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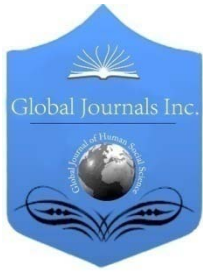
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Decolonizing Indian History

By Kamaluddin Ahmed

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Abstract- The process of the decolonizing Indian history, though seems to start with the independence of India in 1947, it actually originates in the high noon of colonialism in India in the middle of the nineteenth century. So, the present discussion begins with a prelude which contains the history of increasingly growth of consciousness among Indians which culminated in the development of nationalism among the largest section of the people. But in developing national view the interests of the minority, particularly Muslims, who form one of the most important constituents of the national economy of India, were not duly attended. Such situation led to the achievement of independence with a partition. After partition, the transformation from colonialism to decolonization began with a quest for establishing an idea of India. A constitution was adopted which insists on multitudinous democracy, unity in diversity, secularity with unlimited liberty of professing religion and social democracy with leniency towards capitalism.

Index terms: communitarian two nation theory, bureaucracy, populism, majoritarian, blood bath.

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Decolonizing Indian History

Kamaluddin Ahmed

Abstract- The process of the decolonizing Indian history, though seems to start with the independence of India in 1947, it actually originates in the high noon of colonialism in India in the middle of the nineteenth century. So, the present discussion begins with a prelude which contains the history of increasingly growth of consciousness among Indians which culminated in the development of nationalism among the largest section of the people. But in developing national view the interests of the minority, particularly Muslims, who form one of the most important constituents of the national economy of India, were not duly attended. Such situation led to the achievement of independence with a partition. After partition, the transformation from colonialism to decolonization began with a quest for establishing an idea of India. A constitution was adopted which insists on multitudinous democracy, unity in diversity, secularity with unlimited liberty of professing religion and social democracy with leniency towards capitalism.

With adoption of constitution the process of decolonizing the state and government was started by the Congress with commitment to socialism and secularism, but the populish design of the second generation leader of the congress transformed the ideologies of democracy as spent up forces as the leader themselves asserted to attain the position of dictator. However, the people rejected them but they manoeuvred to return playing majoritarian card. But after return, the third generation leader of the Congress indulged themselves in unlimited corruption which has been answered by the people by substituting them for Hindu majoritarian political organisation.

Thus the decolonizing Indian history starts with an aim of attaining an idea of India continues through clashes between majoritarian principles and substantive democracy which sometimes causes to pay bloody tolls.

Index terms: communitarian two nation theory, bureaucracy, populism, majoritarian, blood bath.

I. INTRODUCTION

Decolonization is a process of history peculiar to the countries emancipated from colonial clutches of the West, and particularly to India which had been the world's biggest colony ever established by any of Western Powers. Apparently it started in India with the transfer of power by the British colonial rulers to the nationalist elites of India in 1947. Thus the starting point of decolonization of Indian history is the independence of India which is the result of a long struggle for breaking the colonial yoke. From this point of view, the freedom movement is the prelude to the post colonial development in Indian history. This starting point again, coincided with the birth of Pakistan which also contributes to shape the prefix of decolonizing history of

India. But a close observation reveals that decolonization of Indian history begins with the aim of attaining an idea of India which centres round "the couplet of : antiquity - continuity ; diversity- unity ; massivity-democracy ; multiconfessionality-secularity ;"1 the endeavour of which is revealed through the constitutional development of India, and its application in political development in India over the years upto 2014.

II. PRELUDE TO DECOLONIZATION

A long struggle of liberation culminated in the independence of India in 1947 but with the creation of Pakistan wresting some portions from the British India. It is not possible, nay, not necessary to recapitulate here in detail history of the birth of Pakistan, but it is relevant to narrate here the rise and development of national consciousness among the Indians who in course of time rose against the colonial rule for attainment of independence.

a) Socio-Economic Background of the struggle for Independence

Beginning with the British conquest of Bengal in the middle of the 18th century, the British colonialism began to grow in India and it reached its maridian with the collapse of the Revolt of 1857 which was followed by establishment of the rule of Crown in India. National Consciousness began to arise among the Indians in the second part of the 19th century. This consciousness begot nationalism in India.

A study of the impact of colonialism on Indian Society reveals that during the First century of colonial rule in India it gave birth to Hindu and Muslim communitarian feeling in Indian society. It is obvious that 'the Muslim Communitarian feeling was the creation of colonial constraints, its Hindu counterpart was occasioned by colonial presence.'² Thus during the First century of colonial rule in India a sense of alienation began to grow among the Hindus and Muslims in India.

In such socio-economic background national consciousness began to bloom among the Indians. The main field of rise of national consciousness was Bengal. In other words, the earliest proponents of Indian nationalism were western educated Bengalis. But in developing the concept of nationalism they indulged themselves in utilising a subterranean spirit called religion which is actually dangerous in spirit though harmless in appearance. The most glaring example of such national consciousness was first manifested through the illuminating writings of Bankimchandra

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Chattapadhyaya and in the organising activities of *Hindu Mela* culminating in the formation of National Society. The reflection of such national consciousness was found in northern India in the activities of *Arya Samaj* founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswati who insisted on a militant Hindu nationalism. The quest for Hindu nationalism was found also in the illuminating writings and programmes of activities of Maratha leaders including Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Their writings and activities were characterised by a distinct timbre that may be identified as Maratha edition of Hindu nationalism.

Consciousness among the Muslims began to arise after the decisive failure of the Revolt of 1857 when they realised that the British colonial rule was not a temporary phase in India and their cherished aspiration for regaining the past glory of their nobles and aristocrats was not only extinct but also the remnants of their dignity and power were annihilated forever. Every Indian Muslim irrespective of his social and economic position was looked upon down by the colonial rulers as their arch enemy. In such situation Indian Muslims were surcharged with a growing sense of anxiety for survival. In other words, in the post 1857 period, when the most Hindu intellectuals were endeavouring to unite the whole of India with the theory of nationalism, then a sense of despondence and restlessness was looming large in the minds of Indian Muslims who were not enlightened in modern education and science, and almost sick with a pang for selecting the right way for living. In such socio-economic situation, two sets of reaction were revealed in the conscious section of them. If the activities of both conscious groups of Muslims are analysed, it is clearly revealed that the Western educated group led by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and others was eager to expedite Muslim's development with the influence of western education and culture which was to be made available through colonial favour by co-operation with the colonialists. The other group led by *Ulemas* of Deobond wanted to develop their co-religionists through strict adherence to religious rules and practices and opposing colonial education, economy and culture which, they felt would shake the Muslims faith in Islam and turn many of them into apostates. But unlike their Hindu counterparts, the Muslim intellectuals did not propagate any theory of nationalism. However, rise of Hindu nationalism and the colonial rulers apathetic policy towards the Muslims inevitably awakened consciousness among them about their identity.

