young men, with peals of laughter and plenty of English talk are knocking at this door and that. They left home when they saw the lamps lighted in the evening and will return when the flour mills begin to work ... Some cover their faces with scarfs [sic] and think that no one recognises them. It is the evening of ... a Saturday and the city is unusually crowded.'

Hutam Pyancher Naksha, a collection of short sketches on urban life in Calcutta, 1862. Translated by Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay.

In 1899, G.G. Agarkar wrote about Bombay:

'The enormous expanse of Bombay city; its great and palatial private and governmental mansions; broad streets which accommodate up to six carriages abreast ... the struggle to enter the merchants lanes; the frequent troublesome noise of passenger and goods trains whistles and wheels; the wearisome bargaining in every market, by customers who wander from place to place making enquiries with silver and notes in their pockets to buy a variety of commodities; the throngs of thousands of boats visible in the harbour ... the more or less rushed pace of official and private employees going to work, checking their watches ... The clouds of black smoke emitted by factory chimneys and the noise of large machines in the innards of buildings ... Men and women with and without families belonging to every caste and rank travelling in carriages or horseback or on foot, to take the air and enjoy a drive along the sea shore in the slanting rays of the sun as it descends on the horizon ... '

G.G. Agarkar, 'The Obverse Side of British Rule or our Dire Poverty'.

Source

4.1 Bombay: The Prime City of India?

In the seventeenth century, Bombay was a group of seven islands under Portuguese control. In 1661, control of the islands passed into British hands after the marriage of Britain's King Charles II to the Portuguese princess. The East India Company quickly shifted its base from Surat, its principal western port, to Bombay.

Fig. 17 – A view of Bombay, 1852.
You can see the Colaba lighthouse on the right and St Thomas's Church in the distant background. It was still possible in the mid-nineteenth century for artists to search for picturesque spots. The major development projects had not yet started.

At first, Bombay was the major outlet for cotton textiles from Gujarat. Later, in the nineteenth century, the city functioned as a port through which large quantities of raw materials such as cotton and opium would pass. Gradually, it also became an important administrative centre in western India, and then, by the end of the nineteenth century, a major industrial centre.

4.2 Work in the City

Bombay became the capital of the Bombay Presidency in 1819, after the Maratha defeat in the Anglo-Maratha war. The city quickly expanded. With the growth of trade in cotton and opium, large communities of traders and bankers as well as artisans and shopkeepers came to settle in Bombay. The establishment of textile mills led to a fresh surge in migration.

The first cotton textile mill in Bombay was established in 1854. By 1921, there were 85 cotton mills with about 146,000 workers. Only

Fig. 18 – A map of Bombay in the 1930s showing the seven islands and the reclamations.

about one-fourth of Bombay's inhabitants between 1881 and 1931 were born in Bombay: the rest came from outside. Large numbers flowed in from the nearby district of Ratnagiri to work in the Bombay mills.

Women formed as much as 23 per cent of the mill workforce in the period between 1919 and 1926. After that, their numbers dropped steadily to less than 10 per cent of the total workforce. By the late 1930s, women's jobs were increasingly taken over by machines or by men.

Bombay dominated the maritime trade of India till well into the twentieth century. It was also at the junction head of two major railways. The railways encouraged an even higher scale of migration into the city. For instance, famine in the dry regions of Kutch drove large numbers of people into Bombay in 1888-89. The flood of migrants in some years created panic and alarm in official circles. Worried by the influx of population during the plague epidemic of 1898, district authorities sent about 30,000 people back to their places of origin by 1901.

Activity

Have a debate in class with speakers for and against the motion, on the following topic: 'City development cannot take place without destroying communities and lifestyles. This is a necessary part of development.'

4.3 Housing and Neighbourhoods

Bombay was a crowded city. While every Londoner in the 1840s enjoyed an average space of 155 square yards, Bombay had a mere 9.5 square yards. By 1872, when London had an average of 8 persons per house, the density in Bombay was as high as 20. From its earliest days, Bombay did not grow according to any plan, and houses, especially in the Fort area, were interspersed with gardens. The Bombay Fort area which formed the heart of the city in the early 1800s was divided between a 'native' town, where most of the Indians lived, and a European or 'white' section. A European suburb and an industrial zone began to develop to the north of the Fort settlement area, with a similar suburb and cantonment in the south. This racial pattern was true of all three Presidency cities.

With the rapid and unplanned expansion of the city, the crisis of housing and water supply became acute by the mid-1850s. The arrival of the textile mills only increased the pressure on Bombay's housing.

Like the European elite, the richer Parsi, Muslim and upper-caste traders and industrialists of Bombay lived in sprawling,

Fig. 19 – Interior of Esplanade House built for J.N. Tata in 1887.

Fig. 20 – Scene by Robert Grindlay of Bombay, 1826.
A number of palanquins are being carried across the square.

spacious bungalows. In contrast, more than 70 per cent of the working people lived in the thickly populated *chawls* of Bombay. Since workers walked to their place of work, 90 per cent of millworkers were housed in Girangaon, a 'mill village' not more than 15 minutes' walk from the mills.

Chawls were multi-storeyed structures which had been built from at least the 1860s in the 'native' parts of the town. Like the tenements in London, these houses were largely owned by private landlords, such as merchants, bankers, and building contractors, looking for quick ways of earning money from anxious migrants. Each *chawl* was divided into smaller one-room tenements which had no private toilets.

Many families could reside at a time in a tenement. The Census of 1901 reported that 'the mass of the island's population or 80 per cent of the total, resides in tenements of one room; the average number of occupants lies between 4 and 5 …' High rents forced workers to share homes, either with relatives or caste fellows who were streaming into the city. People had to keep the windows of their rooms closed even in humid weather due to the 'close proximity of filthy gutters, privies, buffalo stables etc.' Yet, though water was scarce, and people often quarrelled every morning for a turn at the tap, observers found that houses were kept quite clean.

The homes being small, streets and neighbourhoods were used for a variety of activities such as cooking, washing and sleeping. Liquor

Activity

Look at Fig. 20 What kinds of people do you think used this mode of transport? Compare it with the pictures of the horse-drawn tram (Fig. 22) and the electric tram. Notice the inversion of the numbers involved: the horse-drawn tram or electric tram needed only one operator while a single traveller required several people.

Source C

Why spaces cannot be cleared

Bombay's first Municipal Commissioner, Arthur Crawford, was appointed in 1865. He tried to keep several 'dangerous trades' out of south Bombay. He described how builders and entrepreneurs bribed inspectors to continue with their haphazard use of space, even when their activities increased pollution:

'… Kessowjee Naik brought his dyers back to their old quarters. I prosecuted them, but was defeated. Kessowjee Naik spent money like water, eminent physicians swore solemnly that dye pits were beneficial to health! … This infamous success emboldened a powerful German firm to open a large steam Dyeing Factory close to Parbadevi Temple whose refuse waters polluted the fair sands of Mahim Bay … Last but not least Bhoys and Dasses, Shenvis Brahmins and all the Jees, set up cotton and spinning mills anywhere their sweet will prompted them: for example close to the Byculla Club itself, around the Race Course and Kamathippora Foras Road, in Khetwady, on Girgaum Raod and at Chowpatty.'

While reading such statements we must remember that colonial officials liked to represent Englishmen as honest and Indians as corrupt, the Englishmen as concerned with pollution of the environment and Indians as being uncaring about such issues.

Source

shops and ***akharas*** came up in any empty spot. Streets were also used for different types of leisure activities. Parvathibai Bhor recalled her childhood years in the early twentieth century this way: 'There was an open space in the middle of our four *chawls*. There the magicians, monkey players or acrobats used to regularly perform their acts. The Nandi bull used to come. I used to be especially afraid of the Kadaklakshmi. To see that they had to beat themselves on their naked bodies in order to fill their stomachs frightened me.' Finally, *chawls* were also the place for the exchange of news about jobs, strikes, riots or demonstrations.

Caste and family groups in the mill neighbourhoods were headed by someone who was similar to a village headman. Sometimes, the jobber in the mills could be the local neighbourhood leader. He settled disputes, organised food supplies, or arranged informal credit. He also brought important information on political developments.

People who belonged to the **'depressed classes'** found it even more difficult to find housing. Lower castes were kept out of many *chawls* and often had to live in shelters made of corrugated sheets, leaves, or bamboo poles.

If town planning in London emerged from fears of social revolution, planning in Bombay came about as a result of fears about the plague epidemic. The City of Bombay Improvement Trust was established in 1898; it focused on clearing poorer homes out of the city centre. By 1918, Trust schemes had deprived 64,000 people of their homes, but only 14,000 were rehoused. In 1918, a Rent Act was passed to keep rents reasonable, but it had the opposite effect of producing a severe housing crisis, since landlords withdrew houses from the market.

Expansion of the city has always posed a problem in Bombay because of a scarcity of land. One of the ways the city of Bombay has developed is through massive **reclamation** projects.

4.4 Land Reclamation in Bombay

Did you know that the seven islands of Bombay were joined into one landmass only over a period of time? The earliest project began in 1784. The Bombay governor William Hornby approved the building of the great sea wall which prevented the flooding of the low-lying areas of Bombay.

Fig. 21 – **Chawl** ***on Kalbadevi Road built in the early twentieth century.***
What do you notice about the organisation of space in this building?

Activity

Imagine that you are a young person living in a *chawl*. Describe one day in your life.

New words

Akharas – Traditional wrestling schools, generally located in every neighbourhood, where young people were trained to ensure both physical and moral fitness

Depressed classes – A term often used to denote those who were seen within the caste order as 'lower castes' and 'untouchables'

Reclamation – The reclaiming of marshy or submerged areas or other wasteland for settlements, cultivation or other use

Since then, there have been several reclamation projects. The need for additional commercial space in the mid-nineteenth century led to the formulation of several plans, both by government and private companies, for the reclamation of more land from the sea. Private companies became more interested in taking financial risks. In 1864, the Back Bay Reclamation Company won the right to reclaim the western foreshore from the tip of Malabar Hill to the end of Colaba. Reclamation often meant the levelling of the hills around Bombay. By the 1870s, although most of the private companies closed down due to the mounting cost, the city had expanded to about 22 square miles. As the population continued to increase rapidly in the early twentieth century, every bit of the available area was built over and new areas were reclaimed from the sea.

Fig. 22 – Colaba Causeway, late nineteenth century.
Notice that the trams are being drawn by horses. You can see stables for horses on the left and the Tram Company's offices in the background.

A successful reclamation project was undertaken by the Bombay Port Trust, which built a dry dock between 1914 and 1918 and used the excavated earth to create the 22-acre Ballard Estate. Subsequently, the famous Marine Drive of Bombay was developed.

Fig. 23 – Marine Drive.
A familiar landmark of Bombay, it was built on land reclaimed from the sea in the twentieth century.

4.5 Bombay as the City of Dreams: The World of Cinema and Culture

Who does not associate Bombay with its film industry? Despite its massive overcrowding and difficult living conditions, Bombay appears to many as a *'mayapuri'* – a city of dreams.

Many Bombay films deal with the arrival in the city of new migrants, and their encounters with the real pressures of daily life. Some popular songs from the Bombay film industry speak of the contradictory aspects of the city. In the film *CID* (1956) the hero's buddy sings, '*Ai dil hai mushkil jeena yahan; zara hatke zara bachke, ye hai Bambai meri jaan*' (My heart, it is difficult to live here! move over a little, take care of yourself! this is Bombay! my love). A slightly more disillusioned voice sings in *Guest House* (1959): '*Jiska juta usika sar, dil hai chhote bada shahar, are vah re vah teri Bambai*' (Bombay, you city what a place! Here one gets beaten with one's own shoes! The city is big but people's hearts are small!).

When did the Bombay film industry make its first appearance? Harishchandra Sakharam Bhatwadekar shot a scene of a wrestling

match in Bombay's Hanging Gardens and it became India's first movie in 1896. Soon after, Dadasaheb Phalke made *Raja Harishchandra* (1913). After that, there was no turning back. By 1925, Bombay had become India's film capital, producing films for a national audience. The amount of money invested in about 50 Indian films in 1947 was Rs 756 million. By 1987, the film industry employed 520,000 people.

Most of the people in the film industry were themselves migrants who came from cities like Lahore, Calcutta, Madras and contributed to the national character of the industry. Those who came from Lahore, then in Punjab, were especially important for the development of the Hindi film industry. Many famous writers, like Ismat Chughtai and Saadat Hasan Manto, were associated with Hindi cinema.

Bombay films have contributed in a big way to produce an image of the city as a blend of dream and reality, of slums and star bungalows.

Discuss

Read Source D. What does the poem communicate about the opportunities and experience for each new generation?

Source D

Source

The Many Sides of Bombay

My father came down the Sahyadris
A quilt over his shoulder
He stood at your doorstep
With nothing but his labour
...
I carried a tiffin box
To the mill since childhood
I was cast the way
A smith forges a hammer
I learned my ropes
Working on a loom
Learnt on occasion
To go on strike

My father withered away toiling
So will I, and will my little ones
Perhaps they too face such sad nights
Wrapped in coils of darkness

Excerpted from the poem *Maze Vidyapeeth* (1975) by Narayan Surve.