Being influenced by the *Hindu Mela*, *Arya Samaj*, Maratha leaders and the philosophy of nationalism as enunciated by Bankimchandra, Hindus did not find any difference between love for religion and patriotism. But as the cultural consciousness of the Muslims was greatly influenced by the international ideology of Islam, they developed a mental make up of considering religion and patriotism separately.

This was the situation of India at the time of formation of Indian National Congress in 1885. This socio-economic condition may be termed as a divisive situation created by the two nation theory of the 19th century formulation and was responsible for communalising politics of the twentieth century.

b) *Formation of Indian National Congress and its movements*

In such a backdrop the Indian National Congress was set up with an avowed policy of attaining Indian nationalism by integrating all national emotions and aspirations developed during nineteenth century. But at that time, Indian nationalism was dominated by Hindus and had a Hindu outlook.³ However, the struggle for liberation, which is a by product of national movement was led by the Congress for the period till attainment of independence in 1947. But the nascent Muslim middle class developed as a result of activities of the Aligarh movement and the other organisations, could not remain confident on the movements led by Hindu middle class on the question of security of the provisions of their livelihood. On the contrary, the Hindu leadership did not make any marked attempt to dispel such apprehension prevailing among the Muslims. In the field of economy, the Hindu bourgeois were, to some extent successfully, asserting to attain the status of national bourgeoisie, in which field the Muslims were lagging behind. This conflict between Hindus and Muslims in India was continuously perceived by the British bureaucracy and they did not feel it safe any more to remain dependent on the once loyal and faithful Hindus, rather, they found that Muslims who had once been hostile to them were more dependable than the Hindus in respect of lengthening the life of their capital in India. So, they revised their 'Divide and Rule' policy and began to apply it in their administrative and intellectual activities which was manifested in their appeasement of Muslims.

From the formation of the Congress to the partition of Bengal, the Congress remained a pressure group of notables seeking no more than colonial self government. But from the partition of Bengal in 1905, till the emergence of Gandhi in Indian Politics, the Congress rose in agitation against the colonial rulers with the Boycott and *Swadeshi* and the terrorist and revolutionary terrorist movements- by product of Boycott and *Swadeshi*. Participation of Muslims in these movements was markedly insignificant. Formation of Muslim League in 1906 shows that the majority of Muslim elites were not satisfied with the functioning of the Congress. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 was prophylactic to Hindu-Muslim unity. The Lucknow Pact was a silver lining in the clouds.

Gandhi emerged as the unparallel leader of the Congress in 1917 which ushered in a period of mass nationalism. Gandhi led the upheavals of 1919-21, 1930-

31 and 1942-43, in size each bigger than the last, challenging the colonial authority. After the withdrawal of Non-Cooperation Movement Hindu-Muslim Communalism began to show its ugly face in social life. In political sphere the formation of the Hindu Mahasabha was formed, and in Social arena *Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangha* with an avowed aim of establishing *Hmdutva* in the social and political life worsened the situation. Mr. Jinnah at that time emerged as an important Muslim leader having double membership in League and Congress. Jinnah's demand for thirty three percent representation was rejected by the Congress in 1927 which led him utter with heavy heart- "this is the parting of the ways."⁴ Before 1934 Mr. Jinnah could not become the topmost leader of the Muslim league. In the election of 1937 Muslim League was miserably defeated by the Congress who triumphed at the polls and formation of the regional governments. The Congress, over the result declared that it was the only national party in India. Disgruntled Jinnah could realise the weakness of his base and adopted the resolution of two nation theory in the Lahore conference of the Muslim League in 1940. But the two nation theory demanding nationhood for the Muslims did not insist on partitionist solution. However, circumstances led to the situation the best analysis of which is to be found in Asim Roy's "The High Politics of Indian Partition ; the Revisionist perspective; Modern Asian studies 21-2-1990 pp 403-48 where he remarks "so while the league talked of partition, Jinnah contemplated confederation; while Congress spoke of union Nehru prepared for Scission." However, India won independence with dismemberment of a portion of her for Pakistan. Obviously, by 1945, the era of Gandhi was over and that of Nehru, the Prime Minister of independent India in waiting, had begun.

Whether partition was inevitable or not, it came, acted in such a way that it took the cruellest form with worst human consequences. But it could not make a scar on the 'Tryst with Destiny' speech of Jawaharlal Nehru though independence was born through bloodbath. However, the partition and Kashmir issue antagonised the relation between these newly emerged post colonial nation states.

III. TRANSITION TO DECOLONIZATION THE QUEST FOR IDEA OF INDIA

With the transfer of power by the colonial rulers to the Indian elites who were the uncontested leaders of the Congress the latter, taking the partition inevitable, mustered their whole attention to shape their newly emerged nation state 'India'. They retained the age old name of country India' which reflects their quest for antiquity and continuity.

a) Preparation for constitutional development

With a view to shaping the idea of India, the national elites felt the urgent necessity of a constitution for the country. It may not be out of place to mention here that the late colonialism in India had also taken to constitutional manoeuvre by enacting the Government of India Act, 1935. But it was to some extent rightly, suspected by the nationalists as an attempt of balkanization' when they had been contemplating decolonization, as it aimed at directing attention towards local and provincial sectors to keep central authority of the colonialist strong. However, the Indian National Congress placed its demand for a Constituent Assembly in 1935. It may be recalled here that the idea of Constituent Assembly was first floated by M.N. Ray, a pioneer of communist movement in India and an advocate of radical democracy in 1934. This demand of the Congress was accepted by the British in 1940 as one of the terms of the August offer proclaimed by the viceroy, Lord Linlithgow. Under the Cabinet Mission Plan of 1946, elections were held for the first time for the Constituent Assembly. The members of the Constituent Assembly were elected by the provincial assemblies by means of single transferable vote system of proportional representation. The total members of the Constituent Assembly was 389, of which 292 were representatives of the provinces, 93 were representatives of princely states and 4 from Chief Commissionr provinces of Delhi, Ajmer- Marwar, Coorg, and British Beluchistan. The constitution of India was drafted by the Constituent Assembly and it was set up under the Cabinet Mission Plan on May,16,1946. But the Muslim League demanded a separate Constituent Assembly for the Muslims in India. On June 3, 1947, Lord Mountbatten, the last British Governor General of India announced his intention of scrapping the Cabinet Mission Plan, which ultimately culminated in the India Independence Act and separate nations of India and Pakistan. The Constituent Assembly which was elected for undivided India reassembled on August 14, 1947 as a sovereign body and successor of the British Parliament's plenary authority and power in India. As a result of partition the representatives from the areas incorporated in Pakistan ceased to be members of the Constituent Assembly of India. The membership of the Constituent Assembly became 299 after this reorganisation. Dr. Rajendra Prasad was voted president of the Constituent Assembly, and Constitution Drafting Committee was formed with the chairmanship of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar. Other members of the Committee included N. Gopalswami Ayenger, A.K. Ayar, K.M. Munshi, Syed Md. Saadulla, N. Madhab Rao and D.P. Khaitan.

The Constituent Assembly completed the task of drafting a constitution in 2 years 11 months and 18 days. The constitution came into force with effect from 26th January 1950.

b) *Constitution of India*

After the toil of the Constituent Assembly for about three years the constitution of India was adopted. It contained 395 articles, longest of its kind in the world. The document drew on the British model of Parliamentary democracy. In addition, number of principles was adopted from the Constitution of the United States of America including separation of powers among the major branches of government and the establishment of a Supreme Court, the principle of strong centre and distribution of power between Central Government and State Governments were adopted from Canada, the idea of the directive principles of state policy was borrowed from Ireland; the idea of having a concurrence list of shared power was drawn from Australia; and the principle of suspension of Fundamental Right during emergency was adopted from Germany. Over and above, the framers of the constitution borrowed different provisions freely from the legislations adopted by the colonial power from time to time. They exerted their best efforts to draw an original synthesis of all the sources keeping in mind the needs and conditions. Thus the constitution of India was framed combining provisions for strong central executive with a symbolic presidency, a bicameral legislature with reserved seats for schedule caste, a Supreme Court as a highest Constitutional Court and guardian of the constitution with robust provincial governments, in a semi federal structure denominated a union. Judicial Review is also adopted in the constitution which refers that the constitution is the supreme power of the nation and all laws are under its supremacy. Thus the Indian elites taking the partition as *fait accompli* gave their full attention to frame a constitution has become a touchstone of multitudinous democracy, a unity in diversity, secularity with unlimited liberty of professing religion, and a social democracy having trend towards growth of capitalist economy. Amartya Sen while describing the constitution states that “Especially fortunate in its millennial traditions of public arguments, with toleration of intellectual heterodoxy, independent India became the first country in the non-western world to choose a resolutely democratic constitution”.⁵

This constitution is the key stone of the republican edifice of India that was raised for decolonization of history of India.

IV. DECOLONIZATION OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT

With the adoption of the constitution on January 26, 1950, the world's biggest colonial state turned into the world's largest republican state. Since independence, the state has famously been a democracy, the major step from colonialism to decolonization. But the democratic edifice is a

combination of Four wings : Government, Bureaucracy, and Army and Police.

Government : As per provision of the constitution, the Governments are freely elected by its citizens at a regular intervals, in polls that are not twisted by fraud. However its leadership in the national movement, its holding the rein of power at the time of transfer and its ability to frame a constitution and enforce central authority over diverse provinces and princely states privileged the Congress to win all general elections from 1952 to 1971 and to hold the Government at the centre from 1952 to 1977 with Jawaharlal Nehru (1947-1964), Lal Bahadur Shastri (1964-66) Mrs. Indira Gandhi (1966-77) as Prime Ministers in succession. Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of Post Colonial India, a true democrat, with his idea of socialistic pattern of society, his '*Panchshil*' policy in foreign affairs, his leadership in the Neutral Summit of the world in the age of Cold War and with his true secular outlook, as a matter of fact, established the corner stone of the democratic edifice of the post colonial India. Though his '*Panchsil*' was proved abortive in sino-Indian border conflict his clarion call could ensure an un -precedent unity among the Indians. Lal Bahadur's period is an extension of Nehruvian regime. But under his Prime Ministership India fought successfully the Indo-Pak war in 1965. He died prematurely trying to live down the legacy of his illustrious predecessor. After his death in Tashkent, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, daughter of Jawahar Lal Nehru was placed by the Congress in the office of the Prime Minister in 1966. She successfully won the Bangladesh liberation war by inflicting crushing defeat on Pakistan which earned universal ovation for her. The Congress had some how won the Parliamentary election in 1967 under her leadership. But in the election after Bangladesh liberation war the Congress was voted to power with thumping majority due to her successful assertion as a populist leader.

There can not be any denial that with a spread of support in the regions and the confidence that comes from having successfully dislodged colonial rules, Congress was able to work a westminister style of Parliamentary democracy. The holding of five elections successfully in regular intervals lent legitimacy to a multiparty system dominated by Congress. But the success of Indira Gandhi's populist design made her bold to adopt a covert authoritarianism which estranged the relationship between centre and region. Her authoritarian activities markedly led to control the judiciary even. Her authoritarian activities provoked nationwide agitation. During 1973-75 political unrest against the Indira Gandhi Government increased across the country. In the famous Raj Narain Case, the Allahabad High Court declared her election to Loksabha null and void, unseated her from the Parliament and from the post of Prime Minister. She was further debarred from contesting any election for six years. The

Supreme Court upheld the verdict of the Allahabad High Court but allowed her to continue as Prime Minister. Jay Prakash Narain, a veteran Gandhian leader was first stormed in 1990 and the foundation of the temple laid on the site. However, the mosque was finally razed to the ground on 6 December 1992 by Hindu volunteers in front of BJP leaders, setting off some of the worst attacks on the Muslim minority in many parts of India.