The verses of this poem are a stark contrast to the glittering world of films, pointing to the endless toil which new migrants encounter in the city.

Box 2

Not all cities in Asian countries developed in an unplanned manner. There were many cities that were carefully planned and organised. Consider the case of modern Singapore.

Lee Kuan Yew's Singapore

Today, most of us know Singapore as a successful, rich, and well-planned city, a model for city planning worldwide. Yet the city's rise to this status is quite recent. Until 1965, Singapore, though an important port, shared all the problems of other Asian cities. Planning was known in Singapore since 1822, but benefited only the small community of white people who ruled Singapore. For the majority of its inhabitants, there was overcrowding, lack of sanitation, poor housing, and poverty.

All this changed after the city became an independent nation in 1965 under the leadership of Lee Kuan Yew, President of the People's Action Party. A massive housing and development programme was undertaken and it completely altered the face of the island nation. Through a programme of total planning which left nothing to chance, every inch of the island's territory was controlled in its use. The government itself won popular support by providing nearly 85 per cent of the population with ownership housing of good quality. The tall housing blocks, which were well ventilated and serviced, were examples of good physical planning. But the buildings also redesigned social life: crime was reduced through external corridors, the aged were housed alongside their families, 'void decks' or empty floors were provided in all buildings for community activities.

Migration into the city was strictly controlled. Social relations between the three major groups of people (the Chinese, the Malays and the Indians) were also monitored to prevent racial conflict. Newspapers and journals and all forms of communication and association were also strictly controlled.

In 1986, in the National Day Rally speech, Lee Kuan Yew's recalled his early experiments with planning: '... we would not have made economic progress, if we had not intervened on very personal matters: who your neighbour is, how you live, the noise you make, how you spit or what language you use. We decide what is right. Never mind what the people think – that is another problem.'

Reported in *The Straits Times.*

Although the citizens of Singapore enjoy a very high degree of material comfort and wealth, there are many who point out that the city lacks a lively and challenging political culture.

Fig. 24 – Singapore Marina, which is built on land reclaimed from the sea.

Activity

Compare the examples of the work done by Baron Haussmann in Paris and Lee Kuan Yew, almost a hundred years later, in Singapore. Discuss if physical comfort and beauty in the city can be introduced only by controlling social and private life. In your opinion, is this a good enough reason for the government to make rules about the way in which people should live their personal lives?

5 Cities and the Challenge of the Environment

City development everywhere occurred at the expense of ecology and the environment. Natural features were flattened out or transformed in response to the growing demand for space for factories, housing and other institutions. Large quantities of refuse and waste products polluted air and water, while excessive noise became a feature of urban life.

The widespread use of coal in homes and industries in nineteenth-century England raised serious problems. In industrial cities such as Leeds, Bradford and Manchester, hundreds of factory chimneys spewed black smoke into the skies. People joked that most inhabitants of these cities grew up believing that the skies were grey and all vegetation was black! Shopkeepers, homeowners and others complained about the black fog that descended on their towns, causing bad tempers, smoke-related illnesses, and dirty clothes.

When people first joined campaigns for cleaner air, the goal was to control the nuisance through legislation. This was not at all easy, since factory owners and steam engine owners did not want to spend

Fig. 25 – The London smog, **The Illustrated London News,** ***1847.***
Smoke from burning of coal, in industries and in homes, covered London, making it difficult to breathe the air or see the road.

on technologies that would improve their machines. By the 1840s, a few towns such as Derby, Leeds and Manchester had laws to control smoke in the city. But smoke was not easy to monitor or measure, and owners got away with small adjustments to their machinery that did nothing to stop the smoke. Moreover, the Smoke Abatement Acts of 1847 and 1853, as they were called, did not always work to clear the air.

Calcutta too had a long history of air pollution. Its inhabitants inhaled grey smoke, particularly in the winter. Since the city was built on marshy land, the resulting fog combined with smoke to generate thick black smog. High levels of pollution were a consequence of the huge population that depended on dung and wood as fuel in their daily life. But the main polluters were the industries and establishments that used steam engines run on coal.

Colonial authorities were at first intent on clearing the place of miasmas, or harmful vapours, but the railway line introduced in 1855 brought a dangerous new pollutant into the picture – coal from Raniganj. The high content of ash in Indian coal was a problem. Many pleas were made to banish the dirty mills from the city, with no effect. However, in 1863, Calcutta became the first Indian city to get smoke nuisance legislation.

In 1920, the rice mills of Tollygunge began to burn rice husk instead of coal, leading residents to complain that 'the air is filled up with black soot which falls like drizzling rain from morning till night, and it has become impossible to live'. The inspectors of the Bengal Smoke Nuisance Commission finally managed to control industrial smoke. Controlling domestic smoke, however, was far more difficult.

Activity

Write out a notice from the Bengal Smoke Nuisance Commission to the owner of a factory pointing out the dangers and harmful effects of industrial smoke.

Conclusion

Despite its problems, the city has always been attractive to those seeking freedom and opportunity. Even the gods in Durgacharan's novel, referred to at the beginning of this chapter, found heaven imperfect, compared with all that they had witnessed and experienced on their visit to Calcutta. Yet all the aspects of city life that upset them were signs of the new routes to social and economic mobility that the city offered to the millions who had made it their home.

Write in brief

1. Give two reasons why the population of London expanded from the middle of the eighteenth century.
2. What were the changes in the kind of work available to women in London between the nineteenth and the twentieth century? Explain the factors which led to this change.
3. How does the existence of a large urban population affect each of the following? Illustrate with historical examples.
   a) A private landlord
   b) A Police Superintendent in charge of law and order
   c) A leader of a political party
4. Give explanations for the following:
   a) Why well-off Londoners supported the need to build housing for the poor in the nineteenth century.
   b) Why a number of Bombay films were about the lives of migrants.
   c) What led to the major expansion of Bombay's population in the mid-nineteenth century.

Write in brief

Discuss

1. What forms of entertainment came up in nineteenth century England to provide leisure activities for the people.
2. Explain the social changes in London which led to the need for the Underground railway. Why was the development of the Underground criticised?
3. Explain what is meant by the Haussmanisation of Paris. To what extent would you support or oppose this form of development? Write a letter to the editor of a newspaper, to either support or oppose this, giving reasons for your view.
4. To what extent does government regulation and new laws solve problems of pollution? Discuss one example each of the success and failure of legislation to change the quality of
   a) public life
   b) private life

Discuss

Project

Make sure you watch any one of the Mumbai films discussed in this chapter. Compare and contrast the portrayal of the city in one film discussed in this chapter, with a film set in Mumbai, which you have recently seen.

Project

Print Culture and the Modern World

It is difficult for us to imagine a world without printed matter. We find evidence of print everywhere around us – in books, journals, newspapers, prints of famous paintings, and also in everyday things like theatre programmes, official circulars, calendars, diaries, advertisements, cinema posters at street corners. We read printed literature, see printed images, follow the news through newspapers, and track public debates that appear in print. We take for granted this world of print and often forget that there was a time before print. We may not realise that print itself has a history which has, in fact, shaped our contemporary world. What is this history? When did printed literature begin to circulate? How has it helped create the modern world?

In this chapter we will look at the development of print, from its beginnings in East Asia to its expansion in Europe and in India. We will understand the impact of the spread of technology and consider how social lives and cultures changed with the coming of print.

Fig. 1 – Book making before the age of print, from* Akhlaq-i-Nasiri*, 1595.
This is a royal workshop in the sixteenth century, much before printing began in India. You can see the text being dictated, written and illustrated. The art of writing and illustrating by hand was important in the age before print. Think about what happened to these forms of art with the coming of printing machines.

1 The First Printed Books

The earliest kind of print technology was developed in China, Japan and Korea. This was a system of hand printing. From AD 594 onwards, books in China were printed by rubbing paper – also invented there – against the inked surface of woodblocks. As both sides of the thin, porous sheet could not be printed, the traditional Chinese 'accordion book' was folded and stitched at the side. Superbly skilled craftsmen could duplicate, with remarkable accuracy, the beauty of **calligraphy.**

New words

Calligraphy – The art of beautiful and stylised writing

The imperial state in China was, for a very long time, the major producer of printed material. China possessed a huge bureaucratic system which recruited its personnel through civil service examinations. Textbooks for this examination were printed in vast numbers under the sponsorship of the imperial state. From the sixteenth century, the number of examination candidates went up and that increased the volume of print.

By the seventeenth century, as urban culture bloomed in China, the uses of print diversified. Print was no longer used just by scholar-officials. Merchants used print in their everyday life, as they collected trade information. Reading increasingly became a leisure activity. The new readership preferred fictional narratives, poetry, autobiographies, anthologies of literary masterpieces, and romantic plays. Rich women began to read, and many women began publishing their poetry and plays. Wives of scholar-officials published their works and courtesans wrote about their lives.

This new reading culture was accompanied by a new technology. Western printing techniques and mechanical presses were imported in the late nineteenth century as Western powers established their outposts in China. Shanghai became the hub of the new print culture, catering to the Western-style schools. From hand printing there was now a gradual shift to mechanical printing.

Fig. 2 – A page from the Diamond Sutra.

1.1 Print in Japan

Buddhist missionaries from China introduced hand-printing technology into Japan around AD 768-770. The oldest Japanese book, printed in AD 868, is the Buddhist *Diamond Sutra*, containing six sheets of text and woodcut illustrations. Pictures were printed on textiles,

playing cards and paper money. In medieval Japan, poets and prose writers were regularly published, and books were cheap and abundant.

Printing of visual material led to interesting publishing practices. In the late eighteenth century, in the flourishing urban circles at Edo (later to be known as Tokyo), illustrated collections of paintings depicted an elegant urban culture, involving artists, courtesans, and teahouse gatherings. Libraries and bookstores were packed with hand-printed material of various types – books on women, musical instruments, calculations, tea ceremony, flower arrangements, proper etiquette, cooking and famous places.

Box 1

Kitagawa Utamaro, born in Edo in 1753, was widely known for his contributions to an art form called *ukiyo* ('pictures of the floating world') or depiction of ordinary human experiences, especially urban ones. These prints travelled to contemporary US and Europe and influenced artists like Manet, Monet and Van Gogh. Publishers like Tsutaya Juzaburo identified subjects and commissioned artists who drew the theme in outline. Then a skilled woodblock carver pasted the drawing on a woodblock and carved a printing block to reproduce the painter's lines. In the process, the original drawing would be destroyed and only prints would survive.

Fig. 3 – An* ukiyo *print by Kitagawa Utamaro.

Fig. 4 – A morning scene,* ukiyo *print by Shunman Kubo, late eighteenth century.
A man looks out of the window at the snowfall while women prepare tea and perform other domestic duties.

2 Print Comes to Europe

For centuries, silk and spices from China flowed into Europe through the silk route. In the eleventh century, Chinese paper reached Europe via the same route. Paper made possible the production of manuscripts, carefully written by scribes. Then, in 1295, Marco Polo, a great explorer, returned to Italy after many years of exploration in China. As you read above, China already had the technology of woodblock printing. Marco Polo brought this knowledge back with him. Now Italians began producing books with woodblocks, and soon the technology spread to other parts of Europe. Luxury editions were still handwritten on very expensive **vellum**, meant for aristocratic circles and rich monastic libraries which scoffed at printed books as cheap vulgarities. Merchants and students in the university towns bought the cheaper printed copies.

New words

Vellum – A parchment made from the skin of animals

As the demand for books increased, booksellers all over Europe began exporting books to many different countries. Book fairs were held at different places. Production of handwritten manuscripts was also organised in new ways to meet the expanded demand. Scribes or skilled handwriters were no longer solely employed by wealthy or influential patrons but increasingly by booksellers as well. More than 50 scribes often worked for one bookseller.

But the production of handwritten manuscripts could not satisfy the ever-increasing demand for books. Copying was an expensive, laborious and time-consuming business. Manuscripts were fragile, awkward to handle, and could not be carried around or read easily. Their circulation therefore remained limited. With the growing demand for books, woodblock printing gradually became more and more popular. By the early fifteenth century, woodblocks were being widely used in Europe to print textiles, playing cards, and religious pictures with simple, brief texts.

There was clearly a great need for even quicker and cheaper reproduction of texts. This could only be with the invention of a new print technology. The breakthrough occurred at Strasbourg, Germany, where Johann Gutenberg developed the first-known printing press in the 1430s.

Activity

Imagine that you are Marco Polo. Write a letter from China to describe the world of print which you have seen there.