Such functioning of the activists of BJP, VHP and RSS combination although smeared the secular facade of the Indian State, facilitated BJP to acquire power in 1998. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, a comparatively moderate adherent to *Hindutva* formed the government at the centre with coalition with some other parties. During his regime (1998-2004) *Hindutva* could not dominate the Government due to coalition compulsion but the worst onslaught in nature and dimension ever plunged on the minorities was held in Gujrat, a BJP ruled state with Narendra Modi Chief Minister to which Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee (1998-2004) played only an advisory role suggesting Narendra Modi to obey '*Rajdharmā*' (rule of law). The demolition of an old age mosque and the so called 'hidden agenda' for establishing the ideology of *Hindutva* did not give a long lease of life for the BJP rule and the disenchanting people voted again the Congress and its allies to the power in 2004. However, pervasive corruption dates back to the regime of 'Rajib Gandhi', the grandson of Nehru, mired in a massive arms procurement scandal and the regime of Narasimha Rao, the first to purchase a vote of confidence in the Lok Sabha with millions of cash for defection to the government and heaps of unbridled scams including the defalcation from public purse of some \$ 40 billion in crooked telecom contracts, while the Prime Minister Monmohan Singh every where lauded the image of probity-looked the other way, led the disenchanting people to look for alternative which they found in BJP in spite of its committed *Hindutva* hue. People preferred Narendra Modi, a practical man having instance of tremendous development with modern technique in his credit though in other way smeared with Gujrat massacre of 2002 to a mumbling Rahul Gandhi in spite of his having a Nehruvian heredity.

Decolonization of bureaucracy, army and police : The foremost worth mentioning occurrence of the decolonizing history of India is the crystalization of democracy. But it will be a cliché to ascribe the success of crystalization of democracy in India to the activities of any political organisation alone. It is the bureaucracy that played one of the most dominant role in granulating democracy in India. As a matter of fact, bureaucracy was an inheritance of the British colonial rule. The colonial edifice of the British Raj in India was kept erect by the colonial bureaucracy, mainly the ICS and similar services. At the time of independence, the steel frame of the ICS remained in place, untouched. In last years of

the colonial rule, the upper ranks had been indianized. During the colonial rule the members of the civil services were given responsibility to run the administration of India. Immediately after independence, the ICS was renamed as Indian Administrative Service (IAS) in 1947 at the initiative taken by Sardar Vallab Bhai Patel, the then Home Minister of India. The IAS was brought under the Union Public Service Commission, an autonomous body under the provision of the constitution of India.

During the colonial regime the country was ruled by the directives issued by the colonial rulers and the civil officers were the executive authorities. After independence, the country is managed through a number of central Government agencies with the policy directions given by ministers and the members of civil or administrative services are responsible for executing the directions resorted to incite even the police in rebellion. In such circumstances, Indira Gandhi requested the President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed to issue a state of emergency. The compliant president under Article 352 (1) of the Constitution promulgated the state of emergency on June 25, 1975. Thus the apprehension of H.V. Kamath, a member of the Constituent Assembly from Central Province and Berar, who had opposed incorporation of Article 352 (1) in the Constituent Assembly Debate citing how such provision in the constitution of the Weimer Republic had raised Hitler to the position of Dictator of Nazi Germany (Führer and Reichskanzler), came true. Involving the Article 352, Indira Gandhi granted herself extraordinary powers, launched a massive crackdown on civil liberties and political opposition. The state of emergency continued upto 21 March 1977. Thus "imposing the 'Emergency' of 1975-77 was Indira Gandhi's attempt to ward off both sorts of regional challenges by making centre the sole repository of supra-local and supra-regional populist programme"⁶. But by exercising democratic rights for 25 years the people of India attained maturity by this time to reply the authoritarian attitude of elected leader by imposing a crushing defeat on her party including herself in the General Election of 1977 and voted Janata Party, a loose conglomeration of regional, left and right wing forces united in the opposition to authoritarian rule of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. The new Parliament under the leadership of Morarji Deshai scrapped the provision of internal emergency by amending the constitution at the first instance in 1978. The Janata Experiment of unity of diverse forces began to crack soon and fresh election was held in 1980 when Indira Gandhi came back with thrumping majority by substituting populism for implicit, if not explicit, majoritarian communalism, which is a colonial legacy. But she was assassinated by her Sikh body guards in October 1984 following a deep psychological alienation among the Sikhs caused by the Indian army's assault on the Golden Temple in June 1984.

Riding a sympathy wave following the assassination of his mother Rajib Gandhi (Prime Minister 1984-89) swept the election. He played majority minority game in his viewing the social problem like the colonial rulers. He could not satisfy the voters and so in 1989, his party was voted out and V.P. Singh elected Prime Minister with the support from both the Bharatiya Janata Party and the Communist, the right and left political organisations. He resigned in protest against the assault of the BJP supported Hindu volunteers on the age old mosque at Ayodhya. He was followed by a host of Prime Ministers during the period from 1989 to 1998. This period witnessed an economic crisis un-precedent in the post colonial history of india and also communal disturbances throughout the contury initiated by cohesive forces of *Hindutva* for gaining political mileage.

Post colonial history and historiography of India could not discard the colonial definition of majority and minority and the Hindu majoritarian politics came to surface in 1980s to answer many powerful regional challenges to central authority. The ideologies of secularism and socialism on which the democratic edifice stands, lost credibility by this time and the Congress regime at the centre turned to depend implicitly on religiously based majoritarianism to turn aside regional threats. Such activities of Congress paved the way for the ideologically committed and organisationally cohesive forces of *Hindutva - the Rastriya Svayam Sevak Sangha* (RSS), *Vishwa Hindu Parishad* and their political organ Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to emerge as major forces on Indian Political Scene. Hindu majoritarian politics increasingly took on anti-Muslim overtone. The symbolic issue that came to fore was the temple mosque controversy in Ayodhya. The age old mosque. The members of bureaucracy left by the British regime and those newly recruited firmly carried out their responsibility without least waving which contributed a great extent to crystalise the newly established democracy in India.

Other elements for successful crystallisation of democracy are the Armed forces and police. The Armed forces were inherited by the national elites from the colonial rulers and they showed their unwavering fidelity to the newly formed Government of India. They got the chance of submitting to an ordeal soon after independence when the Indo-Pak War broke out over Kashmir in 1947-48.

Though many of the members of the police corps of the colonial rule were guilty of beating, jailing and even shooting so many in the struggle for independence, they were kept intact without asking the guilty corps for purge even. The Congress high command was most concern with stability of democracy and they gained it by keeping the police force of the colonial rulers intact.

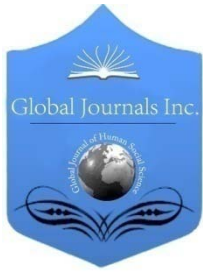
V. CONCLUSION

Post colonial Indian history and historiography show that the transfer of power from the colonial rulers to the national elites was peaceful, yet the birth of independence emerged with a bloodbath. The post colonial rulers, in the Congress were very successful in crystalysing democracy in India with the help of bureaucracy, armed forces and police, the legacies of the British colonial rule. But apparent success of their populist design led them resort to authoritarian stance which brought them experience the bitterness of severe defeat. On the other hand, the main principle of democracy 'by the people' triumphed. Again, in course of time they began to occupy power by playing religious majoritarian card, as the ideals of democracy, the secularism and socialism were reduced to almost spent up forces in the face of populism. The result is natural shifting to majority communitarian and hydra headed demonic communalism which have been attained the positions of a reply to the state sponsored corruptions even. So, the decolonizing Indian history is yet to achieve its goal i.e. ideology for which its quest started.

In fine, it may be stated that the process of decolonizing Indian history originates in high noon of colonialism. Starting with an aim of attaining idea of democracy and continues today through an atmosphere of clash between majoritarian principles and substansive democracy in incipient nation which sometimes causes to pay bloody tolls.

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Conflict Resolution in Pre-Colonial Benin

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Abstract- This study examines the context of conflict resolution in Benin during the pre-colonial period. It seeks to transcend the often emphasised explanation concerning conflicts in Africa in terms of social antagonism, rather, it examines the political, social and economic institutions of pre-colonial Benin to demonstrate the point that development in Africa as emphasised by some European writers were not the product of European presence in the continent of Africa. The study employed the historical method of collection and interpretation of data in its analysis. The study found that prior to the coming of Europeans, Benin like other states of West Africa, had its indigenous mechanisms for conflict resolution and thus contributes to the debate as to whether African states owed their existence with regards to socio-political and economic organisation to European presence or not.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Pre-colonial states in West Africa like other parts of the world were plagued with conflicts before the coming of the Europeans. These conflicts which were of socio-political and economic nature, did not mark the disintegration of these states as they were traditionally managed. The Benin people which is the focus of this paper presently occupy Oredo, Ovia North-East, Ovia South-West, Egor and Ikpoba-Okha Local Government Areas of Edo State, Nigeria. The town, Benin City, apart from being the headquarters of Oredo Local Government Area, is also the capital of Edo State. Before the advent of colonialism in the nineteenth century, the kingdom of Benin was one of the most important forest states of West Africa during the pre-colonial period.¹ In fact, it was one of the most referred in European literature.² This reference, from available literature, was with regards to her external relations.³ Much was not known about her past. Therefore, the study of her past would continue to excite scholarly research as it would help, in the words of O.B. Osadolor, "open the boundaries of the historical space for the understanding of the place of Benin in African history".⁴

This study therefore, is divided into five sections. Immediately following this introduction is the early history of Benin. The third section discussed the pre-colonial political, social and economic institutions of Benin. Conflicts of political, social and economic dimensions and how they were traditionally handled forms the discussion in the fourth section, while the fifth

section concerns the findings of the study and the conclusion.

II. EARLY HISTORY OF BENIN

Efforts at tracing the early history and foundation of the ancient Benin kingdom had its first fruit in the work of J.U. Egharevba, whose work, A Short History of Benin was published in 1968. While acknowledging this pioneer effort at documenting the past of the people, it must be quickly added that the findings of Egharevba, which stated that: "Many, many years ago, the Binis came all the way from Egypt to found a more secure shelter in this part of the world after a short stay in the Sudan and at Ile-Ife which the Benin people call Uhe"⁵ has been punctuated by scholars and thus doubts exist concerning the authenticity of the account.⁶ The controversy elicited by this position appeared to have been laid to rest by A.E. Afigbo when he said:

...the significance of these claims to Egyptian, or at any rate Middle East origin belongs to wider framework of West African History and Sociology as they are found among most West African peoples whether inhabit the Savanna or Forst zone, are islamized or not. It is quite clear, however, that in the present state of our knowledge about West Africa, they cannot be taken seriously by the serious-minded students of ...history".⁷

However, one inescapable truth which few existing works and oral accounts about the Benin people have affirmed is that the first of set rulers were the Ogisos.⁸ These kings, along with their palace chiefs gave directives to the length and breadth of the kingdom and exhibited virtues of valour, wisdom and good governance ever recorded in human history.⁹

III. POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS IN PRE-COLONIAL BENIN

Political institutions in pre-colonial Benin comprised the Oba, the Enigie (singular, Enogie) and Chiefs.¹⁰ While the Oba was in charge of the entire kingdom, at the District and Village level he was assisted by the Enigie (Dukes) just as titled chiefs had different functions assigned to them. Pre-colonial Benin had two types of Enigie – the Ogie Isi or royal dukes and Ogie Okanaban who were non-royal dukes.¹¹ While the Ogie-Isi were appointed by the Oba from amongst sons of past Obas and persons who were blood relations of the

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Oba, the second category, namely, the Ogie Ikanaban (plural of Okanaban) were appointed from amongst persons who may have exhibited heroic exploits in war or rendered useful service to the Oba who appointed them.¹²

It is important to note that while the areas under the control of the Enigie-Isi was the village or group of villages, at their demise, succession was based on hereditary patrilineal primogeniture,¹³ the case of the Enigie-Ekanaban was not so. There were other district titles such as Ekhaemwen, Ohen or priests and Okaevbo or village heads. This class of administrators were either appointed or confirmed their appointment in accordance with the tradition of the land.¹⁴ E. B. Eweka, in his work, *The Evolution of Benin Chieftaincy Titles*,¹⁵ categorised Benin titles into two: hereditary and non hereditary titles. The first category were inherited by the eldest surviving sons of their holders occasioned by death, while the non-hereditary category was the exclusive creation of the Oba. Whether hereditary or non-hereditary, titles in Benin were confirmed by the Oba.¹⁶ Rights and privileges were attached to these chieftaincy titles in pre-colonial Benin.