2.1 Gutenberg and the Printing Press

Gutenberg was the son of a merchant and grew up on a large agricultural estate. From his childhood he had seen wine and olive presses. Subsequently, he learnt the art of polishing stones, became a master goldsmith, and also acquired the expertise to create lead moulds used for making trinkets. Drawing on this knowledge, Gutenberg adapted existing technology to design his innovation. The olive press provided the model for the printing press, and moulds were used for casting the metal types for the letters of the alphabet. By 1448, Gutenberg perfected the system. The first book he printed was the Bible. About 180 copies were printed and it took three years to produce them. By the standards of the time this was fast production.

Fig. 5 – A Portrait of Johann Gutenberg, 1584.

The new technology did not entirely displace the existing art of producing books by hand.

In fact, printed books at first closely resembled the written manuscripts in appearance and layout. The metal letters imitated the ornamental handwritten styles. Borders were illuminated by hand with foliage and other patterns, and illustrations were painted. In the books printed for the rich, space for decoration was kept blank on the printed page. Each purchaser could choose the design and decide on the painting school that would do the illustrations.

In the hundred years between 1450 and 1550, printing presses were set up in most countries of Europe. Printers from Germany travelled to other countries, seeking work and helping start new presses. As the number of printing presses grew, book production boomed. The second half of the fifteenth century saw 20 million copies of printed books flooding the markets in Europe. The number went up in the sixteenth century to about 200 million copies.

This shift from hand printing to mechanical printing led to the print revolution.

Fig. 6 – Gutenberg Printing Press.
*Notice the long handle attached to the screw. This handle was used to turn the screw and press down the **platen** over the printing block that was placed on top of a sheet of damp paper. Gutenberg developed metal types for each of the 26 characters of the Roman alphabet and devised a way of moving them around so as to compose different words of the text. This came to be known as the moveable type printing machine, and it remained the basic print technology over the next 300 years. Books could now be produced much faster than was possible when each print block was prepared by carving a piece of wood by hand. The Gutenberg press could print 250 sheets on one side per hour.*

New words

Platen – In letterpress printing, platen is a board which is pressed onto the back of the paper to get the impression from the type. At one time it used to be a wooden board; later it was made of steel

Fig. 7 – Pages of Gutenberg's Bible, the first printed book in Europe.

Gutenberg printed about 180 copies, of which no more than 50 have survived.

Look at these pages of Gutenberg's Bible carefully. They were not just products of new technology. The text was printed in the new Gutenberg press with metal type, but the borders were carefully designed, painted and illuminated by hand by artists. No two copies were the same. Every page of each copy was different. Even when two copies look similar, a careful comparison will reveal differences. Elites everywhere preferred this lack of uniformity: what they possessed then could be claimed as unique, for no one else owned a copy that was exactly the same.

In the text you will notice the use of colour within the letters in various places. This had two functions: it added colour to the page, and highlighted all the holy words to emphasise their significance. But the colour on every page of the text was added by hand. Gutenberg printed the text in black, leaving spaces where the colour could be filled in later.

Fig. 8 – A printer's workshop, sixteenth century.

*This picture depicts what a printer's shop looked like in the sixteenth century. All the activities are going on under one roof. In the foreground on the right, **compositors** are at work, while on the left **galleys** are being prepared and ink is being applied on the metal types; in the background, the printers are turning the screws of the press, and near them proofreaders are at work. Right in front is the final product – the double-page printed sheets, stacked in neat piles, waiting to be bound.*

New words

Compositor – The person who composes the text for printing

Galley – Metal frame in which types are laid and the text composed

3 The Print Revolution and Its Impact

What was the print revolution? It was not just a development, a new way of producing books; it transformed the lives of people, changing their relationship to information and knowledge, and with institutions and authorities. It influenced popular perceptions and opened up new ways of looking at things.

Let us explore some of these changes.

3.1 A New Reading Public

With the printing press, a new reading public emerged. Printing reduced the cost of books. The time and labour required to produce each book came down, and multiple copies could be produced with greater ease. Books flooded the market, reaching out to an ever-growing readership.

Access to books created a new culture of reading. Earlier, reading was restricted to the elites. Common people lived in a world of oral culture. They heard sacred texts read out, **ballads** recited, and folk tales narrated. Knowledge was transferred orally. People collectively heard a story, or saw a performance. As you will see in Chapter 8, they did not read a book individually and silently. Before the age of print, books were not only expensive but they could not be produced in sufficient numbers. Now books could reach out to wider sections of people. If earlier there was a hearing public, now a reading public came into being.

But the transition was not so simple. Books could be read only by the literate, and the rates of literacy in most European countries were very low till the twentieth century. How, then, could publishers persuade the common people to welcome the printed book? To do this, they had to keep in mind the wider reach of the printed work: even those who did not read could certainly enjoy listening to books being read out. So printers began publishing popular ballads and folk tales, and such books would be profusely illustrated with pictures. These were then sung and recited at gatherings in villages and in **taverns** in towns.

Oral culture thus entered print and printed material was orally transmitted. The line that separated the oral and reading cultures became blurred. And the hearing public and reading public became intermingled.

Activity

You are a bookseller advertising the availability of new cheap printed books. Design a poster for your shop window.

New words

Ballad – A historical account or folk tale in verse, usually sung or recited

Taverns – Places where people gathered to drink alcohol, to be served food, and to meet friends and exchange news

3.2 Religious Debates and the Fear of Print

Print created the possibility of wide circulation of ideas, and introduced a new world of debate and discussion. Even those who disagreed with established authorities could now print and circulate their ideas. Through the printed message, they could persuade people to think differently, and move them to action. This had significance in different spheres of life.

Not everyone welcomed the printed book, and those who did also had fears about it. Many were apprehensive of the effects that the easier access to the printed word and the wider circulation of books, could have on people's minds. It was feared that if there was no control over what was printed and read then rebellious and irreligious thoughts might spread. If that happened the authority of 'valuable' literature would be destroyed. Expressed by religious authorities and monarchs, as well as many writers and artists, this anxiety was the basis of widespread criticism of the new printed literature that had began to circulate.

Fig. 9 – J.V. Schley, L'Imprimerie, 1739.
This is one of the many images produced in early modern Europe, celebrating the coming of print. You can see the printing press descending from heaven, carried by a goddess. On two sides of the goddess, blessing the machine, are Minerva (the goddess of wisdom) and Mercury (the messenger god, also symbolising reason). The women in the foreground are holding plaques with the portraits of six pioneer printers of different countries. In the middle ground on the left (figure encircled) is the portrait of Gutenberg.

Let us consider the implication of this in one sphere of life in early modern Europe – namely, religion.

In 1517, the religious reformer Martin Luther wrote Ninety Five Theses criticising many of the practices and rituals of the Roman Catholic Church. A printed copy of this was posted on a church door in Wittenberg. It challenged the Church to debate his ideas. Luther's writings were immediately reproduced in vast numbers and read widely. This lead to a division within the Church and to the beginning of the **Protestant Reformation**. Luther's translation of the New Testament sold 5,000 copies within a few weeks and a second edition appeared within three months. Deeply grateful to print, Luther said, 'Printing is the ultimate gift of God and the greatest one.' Several scholars, in fact, think that print brought about a new intellectual atmosphere and helped spread the new ideas that led to the Reformation.

New words

Protestant Reformation – A sixteenth-century movement to reform the Catholic Church dominated by Rome. Martin Luther was one of the main Protestant reformers. Several traditions of anti-Catholic Christianity developed out of the movement

3.3 Print and Dissent

Print and popular religious literature stimulated many distinctive individual interpretations of faith even among little-educated working people. In the sixteenth century, Menocchio, a miller in Italy, began to read books that were available in his locality. He reinterpreted the message of the Bible and formulated a view of God and Creation that enraged the Roman Catholic Church. When the Roman Church began its **inquisition** to repress **heretical** ideas, Menocchio was hauled up twice and ultimately executed. The Roman Church, troubled by such effects of popular readings and questionings of faith, imposed severe controls over publishers and booksellers and began to maintain an Index of Prohibited Books from 1558.

Fig. 10 – The macabre dance.
This sixteenth-century print shows how the fear of printing was dramatised in visual representations of the time. In this highly interesting woodcut the coming of print is associated with the end of the world. The interior of the printer's workshop here is the site of a dance of death. Skeletal figures control the printer and his workers, define and dictate what is to be done and what is to be produced.

Discuss

Write briefly why some people feared that the development of print could lead to the growth of dissenting ideas.

New words

Inquisition – A former Roman Catholic court for identifying and punishing heretics

Heretical – Beliefs which do not follow the accepted teachings of the Church. In medieval times, heresy was seen as a threat to the right of the Church to decide on what should be believed and what should not. Heretical beliefs were severely punished

Satiety – The state of being fulfilled much beyond the point of satisfaction

Seditious – Action, speech or writing that is seen as opposing the government

Source A

Fear of the book

Erasmus, a Latin scholar and a Catholic reformer, who criticised the excesses of Catholicism but kept his distance from Luther, expressed a deep anxiety about printing. He wrote in *Adages* (1508):

'To what corner of the world do they not fly, these swarms of new books? It may be that one here and there contributes something worth knowing, but the very multitude of them is hurtful to scholarship, because it creates a glut, and even in good things **satiety** is most harmful ... [printers] fill the world with books, not just trifling things (such as I write, perhaps), but stupid, ignorant, slanderous, scandalous, raving, irreligious and **seditious** books, and the number of them is such that even the valuable publications lose their value.'

Source

4 The Reading Mania

Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries literacy rates went up in most parts of Europe. Churches of different **denominations** set up schools in villages, carrying literacy to peasants and artisans. By the end of the eighteenth century, in some parts of Europe literacy rates were as high as 60 to 80 per cent. As literacy and schools spread in European countries, there was a virtual reading mania. People wanted books to read and printers produced books in ever-increasing numbers.

New forms of popular literature appeared in print, targeting new audiences. Booksellers employed pedlars who roamed around villages, carrying little books for sale. There were **almanacs** or ritual calendars, along with ballads and folktales. But other forms of reading matter, largely for entertainment, began to reach ordinary readers as well. In England, penny **chapbooks** were carried by petty pedlars known as chapmen, and sold for a penny, so that even the poor could buy them. In France, were the 'Biliotheque Bleue', which were low-priced small books printed on poor quality paper, and bound in cheap blue covers. Then there were the romances, printed on four to six pages, and the more substantial 'histories' which were stories about the past. Books were of various sizes, serving many different purposes and interests.

The periodical press developed from the early eighteenth century, combining information about current affairs with entertainment. Newspapers and journals carried information about wars and trade, as well as news of developments in other places.

Similarly, the ideas of scientists and philosophers now became more accessible to the common people. Ancient and medieval scientific texts were compiled and published, and maps and scientific diagrams were widely printed. When scientists like Isaac Newton began to publish their discoveries, they could influence a much wider circle of scientifically minded readers. The writings of thinkers such as Thomas Paine, Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau were also widely printed and read. Thus their ideas about science, reason and rationality found their way into popular literature.

New words

Denominations – Sub groups within a religion
Almanac – An annual publication giving astronomical data, information about the movements of the sun and moon, timing of full tides and eclipses, and much else that was of importance in the everyday life of people
Chapbook – A term used to describe pocket-size books that are sold by travelling pedlars called chapmen. These became popular from the time of the sixteenth-century print revolution

Box 2

In 1791, a London publisher, James Lackington, wrote in his diary:

The sale of books in general has increased prodigiously within the last twenty years. The poorer sort of farmers and even the poor country people in general who before that period spent their winter evenings in relating stories of witches, ghosts, hobgoblins ... now shorten the winter night by hearing their sons and daughters read them tales, romances, etc. If John goes to town with a load of hay, he is charged to be sure not to forget to bring home *Peregrine Pickle's Adventure* ... and when Dolly is sent to sell her eggs, she is commissioned to purchase *The History of Joseph Andrews*.'

4.1 'Tremble, therefore, tyrants of the world!'

By the mid-eighteenth century, there was a common conviction that books were a means of spreading progress and enlightenment. Many believed that books could change the world, liberate society from **despotism** and tyranny, and herald a time when reason and intellect would rule. Louise-Sebastien Mercier, a novelist in eighteenth-century France, declared: 'The printing press is the most powerful engine of progress and public opinion is the force that will sweep despotism away.' In many of Mercier's novels, the heroes are transformed by acts of reading. They devour books, are lost in the world books create, and become enlightened in the process. Convinced of the power of print in bringing enlightenment and destroying the basis of despotism, Mercier proclaimed: 'Tremble, therefore, tyrants of the world! Tremble before the virtual writer!'

4.2 Print Culture and the French Revolution

Many historians have argued that print culture created the conditions within which French Revolution occurred. Can we make such a connection?

Three types of arguments have been usually put forward.

First: print popularised the ideas of the Enlightenment thinkers. Collectively, their writings provided a critical commentary on tradition, superstition and despotism. They argued for the rule of reason rather than custom, and demanded that everything be judged through the application of reason and rationality. They attacked the sacred authority of the Church and the despotic power of the state, thus eroding the legitimacy of a social order based on tradition. The writings of Voltaire and Rousseau were read widely; and those who read these books saw the world through new eyes, eyes that were questioning, critical and rational.