For instance, holders of hereditary titles upon successful completion of the traditional rites gained the right of succession and enjoyed the privilege of becoming member of the House of Chiefs, but for the non-hereditary titles, without confirmation such chiefs could not receive the Oba's traditional gifts,¹⁷ share in title fees paid, enjoy the share from Izakhue which was performed at the demise of a deceased chief and incidental gifts bestowed by the Oba.¹⁸ Benin pre-colonial political institutions thus comprised the Oba who was at the helm of affairs, assisted at the Village and District levels by the officers mentioned above. The cohesion of Benin society was ensured by these officers. Like other states in Nigeria, Benin had social institutions that held the society together before the coming of colonialism. Aghama Omoruyi states that "for centuries Benin was a powerful kingdom with amazing culture but by 1897 the artistic wealth came to ruin...".¹⁹ These social institutions included: marriage, witchcraft, murder, theft and inheritance. However, it is difficult to separate in analysis, social institutions from political and economic institutions because at some points they dovetailed into each other.

In pre-colonial Benin, marriage custom was almost the same as other Edo-speaking people.²⁰ Investigation revealed that in the pre-colonial time, parents got suitors for their children through match-making.²¹ This was against the background of behaviour and the need to extend family ties, hard work and fame. Most important, was the issue of virginity and circumcision. A young girl to be married went through pre-marital training under the guardianship of her own mother and the would-be mother-in-law. This period offered opportunity for the girl to be properly schooled in

domestic duties until she was married because there was no clear-cut age of marriage.²² For the male, there was also no specific age too. It depended on when he considered himself strong enough to be able to fend for his family.²³ However, a typical pre-colonial Benin marriage was one in which after the bride price as stipulated by the parents of the bride,²⁴ has been settled alongside the necessary rituals such as Ulamwen,²⁵ the bride and the groom started life.

The institution of witchcraft and wizardry also existed in pre-colonial Benin.²⁶ This was associated with confession. Such confession was brought to the notice of the Oba, who was the custodian of traditions and values. According to my informant²⁷ when a person confessed to witchcraft, such person was brought to the palace where the witchcraft powers were rendered powerless. However, where the person confessed to have been responsible for the death of persons, he or she was banished or rehabilitated at Ekonorhue near Ikpoba Slope, Benin City where a chief priest or priestess took care of them. It is important to note that persons who confessed to witchcraft underwent two type of test. The first of such test according to my informant,²⁸ was a ceremony in which the suspect was made to drink 'Tigin latex' sourced from sasswood mixed with water and he or she could summon the accusers for indemnity and obtain compensation for being wrongly accused. The other method involved the use of cock feather of a matured cock pressed on the tongue of the accused by persons skilled in the art.²⁹ Where the feather fell off the tongue, it showed innocence of the accused, otherwise he or she was guilty as charged. But in 1746, a Briton named T. Astley, according to a recent study,³⁰ emphasised that water trial was done in Benin with the permission of the Oba. He stated that:

...the accused is brought to a certain river, to which is ascribed the strange quality of gentle wafting over every innocent person plunged there is safe to land, though even so unskilled swimming: and on the other side to sink the guilty to the bottom, though even such good swimmers; for, on turbulent like a whirl pool and never rest till he is at the bottom, when the water return to its former tranquility.³¹

The authenticity of the above version has been queried by F.E. Oghi, who relying on the work of Omoniji,³² in his research about the Eni Lake at Uzerre, Isoko North Local Government Area of Delta State, concluded that "it is most probable that poor geographical knowledge could have made what ought to be a clear reference to Uzere to be credited to Benin".³³ However, it is indisputable that from oral accounts and few written works available, the institution of witchcraft existed in pre-colonial Benin.

Theft was also one of the social institutions that attracted serious sanctions in pre-colonial Benin. Theft was commonly associated with youths with

punishments that ranged from banishment to death sentence depending on the gravity.³⁴ When a person was caught stealing, such person was brought before the Odionwere at the village or to the Enogie at the dukedom level, but if within the seat of the Kingdom, Benin, such person was brought before the Oba.³⁵ At the centre, Benin, the Oba who may be represented by palace chiefs, supervised such trials. Persons found guilty as accused, especially of grave cases, were kept in prison (Ewedor) ahead of execution during the next festival.³⁶ However, where the case of theft was not serious and the accused was found guilty, fines were imposed or the accused and guilty person was paraded publicly with empty snail shells tied around the person's neck irrespective of the gender, with permission of the community head. This practice was basically a traditional way of maintaining social justice. At the village level, such trials were attended by interested persons. There were also cases where suspects or untried offenders were taken care of, by chiefs who were interested in them or were referred from the village.³⁷

Inheritance, on the other hand, was part of the social structure in pre-colonial Benin. By primogeniture, succession rights to property, hereditary titles and ritual duties passed to the eldest son.³⁸ At the death of a Bini man, the eldest son performed the funeral ceremonies of the deceased father and it was upon this that he inherited the house traditionally known as Igiogbe and lands cultivated by his father. Other children of the deceased (the junior sons) moved to other lands to build their own houses on attainment of full age. However, such junior sons could inherit where the eldest son neglected or failed to perform his duties.³⁹ This arrangement was not a restriction and oppression on persons who were not eldest children, rather, it was a tradition, as such persons could still acquire title that were not hereditary.

Pre-colonial Benin, like the Esan community of Uromi, had traditional economic institutions that had "a level of sophistication possessing all the attributes of a structured economy".⁴⁰ This ranged from agriculture, land tenure, trade, to local industries. Farming was mainly on shifting cultivation basis and was done with local implements like aho, (modern day hoe) and cutlasses. Production was mainly subsistence and the factor of large expanse of land that was fertile was a major encouraging factor.⁴¹ The main crops produced were: yam, cocoyam, plantain and much later cassava. The production of these crops was based on manual labour from family members, friends and slaves. The involvement of slaves in Benin pre-colonial economy states Igbafe, "ante-dated the advent of Europeans rule and had its own place in the structure of the state".⁴² With the assistance from these sources, food production was done.

In the area of land tenure, the long held opinion was that land belonged to the Oba as illustrated in the

word "obayantor" (the Oba owns all land), but this has been dismissed as a mistaken theory of Benin land tenure.⁴³ Rather, the Oba in pre-colonial Benin only administered the land through the chiefs and heads of villages.⁴⁴ Land was owned at the village level by communities and individuals could be granted rights of ownership and was inherited by eldest sons. Where a family went into extinction, ownership of such land reverted to the village head or Onogie,⁴⁵ who could re-allocate such land to strangers with or without the precondition of tribute payment.⁴⁶

Trade was also done in pre-colonial Benin. P.A. Igbafe states that this was organised in two facets: first, local trade among the people and second, the type handled by trading associations called Ekhen-Egbo.⁴⁷ Items of trade which was by barter included: locally produced foodstuffs, but later in the fifteenth century, items like brass carvings, salt, guns, matches, tobacco, chains formed the means of exchange.⁴⁸ The prospect and the continuity of this trade later attracted Europeans to the kingdom.

Apart from the aforesaid, the people of Benin were also involved in local industries such as wood-carving and bronze work. The dexterity exhibited by them made the area famous to foreign countries, who, from the reports of travelers and traders became aware of the existence of the kingdom.

IV. RESOLUTION OF POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONFLICTS IN PRE-COLONIAL BENIN

For pre-colonial Benin, like other parts of the world, conflicts arose over political issues like boundaries and succession matters. Boundary disputes were common in pre-colonial Benin.⁴⁹ This was particularly the case where there were no natural demarcators of the territory like valley or rivers.⁵⁰ Where disputes arose over boundary matters, they were handled by elders-in-council presided over by the Oba who was the paramount ruler, but where it occurred at the village or dukedom level, enigies or odionwere took charge of them, while difficult cases were referred to the palace of the Oba whose pronouncement was binding on the parties.⁵¹ Such dispute was first reported to the elders of the community by way of traditional summon. It is instructive to note that persons or groups that refused to honour such invitation or the decision of the elders' council may be banished from the community – a move that was enforced by the youths (eghele). Parties to such disputes were allowed fair hearing before decisions were made.⁵² Upon settlement of such boundary disputes, the actual boundary as ascertained by the elders was demarcated by the planting of Ikhinmwin tree.⁵³

Succession disputes were also common features of Benin early history right from its foundation to

the period it became an empire. Even the circumstances that led to the coming of Oranmiyan to Benin and the subsequent reference to the area as Ile-Ibinu, from which the city was said to have derived its name was tied to the issue of succession.⁵⁴ However, from oral accounts, the issue of succession was handled by the Oba in line with tradition and custom. As stated earlier in this study, Benin during the pre-colonial period practiced primogeniture. This point has been affirmed by investigators.⁵⁵ In the case of hereditary titles, only eldest male children whose mothers were traditionally married to the deceased man had the right to inherit or succeed their fathers subject to satisfactory performance of the necessary rites.⁵⁶ Those born outside wedlock were not entitled to succession or inheritance.

In situations where two or more persons laid claim to succession or inheritance, traditionally measures were taken to ascertain the person entitled. Two processes were observed in such situation. First, claimants to the stool were summoned to a cult presided over by the chief priest of the kingdom and oaths administered on them. Rituals were performed and the spirits of the ancestors invoked. The right successor was determined by the outcome of this test.⁵⁷ Second, in isolated cases, the property of the deceased may have been willed verbally to a particular son before the demise of the holder.⁵⁸ In such situation, it must have been witnessed by some members of the family before the transition. Such witnesses were summoned to testify to the claim after being subjected to oaths enjoining them to speak the truth or else they would face the wrath of the ancestors.

However, where a holder of non-hereditary title died, without having a male child, the property left behind was shared among the children by the family under the supervision of the Okaegbe,⁵⁹ but where the deceased was a holder of a hereditary title and had no male child, such title was transferred to the immediate younger person next to the deceased.⁶⁰ Inheritance issue in pre-colonial Benin was settled traditionally without recourse to war. P.A. Igbafe even records that:

...when a man dies, his wife is free to marry whom she likes... When there are no children left, through death or otherwise, the woman goes to the next-of-kin. In the case of infants the eldest male relative becomes the legal guardian until they are of age to be married. A child born out of wedlock, either before or after marriage, can be claimed by the natural father or payment of £10 in the native court, either to the father or guardian of the woman, or to the lawful husband as the case may be.⁶¹

From the foregoing discussion, it could be seen that pre-colonial Benin had in-built traditional mechanisms for resolving conflicts of political nature such as boundary disputes and succession matters. Even where such matters bordered on seniority of dukes

(enigie) the issue was resolved by reference to the custom and tradition of the people that recognised that "seniority of traditional title holders is determined by the Oba that first created the title".⁶² Thus, as observed by E.O. Ose-Amadasun; "The Benin Kingdom takes a pride of place in African history. We must reject the Europe-centred approach implied in talking about 'the discovery' of West Africa or Nigeria or Benin...".⁶³ Indeed, developments stimulated by traditional perceptions were already place in pre-colonial Benin.

Social conflict is a phenomenon that has always been part of human existence and part of daily living. However, their occurrence, from the works of scholars has been attributed to interactions between social groups,⁶⁴ which O.D. Oche regards as the product of "incompatibilities and differences between individuals and groups".⁶⁵ Pre-colonial Benin experienced these form of conflicts. Marriages in pre-colonial Benin was governed by tradition and custom. Unlike European marriages that emphasised monogamy, the wealth of a man determined the number of wives he got married to and hence polygamy was practised. Even records of early European visitors to Benin showed that the monarch had many wives and that "no Benin woman would dare to offer herself, nor would she cohabit with a European without the king's license...".⁶⁶ The basic feature of pre-colonial Benin marriage was its indissolubility.⁶⁷ Once a woman was married to a man, it was difficult if not rare to think of divorce because it was not recognised by the indigenous system.⁶⁸ The sanctity of marriage was preserved by traditional ethos that required disputes to be amicably handled by families of the couples. No matter the circumstance or nature of dispute even where a woman insisted on deserting her husband and all means of persuasion failed, she was forced to remain with the husband.⁶⁹ This practice, as it were, ensured that discipline existed in families with regards to marriages.