Second: print created a new culture of dialogue and debate. All values, norms and institutions were re-evaluated and discussed by a public that had become aware of the power of reason, and recognised the need to question existing ideas and beliefs. Within this public culture, new ideas of social revolution came into being.

Third: by the 1780s there was an outpouring of literature that mocked the royalty and criticised their morality. In the process, it raised

Source B

This is how Mercier describes the impact of the printed word, and the power of reading in one of his books:

'Anyone who had seen me reading would have compared me to a man dying of thirst who was gulping down some fresh, pure water ... Lighting my lamp with extraordinary caution, I threw myself hungrily into the reading. An easy eloquence, effortless and animated, carried me from one page to the next without my noticing it. A clock struck off the hours in the silence of the shadows, and I heard nothing. My lamp began to run out of oil and produced only a pale light, but still I read on. I could not even take out time to raise the wick for fear of interrupting my pleasure. How those new ideas rushed into my brain! How my intelligence adopted them!'

Quoted by Robert Darnton, *The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France*, 1995.

Source

New words

Despotism – A system of governance in which absolute power is exercised by an individual, unregulated by legal and constitutional checks

questions about the existing social order. Cartoons and caricatures typically suggested that the monarchy remained absorbed only in sensual pleasures while the common people suffered immense hardships. This literature circulated underground and led to the growth of hostile sentiments against the monarchy.

How do we look at these arguments? There can be no doubt that print helps the spread of ideas. But we must remember that people did not read just one kind of literature. If they read the ideas of Voltaire and Rousseau, they were also exposed to monarchical and Church propaganda. They were not influenced directly by everything they read or saw. They accepted some ideas and rejected others. They interpreted things their own way. Print did not directly shape their minds, but it did open up the possibility of thinking differently.

Activity

Imagine that you are a cartoonist in France before the revolution. Design a cartoon as it would have appeared in a pamphlet.

Fig. 11 – The nobility and the common people before the French Revolution, a cartoon of the late eighteenth century.
The cartoon shows how the ordinary people – peasants, artisans and workers – had a hard time while the nobility enjoyed life and oppressed them. Circulation of cartoons like this one had an impact on the thinking of people before the revolution.

Discuss

Why do some historians think that print culture created the basis for the French Revolution?

5 The Nineteenth Century

The nineteenth century saw vast leaps in mass literacy in Europe, bringing in large numbers of new readers among children, women and workers.

5.1 Children, Women and Workers

As primary education became compulsory from the late nineteenth century, children became an important category of readers. Production of school textbooks became critical for the publishing industry. A children's press, devoted to literature for children alone, was set up in France in 1857. This press published new works as well as old fairy tales and folk tales. The Grimm Brothers in Germany spent years compiling traditional folk tales gathered from peasants. What they collected was edited before the stories were published in a collection in 1812. Anything that was considered unsuitable for children or would appear vulgar to the elites, was not included in the published version. Rural folk tales thus acquired a new form. In this way, print recorded old tales but also changed them.

***Fig. 12 – Frontispiece of* Penny Magazine.**
Penny Magazine *was published between 1832 and 1835 in England by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. It was aimed primarily at the working class.*

Women became important as readers as well as writers. Penny magazines (see Fig. 12) were especially meant for women, as were manuals teaching proper behaviour and housekeeping. When novels began to be written in the nineteenth century, women were seen as important readers. Some of the best-known novelists were women: Jane Austen, the Bronte sisters, George Eliot. Their writings became important in defining a new type of woman: a person with will, strength of personality, determination and the power to think.

Lending libraries had been in existence from the seventeenth century onwards. In the nineteenth century, lending libraries in England became instruments for educating white-collar workers, artisans and lower-middle-class people. Sometimes, self-educated working class people wrote for themselves. After the working day was gradually shortened from the mid-nineteenth century, workers had some time for self-improvement and self-expression. They wrote political tracts and autobiographies in large numbers.

Box 3

Thomas Wood, a Yorkshire mechanic, narrated how he would rent old newspapers and read them by firelight in the evenings as he could not afford candles. Autobiographies of poor people narrated their struggles to read against grim obstacles: the twentieth-century Russian revolutionary author Maxim Gorky's *My Childhood* and *My University* provide glimpses of such struggles.

5.2 Further Innovations

By the late eighteenth century, the press came to be made out of metal. Through the nineteenth century, there were a series of further innovations in printing technology. By the mid-nineteenth century, Richard M. Hoe of New York had perfected the power-driven cylindrical press. This was capable of printing 8,000 sheets per hour. This press was particularly useful for printing newspapers. In the late nineteenth century, the offset press was developed which could print up to six colours at a time. From the turn of the twentieth century, electrically operated presses accelerated printing operations. A series of other developments followed. Methods of feeding paper improved, the quality of plates became better, automatic paper reels and photoelectric controls of the colour register were introduced. The accumulation of several individual mechanical improvements transformed the appearance of printed texts.

Printers and publishers continuously developed new strategies to sell their product. Nineteenth-century periodicals serialised important novels, which gave birth to a particular way of writing novels. In the 1920s in England, popular works were sold in cheap series, called the Shilling Series. The dust cover or the book jacket is also a twentieth-century innovation. With the onset of the Great Depression in the 1930s, publishers feared a decline in book purchases. To sustain buying, they brought out cheap paperback editions.

Activity

Look at Fig. 13. What impact do such advertisements have on the public mind? Do you think everyone reacts to printed material in the same way?

Fig. 13 – Advertisements at a railway station in England, a lithograph by Alfred Concanen, 1874.
Printed advertisements and notices were plastered on street walls, railway platforms and public buildings.

6 India and the World of Print

Let us see when printing began in India and how ideas and information were written before the age of print.

6.1 Manuscripts Before the Age of Print

India had a very rich and old tradition of handwritten manuscripts – in Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, as well as in various vernacular languages. Manuscripts were copied on palm leaves or on handmade paper. Pages were sometimes beautifully illustrated. They would be either pressed between wooden covers or sewn together to ensure preservation. Manuscripts continued to be produced till well after the introduction of print, down to the late nineteenth century.

Manuscripts, however, were highly expensive and fragile. They had to be handled carefully, and they could not be read easily as the

Fig. 14 – Pages from the* Gita Govinda *of Jayadeva, eighteenth century. *This is a palm-leaf handwritten manuscript in accordion format.*

Fig. 15 – Pages from the* Diwan *of Hafiz, 1824.
Hafiz was a fourteenth-century poet whose collected works are known as Diwan*. Notice the beautiful calligraphy and the elaborate illustration and design. Manuscripts like this continued to be produced for the rich even after the coming of the letterpress.*

script was written in different styles. So manuscripts were not widely used in everyday life. Even though pre-colonial Bengal had developed an extensive network of village primary schools, students very often did not read texts. They only learnt to write. Teachers dictated portions of texts from memory and students wrote them down. Many thus became literate without ever actually reading any kinds of texts.

Fig. 16 – Pages from the Rigveda.
Handwritten manuscripts continued to be produced in India till much after the coming of print. This manuscript was produced in the eighteenth century in the Malayalam script.

6.2 Print Comes to India

The printing press first came to Goa with Portuguese missionaries in the mid-sixteenth century. Jesuit priests learnt Konkani and printed several tracts. By 1674, about 50 books had been printed in the Konkani and in Kanara languages. Catholic priests printed the first Tamil book in 1579 at Cochin, and in 1713 the first Malayalam book was printed by them. By 1710, Dutch Protestant missionaries had printed 32 Tamil texts, many of them translations of older works.

The English language press did not grow in India till quite late even though the English East India Company began to import presses from the late seventeenth century.

From 1780, James Augustus Hickey began to edit the *Bengal Gazette*, a weekly magazine that described itself as 'a commercial paper open to all, but influenced by none'. So it was private English enterprise, proud of its independence from colonial influence, that began English printing in India. Hickey published a lot of advertisements, including those that related to the import and sale of slaves. But he also published a lot of gossip about the Company's senior officials in India. Enraged by this, Governor-General Warren Hastings persecuted Hickey, and encouraged the publication of officially sanctioned newspapers that could counter the flow of information that damaged the image of the colonial government. By the close of the eighteenth century, a number of newspapers and journals appeared in print. There were Indians, too, who began to publish Indian newspapers. The first to appear was the weekly *Bengal Gazette*, brought out by Gangadhar Bhattacharya, who was close to Rammohun Roy.

Source C

As late as 1768, a William Bolts affixed a notice on a public building in Calcutta:

'To the Public: Mr. Bolts takes this method of informing the public that the want of a printing press in this city being of a great disadvantage in business ... he is going to give the best encouragement to any ... persons who are versed in the business of printing.'

Bolts, however, left for England soon after and nothing came of the promise.

Source

7 Religious Reform and Public Debates

From the early nineteenth century, as you know, there were intense debates around religious issues. Different groups confronted the changes happening within colonial society in different ways, and offered a variety of new interpretations of the beliefs of different religions. Some criticised existing practices and campaigned for reform, while others countered the arguments of reformers. These debates were carried out in public and in print. Printed tracts and newspapers not only spread the new ideas, but they shaped the nature of the debate. A wider public could now participate in these public discussions and express their views. New ideas emerged through these clashes of opinions.

This was a time of intense controversies between social and religious reformers and the Hindu orthodoxy over matters like widow immolation, monotheism, Brahmanical priesthood and idolatry. In Bengal, as the debate developed, tracts and newspapers proliferated, circulating a variety of arguments. To reach a wider audience, the ideas were printed in the everyday, spoken language of ordinary people. Rammohun Roy published the *Sambad Kaumudi* from 1821 and the Hindu orthodoxy commissioned the *Samachar Chandrika* to oppose his opinions. From 1822, two Persian newspapers were published, *Jam-i-Jahan Nama* and *Shamsul Akhbar*. In the same year, a Gujarati newspaper, the *Bombay Samachar*, made its appearance.

In north India, the ***ulama*** were deeply anxious about the collapse of Muslim dynasties. They feared that colonial rulers would encourage conversion, change the Muslim personal laws. To counter this, they used cheap lithographic presses, published Persian and Urdu translations of holy scriptures, and printed religious newspapers and tracts. The Deoband Seminary, founded in 1867, published thousands upon thousands of ***fatwas*** telling Muslim readers how to conduct themselves in their everyday lives, and explaining the meanings of Islamic doctrines. All through the nineteenth century, a number of Muslim sects and seminaries appeared, each with a different interpretation of faith, each keen on enlarging its following and countering the influence of its opponents. Urdu print helped them conduct these battles in public.

Among Hindus, too, print encouraged the reading of religious texts, especially in the vernacular languages. The first printed edition of

New words

Ulama – Legal scholars of Islam and the sharia (a body of Islamic law)

Fatwa – A legal pronouncement on Islamic law usually given by a mufti (legal scholar) to clarify issues on which the law is uncertain

the *Ramcharitmanas* of Tulsidas, a sixteenth-century text, came out from Calcutta in 1810. By the mid-nineteenth century, cheap lithographic editions flooded north Indian markets. From the 1880s, the Naval Kishore Press at Lucknow and the Shri Venkateshwar Press in Bombay published numerous religious texts in vernaculars. In their printed and portable form, these could be read easily by the faithful at any place and time. They could also be read out to large groups of illiterate men and women.

Religious texts, therefore, reached a very wide circle of people, encouraging discussions, debates and controversies within and among different religions.

Print did not only stimulate the publication of conflicting opinions amongst communities, but it also connected communities and people in different parts of India. Newspapers conveyed news from one place to another, creating pan-Indian identities.

Source D

Why Newspapers?

'Krishnaji Trimbuck Ranade inhabitant of Poona intends to *publish a Newspaper in the Marathi Language* with a view of affording useful information on every topic of local interest. It will be open for free discussion on subjects of general utility, scientific investigation and the speculations connected with the antiquities, statistics, curiosities, history and geography of the country and of the Deccan especially... the patronage and support of all interested in the diffusion of knowledge and Welfare of the People is earnestly solicited.'

Bombay Telegraph and Courier, 6 January 1849

'The task of the native newspapers and political associations is identical to the role of the Opposition in the House of Commons in Parliament in England. That is of critically examining government policy to suggest improvements, by removing those parts that will not be to the benefit of the people, and also by ensuring speedy implementation.

These associations ought to carefully study the particular issues, gather diverse relevant information on the nation as well as on what are the possible and desirable improvements, and this will surely earn it considerable influence.'

Native Opinion, 3 April 1870.

Source

8 New Forms of Publication

Printing created an appetite for new kinds of writing. As more and more people could now read, they wanted to see their own lives, experiences, emotions and relationships reflected in what they read. The novel, a literary firm which had developed in Europe, ideally catered to this need. It soon acquired distinctively Indian forms and styles. For readers, it opened up new worlds of experience, and gave a vivid sense of the diversity of human lives.

Other new literary forms also entered the world of reading – lyrics, short stories, essays about social and political matters. In different ways, they reinforced the new emphasis on human lives and intimate feelings, about the political and social rules that shaped such things.

By the end of the nineteenth century, a new visual culture was taking shape. With the setting up of an increasing number of printing presses, visual images could be easily reproduced in multiple copies. Painters like Raja Ravi Varma produced images for mass circulation. Poor wood engravers who made woodblocks set up shop near the letterpresses, and were employed by print shops. Cheap prints and calendars, easily available in the bazaar, could be bought even by the poor to decorate the walls of their homes or places of work. These prints began shaping popular ideas about modernity and tradition, religion and politics, and society and culture.

By the 1870s, caricatures and cartoons were being published in journals and newspapers, commenting on social and political issues. Some caricatures ridiculed the educated Indians' fascination with Western tastes and clothes, while others expressed the fear of social change. There were imperial caricatures lampooning nationalists, as well as nationalist cartoons criticising imperial rule.

Fig. 17 – Raja Ritudhwaj rescuing Princess Madalsa from the captivity of demons, print by Ravi Varma. *Raja Ravi Varma produced innumerable mythological paintings that were printed at the Ravi Varma Press.*

8.1 Women and Print

Lives and feelings of women began to be written in particularly vivid and intense ways. Women's reading, therefore, increased enormously in middle-class homes. Liberal husbands and fathers began educating their womenfolk at home, and sent them to schools when women's schools were set up in the cities and towns after the mid-nineteenth century. Many journals began carrying writings by women, and explained why women should be educated. They also carried a syllabus and attached suitable reading matter which could be used for home-based schooling.

But not all families were liberal. Conservative Hindus believed that a literate girl would be widowed and Muslims feared that educated women would be corrupted by reading Urdu romances. Sometimes, rebel women defied such prohibition. We know the story of a girl in a conservative Muslim family of north India who secretly learnt to read and write in Urdu. Her family wanted her to read only the Arabic Quran which she did not understand. So she insisted on learning to read a language that was her own. In East Bengal, in the early nineteenth century, Rashsundari Debi, a young married girl in a very orthodox household, learnt to read in the secrecy of her kitchen. Later, she wrote her autobiography *Amar Jiban* which was published in 1876. It was the first full-length autobiography published in the Bengali language.

Since social reforms and novels had already created a great interest in women's lives and emotions, there was also an interest in what women would have to say about their own lives. From the 1860s, a few Bengali women like Kailashbashini Debi wrote books highlighting the experiences of women – about how women were imprisoned at home, kept in ignorance, forced to do hard domestic labour and treated unjustly by the very people they served. In the 1880s, in present-day Maharashtra, Tarabai Shinde and Pandita Ramabai wrote with passionate anger about the miserable lives of upper-caste Hindu women, especially widows. A woman in a Tamil novel expressed what reading meant to women who were so greatly confined by social regulations: 'For various reasons, my world is small … More than half my life's happiness has come from books …'

While Urdu, Tamil, Bengali and Marathi print culture had developed early, Hindi printing began seriously only from the 1870s. Soon, a large segment of it was devoted to the education of women. In

***Fig. 18 – The cover page of* Indian Charivari.** *The* Indian Charivari *was one of the many journals of caricature and satire published in the late nineteenth century.*
Notice that the imperial British figure is positioned right at the centre. He is authoritative and imperial; telling the natives what is to be done. The natives sit on either side of him, servile and submissive. The Indians are being shown a copy of Punch*, the British journal of cartoons and satire. You can almost hear the British master say – 'This is the model, produce Indian versions of it.'*

Source E

In 1926, Begum Rokeya Sakhawat Hossein, a noted educationist and literary figure, strongly condemned men for withholding education from women in the name of religion as she addressed the Bengal Women's Education Conference:

'The opponents of female education say that women will become unruly ... Fie! They call themselves Muslims and yet go against the basic tenet of Islam which gives Women an equal right to education. If men are not led astray once educated, why should women?'

Source

the early twentieth century, journals, written for and sometimes edited by women, became extremely popular. They discussed issues like women's education, widowhood, widow remarriage and the national movement. Some of them offered household and fashion lessons to women and brought entertainment through short stories and serialised novels.

In Punjab, too, a similar folk literature was widely printed from the early twentieth century. Ram Chaddha published the fast-selling *Istri Dharm Vichar* to teach women how to be obedient wives. The Khalsa Tract Society published cheap booklets with a similar message. Many of these were in the form of dialogues about the qualities of a good woman.

In Bengal, an entire area in central Calcutta – the Battala – was devoted to the printing of popular books. Here you could buy cheap editions of religious tracts and scriptures, as well as literature that was considered obscene and scandalous. By the late nineteenth century, a lot of these books were being profusely illustrated with woodcuts and coloured lithographs. Pedlars took the Battala publications to homes, enabling women to read them in their leisure time.

Fig. 19 – Ghor Kali (The End of the World), coloured woodcut, late nineteenth century.
The artist's vision of the destruction of proper family relations. Here the husband is totally dominated by his wife who is perched on his shoulder. He is cruel towards his mother, dragging her like an animal, by the noose.

Fig. 20 – An Indian couple, black and white woodcut.
The image shows the artist's fear that the cultural impact of the West has turned the family upside down. Notice that the man is playing the veena while the woman is smoking a hookah. The move towards women's education in the late nineteenth century created anxiety about the breakdown of traditional family roles.

Fig. 21 – A European couple sitting on chairs, nineteenth-century woodcut.
The picture suggests traditional family roles. The Sahib holds a liquor bottle in his hand while the Memsahib plays the violin.

8.2 Print and the Poor People

Very cheap small books were brought to markets in nineteenth-century Madras towns and sold at crossroads, allowing poor people travelling to markets to buy them. Public libraries were set up from the early twentieth century, expanding the access to books. These libraries were located mostly in cities and towns, and at times in prosperous villages. For rich local patrons, setting up a library was a way of acquiring prestige.

From the late nineteenth century, issues of caste discrimination began to be written about in many printed tracts and essays. Jyotiba Phule, the Maratha pioneer of 'low caste' protest movements, wrote about the injustices of the caste system in his *Gulamgiri* (1871). In the twentieth century, B.R. Ambedkar in Maharashtra and E.V. Ramaswamy Naicker in Madras, better known as Periyar, wrote powerfully on caste and their writings were read by people all over India. Local protest movements and sects also created a lot of popular journals and tracts criticising ancient scriptures and envisioning a new and just future.

Workers in factories were too overworked and lacked the education to write much about their experiences. But Kashibaba, a Kanpur millworker, wrote and published *Chhote Aur Bade Ka Sawal* in 1938 to show the links between caste and class exploitation. The poems of another Kanpur millworker, who wrote under the name of Sudarshan Chakr between 1935 and 1955, were brought together and published in a collection called *Sacchi Kavitayan*. By the 1930s, Bangalore cotton millworkers set up libraries to educate themselves, following the example of Bombay workers. These were sponsored by social reformers who tried to restrict excessive drinking among them, to bring literacy and, sometimes, to propagate the message of nationalism.

Activity

Look at Figs. 19, 20 and 21 carefully.

- What comment are the artists making on the social changes taking place in society?
- What changes in society were taking place to provoke this reaction?
- Do you agree with the artist's view?

9 Print and Censorship

Before 1798, the colonial state under the East India Company was not too concerned with censorship. Strangely, its early measures to control printed matter were directed against Englishmen in India who were critical of Company misrule and hated the actions of particular Company officers. The Company was worried that such criticisms might be used by its critics in England to attack its trade monopoly in India.

By the 1820s, the Calcutta Supreme Court passed certain regulations to control press freedom and the Company began encouraging publication of newspapers that would celebrate Britsh rule. In 1835, faced with urgent petitions by editors of English and vernacular newspapers, Governor-General Bentinck agreed to revise press laws. Thomas Macaulay, a liberal colonial official, formulated new rules that restored the earlier freedoms.

After the revolt of 1857, the attitude to freedom of the press changed. Enraged Englishmen demanded a clamp down on the 'native' press. As vernacular newspapers became assertively nationalist, the colonial government began debating measures of stringent control. In 1878, the Vernacular Press Act was passed, modelled on the Irish Press Laws. It provided the government with extensive rights to censor reports and editorials in the vernacular press. From now on the government kept regular track of the vernacular newspapers published in different provinces. When a report was judged as seditious, the newspaper was warned, and if the warning was ignored, the press was liable to be seized and the printing machinery confiscated.

Despite repressive measures, nationalist newspapers grew in numbers in all parts of India. They reported on colonial misrule and encouraged nationalist activities. Attempts to throttle nationalist criticism provoked militant protest. This in turn led to a renewed cycle of persecution and protests. When Punjab revolutionaries were deported in 1907, Balgangadhar Tilak wrote with great sympathy about them in his *Kesari*. This led to his imprisonment in 1908, provoking in turn widespread protests all over India.

Box 4

Sometimes, the government found it hard to find candidates for editorship of loyalist papers. When Sanders, editor of the *Statesman* that had been founded in 1877, was approached, he asked rudely how much he would be paid for suffering the loss of freedom. The *Friend of India* refused a government subsidy, fearing that this would force it to be obedient to government commands.

Box 5

The power of the printed word is most often seen in the way governments seek to regulate and suppress print. The colonial government kept continuous track of all books and newspapers published in India and passed numerous laws to control the press.

During the First World War, under the Defence of India Rules, 22 newspapers had to furnish securities. Of these, 18 shut down rather than comply with government orders. The Sedition Committee Report under Rowlatt in 1919 further strengthened controls that led to imposition of penalties on various newspapers. At the outbreak of the Second World War, the Defence of India Act was passed, allowing censoring of reports of war-related topics. All reports about the Quit India movement came under its purview. In August 1942, about 90 newspapers were suppressed.

Source F

Gandhi said in 1922:

'Liberty of speech … liberty of the press … freedom of association. The Government of India is now seeking to crush the three powerful vehicles of expressing and cultivating public opinion. The fight for Swaraj, for Khilafat … means a fight for this threatened freedom before all else …'

Source

Write in brief

1. Give reasons for the following:
   a) Woodblock print only came to Europe after 1295.
   b) Martin Luther was in favour of print and spoke out in praise of it.
   c) The Roman Catholic Church began keeping an Index of Prohibited books from the mid-sixteenth century.
   d) Gandhi said the fight for Swaraj is a fight for liberty of speech, liberty of the press, and freedom of association.
2. Write short notes to show what you know about:
   a) The Gutenberg Press
   b) Erasmus's idea of the printed book
   c) The Vernacular Press Act
3. What did the spread of print culture in nineteenth century India mean to:
   a) Women
   b) The poor
   c) Reformers

Write in brief

Discuss

1. Why did some people in eighteenth century Europe think that print culture would bring enlightenment and end despotism?
2. Why did some people fear the effect of easily available printed books? Choose one example from Europe and one from India.
3. What were the effects of the spread of print culture for poor people in nineteenth century India?
4. Explain how print culture assisted the growth of nationalism in India.

Discuss

Project

Find out more about the changes in print technology in the last 100 years. Write about the changes, explaining why they have taken place, what their consequences have been.

Project

Novels, Society and History

In the previous chapter you read about the rise of print culture and how new forms of communication reshaped the way people thought about themselves or related to each other. You also saw how print culture created the possibility of new forms of literature. In this chapter we will study the history of one such form – the novel – a history that is closely connected to the making of modern ways of thinking. We will first look at the history of the novel in the West, and then see how this form developed in some of the regions of India. As you will see, despite their differences, there were many commonalites of focus between novels written in different parts of the world.

Novels, Society and History

1 The Rise of the Novel

The novel is a modern form of literature. It is born from print, a mechanical invention.

We cannot think of the novel without the printed book. In ancient times, as you have seen (Chapter 7), manuscripts were handwritten. These circulated among very few people. In contrast, because of being printed, novels were widely read and became popular very quickly. At this time big cities like London were growing rapidly and becoming connected to small towns and rural areas through print and improved communications. Novels produced a number of common interests among their scattered and varied readers. As readers were drawn into the story and identified with the lives of fictitious characters, they could think about issues such as the relationship between love and marriage, the proper conduct for men and women, and so on.

The novel first took firm root in England and France. Novels began to be written from the seventeenth century, but they really flowered from the eighteenth century. New groups of lower-middle-class people such as shopkeepers and clerks, along with the traditional aristocratic and **gentlemanly classes** in England and France now formed the new readership for novels.

As readership grew and the market for books expanded, the earnings of authors increased. This freed them from financial dependence on the patronage of aristocrats, and gave them independence to experiment with different literary styles. Henry Fielding, a novelist of the early eighteenth century, claimed he was 'the founder of a new province of writing' where he could make his own laws. The novel allowed flexibility in the form of writing. Walter Scott remembered and collected popular Scottish ballads which he used in his historical novels about the wars between Scottish clans. The **epistolary** novel, on the other hand, used the private and personal form of letters to tell its story. Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*, written in the eighteenth century, told much of its story through an exchange of letters between two lovers. These letters tell the reader of the hidden conflicts in the heroine's mind.

1.1 The Publishing Market

For a long time the publishing market excluded the poor. Initially, novels did not come cheap. Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749) was

New words

Gentlemanly classes – People who claimed noble birth and high social position. They were supposed to set the standard for proper behaviour

Epistolary – Written in the form of a series of letters

issued in six volumes priced at three shillings each – which was more than what a labourer earned in a week.

But soon, people had easier access to books with the introduction of circulating libraries in 1740. Technological improvements in printing brought down the price of books and innovations in marketing led to expanded sales. In France, publishers found that they could make super profits by hiring out novels by the hour. The novel was one of the first mass-produced items to be sold. There were several reasons for its popularity. The worlds created by novels were absorbing and believable, and seemingly real. While reading novels, the reader was transported to another person's world, and began looking at life as it was experienced by the characters of the novel. Besides, novels allowed individuals the pleasure of reading in private, as well as the joy of publicly reading or discussing stories with friends or relatives. In rural areas people would collect to hear one of them reading a novel aloud, often becoming deeply involved in the lives of the characters. Apparently, a group at Slough in England were very pleased to hear that Pamela, the heroine of Richardson's popular novel, had got married in their village. They rushed out to the parish church and began to ring the church bells!

In 1836 a notable event took place when Charles Dickens's *Picknick Papers* was **serialised** in a magazine. Magazines were attractive since they were illustrated and cheap. Serialisation allowed readers to relish the suspense, discuss the characters of a novel and live for weeks with their stories – like viewers of television soaps today!

Fig. 2 – Library notice.
Libraries were well publicised.

Fig. 1 – Cover page of **Sketches by 'Boz'.**
Charles Dickens's first publication was a collection of journalistic essays entitled Sketches by 'Boz' *(1836).*

New words

Serialised – A format in which the story is published in instalments, each part in a new issue of a journal

"THE STORY OF OUR LIVES FROM YEAR TO YEAR."—SHAKESPEARE.

ALL THE YEAR ROUND.
A WEEKLY JOURNAL.
CONDUCTED BY CHARLES DICKENS.
WITH WHICH IS INCORPORATED HOUSEHOLD WORDS.

No. 84.] SATURDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1860. [Price 2d.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS.
BY CHARLES DICKENS.

CHAPTER I.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Fig. 4 – Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910).
Tolstoy was a famous Russian novelist who wrote extensively on rural life and community.

1.2 The World of the Novel

More than other forms of writing which came before, novels are about ordinary people. They do not focus on the lives of great people or actions that change the destinies of states and empires. Instead, they are about the everyday life of common people.

In the nineteenth century, Europe entered the industrial age. Factories came up, business profits increased and the economy grew. But at the same time, workers faced problems. Cities expanded in an unregulated way and were filled with overworked and underpaid workers. The unemployed poor roamed the streets for jobs, and the homeless were forced to seek shelter in workhouses. The growth of industry was accompanied by an economic philosophy which celebrated the pursuit of profit and undervalued the lives of workers. Deeply critical of these developments, novelists such as Charles Dickens wrote about the terrible effects of industrialisation on people's lives and characters. His novel *Hard Times* (1854) describes Coketown, a fictitious industrial town, as a grim place full of machinery, smoking chimneys, rivers polluted purple and buildings that all looked the same. Here workers are known as 'hands', as if they had no identity other than as operators of machines. Dickens criticised not just the greed for profits but also the ideas that reduced human beings into simple instruments of production.

Discuss

Explain what is meant by the following types of novels:

- Epistolary novel
- Serialised novel

For each type, name one writer who wrote in that style.

Fig. 5 – Charles Dickens (1812-1870).

In other novels too, Dickens focused on the terrible conditions of urban life under industrial capitalism. His *Oliver Twist* (1838) is the tale of a poor orphan who lived in a world of petty criminals and beggars. Brought up in a cruel workhouse (see Fig. 6), Oliver was finally adopted by a wealthy man and lived happily ever after. But not all novels about the lives of the poor gave readers the comfort of a happy ending. Emile Zola's *Germinal* (1885) on the life of a young miner in France explores in harsh detail the grim conditions of miners' lives. It ends on a note of despair: the strike the hero leads fails, his co-workers turn against him, and hopes are shattered.

***Fig. 6 – A hungry Oliver asks for more food while other children at the workhouse look on with fear, illustration in* Oliver Twist.**

Fig. 7 – Emile Zola, painting by Edward Manet, 1868.
Manet's portrait of the French author Zola, showing the novelist at his worktable in an intimate and thoughtful relationship with books.

1.3 Community and Society

The vast majority of readers of the novel lived in the city. The novel created in them a feeling of connection with the fate of rural communities. The nineteenth-century British novelist Thomas Hardy, for instance, wrote about traditional rural communities of England

that were fast vanishing. This was actually a time when large farmers fenced off land, bought machines and employed labourers to produce for the market. The old rural culture with its independent farmers was dying out. We get a sense of this change in Hardy's *Mayor of Casterbridge* (1886). It is about Michael Henchard, a successful grain merchant, who becomes the mayor of the farming town of Casterbridge. He is an independent-minded man who follows his own style in conducting business. He can also be both unpredictably generous and cruel with his employees. Consequently, he is no match for his manager and rival Donald Farfrae who runs his business on efficient managerial lines and is well regarded for he is smooth and even-tempered with everyone. We can see that Hardy mourns the loss of the more personalised world that is disappearing, even as he is aware of its problems and the advantages of the new order.

Fig. 8 – Thomas Hardy (1840-1928).

The novel uses the **vernacular**, the language that is spoken by common people. By coming closer to the different spoken languages of the people, the novel produces the sense of a shared world between diverse people in a nation. Novels also draw from different styles of language. A novel may take a classical language and combine it with the language of the streets and make them all a part of the vernacular that it uses. Like the nation, the novel brings together many cultures.

1.4 The New Woman

The most exciting element of the novel was the involvement of women. The eighteenth century saw the middle classes become more prosperous. Women got more leisure to read as well as write novels. And novels began exploring the world of women – their emotions and identities, their experiences and problems.

Many novels were about domestic life – a theme about which women were allowed to speak with authority. They drew upon their experience, wrote about family life and earned public recognition.

New words

Vernacular – The normal, spoken form of a language rather than the formal, literary form

Fig. 9 – A girl reading, a painting by Jean Renoir (1841-1919).
By the nineteenth century, images of women reading silently, in the privacy of the room, became common in European paintings.

Fig. 10 – The home of a woman author, by George Cruikshank.
When women began writing novels many people feared that they would now neglect their traditional role as wives and mothers and homes would be in disorder.

The novels of Jane Austen give us a glimpse of the world of women in genteel rural society in early-nineteenth-century Britain. They make us think about a society which encouraged women to look for 'good' marriages and find wealthy or propertied husbands. The first sentence of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* states: 'It is a truth universally acknowledged, that a single man in possession of a good fortune, must be in want of a wife.' This observation allows us to see the behaviour of the main characters, who are preoccupied with marriage and money, as typifying Austen's society.

Fig. 11 – Jane Austen (1775-1817).

But women novelists did not simply popularise the domestic role of women. Often their novels dealt with women who broke established norms of society before adjusting to them. Such stories allowed women readers to sympathise with rebellious actions. In Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre,* published in 1847, young Jane is shown as independent and assertive. While girls of her time were expected to be quiet and well behaved, Jane at the age of ten protests against the hypocrisy of her elders with startling bluntness. She tells her

Fig. 12 – The marriage contract, William Hogarth (1697-1764).
As you can see, the two men in the foreground are busy with the signing of the marriage contract while the woman stays in the background.

Aunt who is always unkind to her: 'People think you a good woman, but you are bad ... You are deceitful! I will never call you aunt as long as I live.'

Box 1

Women novelists

George Eliot (1819-1880) was the pen-name of Mary Ann Evans. A very popular novelist, she believed that novels gave women a special opportunity to express themselves freely. Every woman could see herself as capable of writing fiction:

'Fiction is a department of literature in which women can, after their kind, fully equal men ... No educational restrictions can shut women from the materials of fiction, and there is no species of art that is so free from rigid requirements.'

George Eliot, 'Silly novels by lady novelists', 1856.

Fig. 13 – Charlotte Bronte (1816-1855).

1.5 Novels for the Young

Novels for young boys idealised a new type of man: someone who was powerful, assertive, independent and daring. Most of these novels were full of adventure set in places remote from Europe. The colonisers appear heroic and honourable – confronting 'native' peoples and strange surroundings, adapting to native life as well as changing it, colonising territories and then developing nations there. Books like R.L. Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883) or Rudyard Kipling's *Jungle Book* (1894) became great hits.

G.A. Henty's historical adventure novels for boys were also wildly popular during the height of the British empire. They aroused the excitement and adventure of conquering strange lands. They were set in Mexico, Alexandria, Siberia and many other countries. They were always about young boys who witness grand historical events, get involved in some military action and show what they called 'English' courage.

Love stories written for adolescent girls also first became popular in this period, especially in the US, notably *Ramona* (1884) by Helen Hunt Jackson and a series entitled *What Katy Did* (1872) by Sarah Chauncey Woolsey, who wrote under the pen-name Susan Coolidge.

Box 2

G.A. Henty (1832-1902):

In *Under Drake's Flag* (1883) two young Elizabethan adventurers face their apparently approaching death, but still remember to assert their Englishness:

'Well, Ned, we have had more good fortune than we could have expected. We might have been killed on the day when we landed, and we have spent six jolly months in wandering together as hunters on the plain. If we must die, let us behave like Englishmen and Christians.'

1.6 Colonialism and After

The novel originated in Europe at a time when it was colonising the rest of the world. The early novel contributed to colonialism by making the readers feel they were part of a superior community of fellow colonialists. The hero of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) is an adventurer and slave trader. Shipwrecked on an island, Crusoe treats coloured people not as human beings equal to him, but as inferior creatures. He rescues a 'native' and makes him his slave. He does not ask for his name but arrogantly gives him the name Friday. But at the time, Crusoe's behaviour was not seen as unacceptable or odd, for most writers of the time saw colonialism as natural. Colonised people were seen as primitive and barbaric, less than human; and colonial rule was considered necessary to civilise them, to make them fully human. It was only later, in the twentieth century, that writers like Joseph Conrad (1857-1924) wrote novels that showed the darker side of colonial occupation.

The colonised, however, believed that the novel allowed them to explore their own identities and problems, their own national concerns. Let us see how the novel became popular in India and what significance it had for society.

2 The Novel Comes to India

Stories in prose were not new to India. Banabhatta's *Kadambari*, written in Sanskrit in the seventh century, is an early example. The Panchatantra is another. There was also a long tradition of prose tales of adventure and heroism in Persian and Urdu, known as *dastan*.

However, these works were not novels as we know them today. The modern novel form developed in India in the nineteenth century, as Indians became familiar with the Western novel. The development of the vernaculars, print and a reading public helped in this process. Some of the earliest Indian novels were written in Bengali and Marathi. The earliest novel in Marathi was Baba Padmanji's *Yamuna Paryatan* (1857), which used a simple style of storytelling to speak about the plight of widows. This was followed by Lakshman Moreshwar Halbe's *Muktamala* (1861). This was not a realistic novel; it presented an imaginary 'romance' narrative with a moral purpose.

Leading novelists of the nineteenth century wrote for a cause. Colonial rulers regarded the contemporary culture of India as inferior. On the other hand, Indian novelists wrote to develop a modern literature of the country that could produce a sense of national belonging and cultural equality with their colonial masters.

Translations of novels into different regional languages helped to spread the popularity of the novel and stimulated the growth of the novel in new areas.

Box 3

Not all Marathi novels were realistic. Naro Sadashiv Risbud used a highly ornamental style in his Marathi novel *Manjughosha* (1868). This novel was filled with amazing events. Risbud had a reason behind his choice of style. He said:

'Because of our attitude to marriage and for several other reasons one finds in the lives of the Hindus neither interesting views nor virtues ... If we write about things that we experience daily there would be nothing enthralling about them, so that if we set out to write an entertaining book we are forced to take up with the marvellous.'

2.1 The Novel in South India

Novels began appearing in south Indian languages during the period of colonial rule. Quite a few early novels came out of attempts to translate English novels into Indian languages. For example, O. Chandu Menon, a subjudge from Malabar, tried to translate an English novel called *Henrietta Temple* written by Benjamin Disraeli into Malayalam. But he quickly realised that his readers in Kerala were not familiar with the way in which the characters in English novels lived: their clothes, ways of speaking, and manners were unknown to them. They would find a direct translation of an English novel dreadfully boring. So, he gave up this idea and wrote instead a story in Malayalam in the 'manner of English novel books'. This delightful novel called *Indulekha*, published in 1889, was the first modern novel in Malayalam.

Fig. 14 – Chandu Menon (1847-1899).

The case of Andhra Pradesh was strikingly similar. Kandukuri Viresalingam (1848-1919) began translating Oliver Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* into Telugu. He abandoned this plan for similar reasons and instead wrote an original Telugu novel called *Rajasekhara Caritamu* in 1878.

***Fig. 15 – Image from* Pickwick Abroad.**
A drawing from the book Pickwick Abroad *written by G.W.M. Reynolds.*
Minor nineteenth-century English novelists like Reynolds, F. Marion Crawford and Marie Corelli were hugely popular in colonial India. Their novels – which were historical romances, adventure stories and sensation novels – were easily available and were translated and 'adapted' into several Indian languages. Reynolds's Pickwick Abroad (1839) *was more popular in India than Dickens's original* Pickwick Papers (1837).

2.2 The Novel in Hindi

In the north, Bharatendu Harishchandra, the pioneer of modern Hindi literature, encouraged many members of his circle of poets and writers to recreate and translate novels from other languages. Many novels were actually translated and adapted from English and Bengali under his influence, but the first proper modern novel was written by Srinivas Das of Delhi.

Srinivas Das's novel, published in 1882, was titled *Pariksha-Guru* (The Master Examiner). It cautioned young men of well-to-do families against the dangerous influences of bad company and consequent loose morals.

Pariksha-Guru reflects the inner and outer world of the newly emerging middle classes. The characters in the novel are caught in the difficulty of adapting to colonised society and at the same time preserving

their own cultural identity. The world of colonial modernity seems to be both frightening and irresistible to the characters. The novel tries to teach the reader the 'right way' to live and expects all 'sensible men' to be worldly-wise and practical, to remain rooted in the values of their own tradition and culture, and to live with dignity and honour.

In the novel we see the characters attempting to bridge two different worlds through their actions: they take to new agricultural technology, modernise trading practices, change the use of Indian languages, making them capable of transmitting both Western sciences and Indian wisdom. The young are urged to cultivate the 'healthy habit' of reading the newspapers. But the novel emphasises that all this must be achieved without sacrificing the traditional values of the middle-class household. With all its good intentions, *Pariksha-Guru* could not win many readers, as it was perhaps too moralising in its style.

The writings of Devaki Nandan Khatri created a novel-reading public in Hindi. His best-seller, *Chandrakanta* – a romance with dazzling elements of fantasy – is believed to have contributed immensely in popularising the Hindi language and the Nagari script among the educated classes of those times. Although it was apparently written purely for the 'pleasure of reading', this novel also gives some interesting insights into the fears and desires of its reading public.

It was with the writing of Premchand that the Hindi novel achieved excellence. He began writing in Urdu and then shifted to Hindi, remaining an immensely influential writer in both languages. He drew on the traditional art of *kissa-goi* (storytelling). Many critics think that his novel *Sewasadan* (The Abode of Service), published in 1916, lifted the Hindi novel from the realm of fantasy, moralising and simple entertainment to a serious reflection on the lives of ordinary people and social issues. *Sewasadan* deals mainly with the poor condition of women in society. Issues like child marriage and dowry are woven into the story of the novel. It also tells us about the ways in which the Indian upper classes used whatever little opportunities they got from colonial authorities to govern themselves.

2.3 Novels in Bengal

In the nineteenth century, the early Bengali novels lived in two worlds. Many of these novels were located in the past, their characters, events

Discuss

Write about two important characteristics of the early Hindi novel.

Box 4

The novel in Assam

The first novels in Assam were written by missionaries. Two of them were translations of Bengali including *Phulmoni* and *Karuna*. In 1888, Assamese students in Kolkata formed the Asamya Bhasar Unnatisadhan that brought out a journal called *Jonaki*. This journal opened up the opportunities for new authors to develop the novel. Rajanikanta Bardoloi wrote the first major historical novel in Assam called *Manomati* (1900). It is set in the Burmese invasion, stories of which the author had probably heard from old soldiers who had fought in the 1819 campaign. It is a tale of two lovers belonging to two hostile families who are separated by the war and finally reunited.

and love stories based on historical events. Another group of novels depicted the inner world of domestic life in contemporary settings. Domestic novels frequently dealt with the social problems and romantic relationships between men and women.

The old merchant elite of Calcutta patronised public forms of entertainment such as *kabirlarai* (poetry contests), musical soirees and dance performances. In contrast, the new bhadralok found himself at home in the more private world of reading novels. Novels were read individually. They could also be read in select groups. Sometimes the household of the great Bangla novelist Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay would host a *jatra* in the courtyard where members of the family would be gathered. In Bankim's room, however, a group of literary friends would collect to read, discuss and judge literary works. Bankim read out *Durgeshnandini* (1865), his first novel, to such a gathering of people who were stunned to realise that the Bengali novel had achieved excellence so quickly.

Besides the ingenious twists and turns of the plot and the suspense, the novel was also relished for its language. The prose style became a new object of enjoyment. Initially the Bengali novel used a colloquial style associated with urban life. It also used *meyeli,* the language associated with women's speech. This style was quickly replaced by Bankim's prose which was Sanskritised but also contained a more vernacular style.

The novel rapidly acquired popularity in Bengal. By the twentieth century, the power of telling stories in simple language made Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyay (1876-1938) the most popular novelist in Bengal and probably in the rest of India.

Fig. 16 – Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay (1838-1894).
Bankim's hands on the book indicates how writing was the basis of his social position and authority.

Box 5

The Oriya novel

In 1877-78, Ramashankar Ray, a dramatist, began serialising the first Oriya novel, *Saudamani.* But he could not complete it. Within thirty years, however, Orissa produced a major novelist in Fakir Mohon Senapati (1843-1918). The title of his novel *Chaa Mana Atha Guntha* (1902) translates as six acres and thirty-two decimals of land. It announces a new kind of novel that will deal with the question of land and its possession. It is the story of Ramchandra Mangaraj, a landlord's manager who cheats his idle and drunken master and then eyes the plot of fertile land owned by Bhagia and Shariya, a childless weaver couple. Mangaraj fools this couple and puts them into his debt so that he can take over their land. This pathbreaking work showed that the novel could make rural issues an important part of urban preoccupations. In writing this novel, Fakir Mohon anticipated a host of writers in Bengal and elsewhere.

Fig. 17 – The temple and the drawing room.
On the right is the temple where the family and others would gather and on the left is the drawing room where Bankim would entertain select friends to discuss new literary works. Note that the two spaces – the traditional and the modern – are next to each other, indicating the split lifestyle of most intellectuals in colonial India.

3 Novels in the Colonial World

If we follow the history of the novel in different parts of India we can see many regional peculiarities. But there were also recurring patterns and common concerns. What inspired the authors to write novels? Who read the novels? How did the culture of reading develop? How did the novels grapple with the problems of societal change within a colonial society? What kind of a world did novels open up for the readers? Let us explore some of these questions by focusing primarily on the writings of three authors from different regions: Chandu Menon, Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyay and Premchand.

3.1 Uses of the Novel

Colonial administrators found 'vernacular' novels a valuable source of information on native life and customs. Such information was useful for them in governing Indian society, with its large variety of communities and castes. As outsiders, the British knew little about life inside Indian households. The new novels in Indian languages often had descriptions of domestic life. They showed how people dressed, their forms of religious worship, their beliefs and practices, and so on. Some of these books were translated into English, often by British administrators or Christian missionaries.

Indians used the novel as a powerful medium to criticise what they considered defects in their society and to suggest remedies. Writers like Viresalingam used the novel mainly to propagate their ideas about society among a wider readership.

Novels also helped in establishing a relationship with the past. Many of them told thrilling stories of adventures and intrigues set in the past. Through glorified accounts of the past, these novels helped in creating a sense of national pride among their readers.

At the same time, people from all walks of life could read novels so long as they shared a common language. This helped in creating a sense of collective belonging on the basis of one's language.

You would have noticed that people living in different regions speak the same language in different ways – sometimes they use different words for the same thing; sometimes the same word is pronounced differently. With the coming of novels, such variations entered the

***Fig. 18 – Cover page of the novel* Indirabai.**
Written at the end of the nineteenth century, Indirabai *continues to be popular and is regularly reprinted. This is the cover of a recent reprint.*

Box 6

The message of reform

Many early novels carried a clear message of social reform. For example, in *Indirabai*, a Kannada novel written by Gulavadi Venkata Rao in 1899, the heroine is given away in marriage at a very young age to an elderly man. Her husband dies soon after, and she is forced to lead the life of a widow. In spite of opposition from her family and society, Indirabai succeeds in continuing her education. Eventually she marries again, this time a progressive, English-educated man. Women's education, the plight of widows, and problems created by the early marriage of girls – all these were important issues for social reformers in Karnataka at that time.

Box 7

The most popular historical novelist in Tamil was R. Krishnamurthy who wrote under the pen-name 'Kalki'. He was an active participant in the freedom movement and the editor of the widely read Tamil magazines *Anandavikatan* and *Kalki*. Written in simple language and full of heroism, adventure and suspense, Kalki's novels captivated the Tamil-reading public of an entire generation.

Fig. 19 – A page from the novel Ponniyin Selvan, *written by Kalki and serialised in the magazine* Kalki, *1951.*

world of print for the first time. The way characters spoke in a novel began to indicate their region, class or caste. Thus novels made their readers familiar with the ways in which people in other parts of their land spoke their language.

3.2 The Problem of Being Modern

Although they were about imaginary stories, novels often spoke to their readers about the real world. But novels did not always show things exactly as they were in reality. Sometimes, they presented a vision of how things ought to be. Social novelists often created heroes and heroines with ideal qualities, who their readers could admire and imitate. How were these ideal qualities defined? In many novels written during the colonial period, the ideal person successfully deals with one of the central dilemmas faced by colonial subjects: how to be modern without rejecting tradition, how to accept ideas coming from the West without losing one's identity.

Chandu Menon portrayed Indulekha as a woman of breathtaking beauty, high intellectual abilities, artistic talent, and with an education in English and Sanskrit. Madhavan, the hero of the novel, was also presented in ideal colours. He was a member of the newly English-educated class of Nayars from the University of Madras.

He was also a 'first-rate Sanskrit scholar'. He dressed in Western clothes. But, at the same time, he kept a long tuft of hair, according to the Nayar custom.

The heroes and heroines in most of the novels were people who lived in the modern world. Thus they were different from the ideal or mythological characters of the earlier poetic literature of India. Under colonial rule, many of the English-educated class found new Western ways of living and thinking attractive. But they also feared that a wholesale adoption of Western values would destroy their traditional ways of living. Characters like Indulekha and Madhavan showed readers how Indian and foreign lifestyles could be brought together in an ideal combination.

3.3 Pleasures of Reading

As elsewhere in the world, in India too, the novel became a popular medium of entertainment among the middle class. The circulation of printed books allowed people to amuse themselves in new ways. Picture books, translations from other languages, popular songs sometimes composed on contemporary events, stories in newspapers and magazines – all these offered new forms of entertainment. Within this new culture of print, novels soon became immensely popular.

In Tamil, for example, there was a flood of popular novels in the early decades of the twentieth century. Detective and mystery novels often had to be printed again and again to meet the demand of readers: some of them were reprinted as many as twenty-two times!

The novel also assisted in the spread of silent reading. We are so used to reading in silence that it is difficult for us to think that this practice was not very common in the past. As late as the nineteenth century and perhaps even in the early twentieth century, written texts were often read aloud for several people to hear. Sometimes novels were also read in this way, but in general novels encouraged reading alone and in silence. Individuals sitting at home or travelling in trains enjoyed them. Even in a crowded room, the novel offered a special world of imagination into which the reader could slip, and be all alone. In this, reading a novel was like daydreaming.

Fig. 20 – Cover page of* Kathanjali, *a Kannada magazine.
Kathanjali *started publication in 1929 and published short stories regularly. The picture shows a mother reading out stories from a book to her children.*

4 Women and the Novel

Many people got worried about the effects of the novel on readers who were taken away from their real surroundings into an imaginary world where anything could happen. Some of them wrote in newspapers and magazines, advising people to stay away from the immoral influence of novels. Women and children were often singled out for such advice: they were seen as easily corruptible.

Some parents kept novels in the lofts in their houses, out of their children's reach. Young people often read them in secret. This passion was not limited only to the youth. Older women – some of whom could not read – listened with fascinated attention to popular Tamil novels read out to them by their grandchildren – a nice reversal of the familiar grandma's tales!

But women did not remain mere readers of stories written by men; soon they also began to write novels. In some languages, the early creations of women were poems, essays or autobiographical pieces. In the early decades of the twentieth century, women in south India also began writing novels and short stories. A reason for the popularity of novels among women was that it allowed for a new conception of womanhood. Stories of love – which was a staple theme of many novels – showed women who could choose or refuse their partners and relationships. It showed women who could to some extent control their lives. Some women authors also wrote about women who changed the world of both men and women.

Rokeya Hossein (1880-1932) was a reformer who, after she was widowed, started a girl's school in Calcutta. She wrote a **satiric** fantasy in English called *Sultana's Dream* (1905) which shows a topsy-turvy world in which women take the place of men. Her novel *Padmarag* also showed the need for women to reform their condition by their own actions.

Fig. 21 – A woman reading, woodcut by Satyendranath Bishi. *The woodcut shows how women were discovering the pleasure of reading. By the end of the nineteenth century, images of women reading became common in popular magazines in India.*

New words

Satire – A form of representation through writing, drawing, painting, etc. that provides a criticism of society in a manner that is witty and clever

Source A

Why women should not read novels

From a Tamil essay published in 1927:

'Dear children, don't read these novels, don't even touch them. Your life will be ruined. You will suffer disease and ailments. Why did the good Lord make you – to wither away at a tender age? To suffer in disease? To be despised by your brothers, relatives and those around you? No. No. You must become mothers; you must lead happy lives; this is the divine purpose. You who were born to fulfil this sublime goal, should you ruin your life by going crazy after despicable novels?'

Essay by Thiru. Vi. Ka, Translated by A.R. Venkatachalapathy

Source

It is not surprising that many men were suspicious of women writing novels or reading them. This suspicion cut across communities. Hannah Mullens, a Christian missionary and the author of *Karuna o Phulmonir Bibaran* (1852), reputedly the first novel in Bengali, tells her readers that she wrote in secret. In the twentieth century, Sailabala Ghosh Jaya, a popular novelist, could only write because her husband protected her. As we have seen in the case of the south, women and girls were often discouraged from reading novels.

Box 8

Women with books

'These days we can see women in black bordered sarees with massive books in their hands, walking inside their houses. Often seeing them with these books in hand, their brothers or husbands are seized with fear – in case they are asked for meanings.'

Sadharani, 1880.

4.1 Caste Practices, 'Lower-Castes' and Minorities

As you have seen, *Indulekha* was a love story. But it was also about an issue that was hotly debated at the time when the novel was written. This concerned the marriage practices of upper-caste Hindus in Kerala, especially the Nambuthiri Brahmins and the Nayars. Nambuthiris were also major landlords in Kerala at that time; and a large section of the Nayars were their tenants. In late-nineteenth-century Kerala, a younger generation of English-educated Nayar men who had acquired property and wealth on their own, began arguing strongly against Nambuthiri alliances with Nayar women. They wanted new laws regarding marriage and property.

The story of *Indulekha* is interesting in the light of these debates. Suri Nambuthiri, the foolish landlord who comes to marry Indulekha, is the focus of much satire in the novel. The intelligent heroine rejects him and chooses Madhavan, the educated and handsome Nayar as her husband, and the young couple move to Madras, where Madhavan joins the civil service. Suri Nambuthiri, desperate to find a partner for himself, finally marries a poorer relation from the same family and goes away pretending that he has married Indulekha! Chandu Menon clearly wanted his readers to appreciate the new values of his hero and heroine and criticise the ignorance and immorality of Suri Nambuthiri.

Fig. 22 – Malabar Beauty, painting by Ravi Varma.
Chandu Menon thought that the novel was similar to new trends in Indian painting.
One of the foremost oil painters of this time was Raja Ravi Varma (1848-1906). Chandu Menon's description of his heroines may have been guided by some of his paintings.

Novels like *Indirabai* and *Indulekha* were written by members of the upper castes, and were primarily about upper-caste characters. But not all novels were of this kind.

Potheri Kunjambu, a 'lower-caste' writer from north Kerala, wrote a novel called *Saraswativijayam* in 1892, mounting a strong attack on caste oppression. This novel shows a young man from an 'untouchable' caste, leaving his village to escape the cruelty of his Brahmin landlord. He converts to Christianity, obtains modern

education, and returns as the judge in the local court. Meanwhile, the villagers, thinking that the landlord's men had killed him, file a case. At the conclusion of the trial, the judge reveals his true identity, and the Nambuthiri repents and reforms his ways. *Saraswativijayam* stresses the importance of education for the upliftment of the lower castes.

From the 1920s, in Bengal too a new kind of novel emerged that depicted the lives of peasants and 'low' castes. Advaita Malla Burman's (1914-51) *Titash Ekti Nadir Naam* (1956) is an epic about the Mallas, a community of fisherfolk who live off fishing in the river Titash. The novel is about three generations of the Mallas, about their recurring tragedies and the story of Ananta, a child born of parents who were tragically separated after their wedding night. Ananta leaves the community to get educated in the city. The novel describes the community life of the Mallas in great detail, their Holi and Kali Puja festivals, boat races, *bhatiali* songs, their relationships of friendship and animosity with the peasants and the oppression of the upper castes. Slowly the community breaks up and the Mallas start fighting amongst themselves as new cultural influences from the city start penetrating their lives. The life of the community and that of the river is intimately tied. Their end comes together: as the river dries up, the community dies too. While novelists before Burman had featured 'low' castes as their protagonists, *Titash* is special because the author is himself from a 'low-caste', fisherfolk community.

Over time, the medium of the novel made room for the experiences of communities that had not received much space in the literary scene earlier. Vaikkom Muhammad Basheer (1908-94), for example, was one of the early Muslim writers to gain wide renown as a novelist in Malayalam.

Basheer had little formal education. Most of his works were based on his own rich personal experience rather than on books from the past. When he was in class five at school, Basheer left home to take part in the Salt Satyagraha. Later he spent years wandering in different parts of India and travelling even to Arabia, working in a ship, living with Sufis and Hindu sanyasis, and training as a wrestler.

Basheer's short novels and stories were written in the ordinary language of conversation. With wonderful humour, Basheer's novels spoke about details from the everyday life of Muslim households. He also brought into Malayalam writing themes which were considered very unusual at that time – poverty, insanity and life in prisons.

Fig. 23 – Basheer carrying books. *In his early years as a writer, Basheer had great difficulty earning a living from his books. He often sold them himself, carrying copies personally to houses and shops. In some of his stories, Basheer wrote about his days as a vendor of his own books.*

5 The Nation and its History

The history written by colonial historians tended to depict Indians as weak, divided, and dependent on the British. These histories could not satisfy the tastes of the new Indian administrators and intellectuals. Nor did the traditional Puranic stories of the past – peopled by gods and demons, filled with the fantastic and the supernatural – seem convincing to those educated and working under the English system. Such minds wanted a new view of the past that would show that Indians could be independent minded and had been so in history. The novel provided a solution. In it, the nation could be imagined in a past that also featured historical characters, places, events and dates.

***Fig. 24 – Image from the film* Chemmeen.**
Many novels were made into films. The novel Chemmeen *(Shrimp, 1956), written by Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillai (1912-99), is set in the fishing community in Kerala, and characters speak a variety of Malayalam used by fisherfolk in the region. The film* Chemmeen, *directed by Ramu Kariat, was made in 1965.*

In Bengal, many historical novels were about Marathas and Rajputs. These novels produced a sense of a pan-Indian belonging. They imagined the nation to be full of adventure, heroism, romance and sacrifice – qualities that could not be found in the offices and streets of the nineteenth-century world. The novel allowed the colonised to give shape to their desires. Bhudeb Mukhopadhyay's (1827-94) *Anguriya Binimoy* (1857) was the first historical novel written in Bengal. Its hero Shivaji engages in many battles against a clever and treacherous Aurangzeb. Man Singh persuades Shivaji to make peace with Aurangzeb. Realising that Aurangzeb intended to confine him as a house prisoner, Shivaji escapes and returns to battle. What gives him courage and tenacity is his belief that he is a nationalist fighting for the freedom of Hindus.

The imagined nation of the novel was so powerful that it could inspire actual political movements. Bankim's *Anandamath* (1882) is a novel about a secret Hindu militia that fights Muslims to establish a Hindu kingdom. It was a novel that inspired many kinds of freedom fighters.

Fig. 25 – A still from the Kannada film* Chomana Dudi *(Choma's Drum, directed by B.V. Karanth in 1975).
The film is based on a novel of the same title written in 1930 by the celebrated Kannada novelist Sivarama Karanth (1902-1997).

Many of these novels also reveal the problems of thinking about the nation. Was India to be a nation of only a single religious community? Who had natural claims to belong to the nation?

5.1 The Novel and Nation Making

Imagining a heroic past was one way in which the novel helped in popularising the sense of belonging to a common nation. Another

way was to include various classes in the novel so that they could be seen to belong to a shared world. Premchand's novels, for instance, are filled with all kinds of powerful characters drawn from all levels of society. In his novels you meet aristocrats and landlords, middle-level peasants and landless labourers, middle-class professionals and people from the margins of society. The women characters are strong individuals, especially those who come from the lower classes and are not modernised. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Premchand rejected the nostalgic obsession with ancient history. Instead, his novels look towards the future without forgetting the importance of the past.

Drawn from various strata of society, Premchand's characters create a community based on democratic values. The central character of his novel *Rangbhoomi* (The Arena), Surdas, is a visually impaired beggar from a so-called 'untouchable' caste. The very act of choosing such a person as the 'hero' of a novel is significant. It makes the lives of the most oppressed section of society as worthy of literary reflection. We see Surdas struggling against the forcible takeover of his land for establishing a tobacco factory. As we read the story we wonder about industrialisation and its impact on society and people. Who does it serve? Must other ways of living be sacrificed for it? The story of Surdas was inspired by Gandhi's personality and ideas.

Godan (The Gift of Cow), published in 1936, remains Premchand's best-known work. It is an epic of the Indian peasantry. The novel tells the moving story of Hori and his wife Dhania, a peasant couple. Landlords, moneylenders, priests and colonial bureaucrats – all those who hold power in society – form a network of oppression, rob their land and make them into landless labourers. Yet Hori and Dhania retain their dignity to the end.

Box 9

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) developed the Bengali novel after Bankim's death. His early novels were historical; he later shifted to writing stories about domestic relationships. He was mainly preoccupied with the condition of women and nationalism. Both concerns are featured in his *Ghare Baire* (1916) translated in 1919 as *The Home and the World*. The story is about Bimala, the wife of Nikhilesh, a liberal landlord who believes that he can save his country by patiently bettering the lives of its poor and marginal sections. But Bimala is attracted to Sandip, her husband's friend and a firebrand extremist. Sandip is so completely dedicated to throwing out the British that he does not mind if the poor 'low' castes suffer and Muslims are made to feel like outsiders. By becoming a part of Sandip's group, Bimala gets a sense of self-worth and self-esteem. Rabindranth also shows the contradictory effects of nationalist involvement for women. Bimala may be admired by the young males of the group but she cannot influence their decisions. Indeed she is used by Sandip to acquire funds for the movement. Tagore's novels are striking because they make us rethink both man-woman relationships and nationalism.

Fig. 26 – Portrait of Premchand (1880-1936).

Activity

Read *Godan*. Write briefly on:

- How Premchand depicts the life of peasants in the novel.
- What the novel tells us about the life of peasants during the Great Depression.

Conclusion

We have seen how, over the course of its history in both the West and in India, the novel became part of the lives of different sections of people. Developments in print technologies allowed the novel to break out of its small circle of readers and introduced fresh ways of reading. But through their stories, novels have also shown a capacity to include and focus on the lives of those who were not often known to literate and middle-class circles. We have seen some examples of these in Premchand, but they are equally present in the works of other novelists.

Bringing together people from varied backgrounds produces a sense of shared community. The most notable form of this community is the nation. Equally significant is the fact that by bringing in both the powerful and the marginal peoples and cultures, the novel throws up many questions about the nature of these communities. We can say then that novels produce a sense of sharing, and promote an understanding of different people, different values and different communities. At the same time they explore how different groups begin to question or reflect upon their own identities.

Write in brief

1. Explain the following:
   a) Social changes in Britain which led to an increase in women readers
   b) What actions of Robinson Crusoe make us see him as a typical coloniser.
   c) After 1740, the readership of novels began to include poorer people.
   d) Novelists in colonial India wrote for a political cause.
2. Outline the changes in technology and society which led to an increase in readers of the novel in eighteenth-century Europe.
3. Write a note on:
   a) The Oriya novel
   b) Jane Austen's portrayal of women
   c) The picture of the new middle class which the novel *Pariksha-Guru* portrays.

Write in brief

Discuss

1. Discuss some of the social changes in nineteenth-century Britain which Thomas Hardy and Charles Dickens wrote about.
2. Summarise the concern in both nineteenth-century Europe and India about women reading novels. What does this suggest about how women were viewed?
3. In what ways was the novel in colonial India useful for both the colonisers as well as the nationalists?
4. Describe how the issue of caste was included in novels in India. By referring to any two novels, discuss the ways in which they tried to make readers think about existing social issues.
5. Describe the ways in which the novel in India attempted to create a sense of pan-Indian belonging.

Discuss

Project

Imagine that you are a historian in 3035 AD. You have just located two novels which were written in the twentieth century. What do they tell you about society and customs of the time?

Project