It is important to point out however, that certain factors caused disharmony in marital issues in pre-colonial Benin. Factors like continued cruelty, desertion by the husband and infection by questionable ailment forced a woman to insist on leaving the marriage.⁷⁰ Where these were established, there were still traditional ways of handling them. Members of the families met to proffer solutions. P.A. Igbafe, records that "persistent quarrels and cruel treatment usually brought in the intervention of the families or village chief and these very rarely led to a divorce".⁷¹ He even cites the example of places like Udo, where the Iyase "intervened where couples quarreled regularly and appeared unable to agree".⁷² Pre-colonial Benin thus knew nothing about divorce. As W.H. Cooke put it: "...generally speaking divorce is foreign to native laws and customs but it had crept in since the inception of our native court system."⁷³

In fact, majority of civil cases in Benin District in 1905 were for the return of run away wives.⁷⁴

Childlessness on the other hand, was another area in Benin pre-colonial life where conflicts arose. It was much the case that the issue of childlessness in marriage set families on edge.⁷⁵ Childlessness led to break in many marriages in pre-colonial Benin. This was attributed to natural and non-natural causes. It could be impotence on the part of the man or sterility on the part of the woman or one that was associated with the wrath of the ancestors. There was the belief that when a man or woman died either of a natural or man-made cause like suicide, at the funeral of such person depending on the sex, a sponge was given to some one known to have had children, to bathe the deceased before internment. Other acts like rape of minor and adultery was also believed to cause childlessness in future lives of people upon reincarnation.⁷⁶ All these were believed to be possible causes of childlessness.

However, like other issues discussed above, there were traditional ways of resolving conflicts of this nature. Such issue of childlessness were brought before Aruosun Oba at Ikpoba Slope, Benin City.⁷⁷ Where the cause of childlessness emanated from the man and there was good understanding between him and the wife, the need to bring the issue before the aforementioned was not necessary. In that case, the woman usually solved the problem her own way with her husband's connivance on the understanding that children that she would give birth to, belonged to the husband, and could decide to choose a 'lover' or 'friend' outside known to both of them alone. But, where this was not the case and the cause of the childlessness was traced to the woman, owing to unnatural causes, rituals were performed to appease the ancestors.⁷⁸

Adultery on the other hand, was regarded as a taboo and sign of evil in pre-colonial Benin.⁷⁹ Whether done by the woman or husband, this constituted one of the issues that generated conflict before the colonial period. Its effects were grave as it was believed that, it could lead to the untimely death of husbands if not handled on time. It had the same weight as murder. However, punishment for offenders seem variegated between men and women. For women, it attracted punishment like disgrace, eviction, payment of fine and banishment. An informant states that where the act was committed by a woman, items required for appeasing the gods and ancestral spirits included: a keg of palm wine, a she goat and set of cowries, referred to in local parlance as Ekpetin vbe odegbe, in addition to items for rituals and exorcism.⁸⁰ This was quite different practice from the Idegbe marriage system that existed in places like Igbanke.⁸¹

The discussion of the social conflicts in pre-colonial Benin and how they were handled to a large extent, confirmed the view expressed by Alan Ryder, five decades ago that "...the monarchical traditions, the

creation of a complex political and social hierarchy, and arising from these two, the growth of an imperial tradition"⁸² were pointers to the fact that development in Africa were not necessary outsiders' influence. Traditional dispute resolution mechanisms were already in place before the advent of colonialism. Basically, the developments as enunciated above were not only in the political and social spheres of life, similarly, mechanisms also existed for conflicts that resulted from economic matters.

A key factor for peaceful co-existence of people in societies have always been the way and manner in which the economy of such society is managed. Conflicts arising from mismanagement and exploitation laid foundations for conflicts of economic nature and hence scholars and economic historians have been concerned with economic factor in the organisation of societies.⁸³ The manner in which the economy of most African states were managed during the colonial period have also engaged the attention of scholars. Basically, at the dawn of the twentieth century, the economies of most African states were affected by the introduction of colonialism.⁸⁴ While this has also generated academic debate among scholars too, an undeniable point in the debate so far, is that African states had economies that were indigenously controlled; but because interests varies among humans, interests clashed and resulted to conflicts that were traditionally handled.

Pre-colonial Benin had its indigenous tax system and procedures for recovering debts.⁸⁵ This was in two categories. The first type of tax was the one based on land grants. By tradition, land was owned by the monarch (the oba) and grant of such lands to non-indigenes attracted tribute payment which was an acknowledgement that the grantee was not the owner of the land and the payment of token as gratitude for being allowed to make use of such land.⁸⁶ Such land was called Akorhore. However, where such strangers agreed to be involved in the administration of such area, they were absolved of such tribute. This practice was common in the villages. For instance, in places like Siluko and Umaza Communities in present day Ovia South-West Local Government Area of Edo State, there were instances where non-indigenes such as Ijaws and Urhobos were made edion.⁸⁷ By virtue of such recognition, the non-indigenes were exempted from payment of tributes and occupied lands free without charge. In this case, the non-indigenes participated in village communal activities, joined part of the age-grades and conformed generally to the customs of the community.

The second form of tribute collected in pre-colonial Benin was the customary tribute paid through established tradition and at fixed times of the year.⁸⁸ This was the type that was paid in recognition of the Oba's political authority, not as personal services to him.

This was anchored on the belief that the oba as the head ought to be supported. Such tributes were common in areas that were conquered who sent presents to the oba at the end of the year (traditionally regarded as Ugamwen) and the entire process was known as Imuohan. This latter type of tribute, apart from food stuff, also included slaves. One of the early visitors to Benin during the pre-colonial period, H. Ling Roth records that "...In Benin all male slaves are foreigners, "for the natives cannot be sold for slaves, but are all free, and alone bear the name of the king's slaves..."⁸⁹ Pre-colonial Benin thus practised the compulsory tribute paid on demand by conquered areas called Ugamwen and the type imposed by the Akorhore.

On the other hand, debt recovery was a task assigned to persons with distinctive pedigree by the oba during the pre-colonial period.⁹⁰ Debts owed when reported, was adjudicated upon by elders-in-council. The latter, set up committee composed of persons of integrity that were assigned the role of recovering such debts with the express permission of the oba. They had the powers to confiscate goods of offenders, commensurate with the debt owed. In some cases, such confiscated items were auctioned to recover such debt.⁹¹ It is important to note that such measures were designed to discourage tax default and indebtedness. Victims were made to become 'ovien' (slaves) to the oba and their rights and certain privileges could be withdrawn by the monarch until pronouncements regarding such debts, after consultation, was lifted by the elders-in-council. Thus, in pre-colonial Benin, taxes were levied on adults in addition to tributes either from conquered territories or those sent to the oba annually as sign of loyalty to the authority of the monarch. Debt recovery on the other hand, was a traditional device of encouraging hard work thereby promoting responsible citizenship.

The issue of trespass was another area of economic conflict in pre-colonial Benin. Majority of the conflict bordered on land matters. The village was the land-holding unit in pre-colonial Benin.⁹² An individual could farm anywhere within the village without the necessity of obtaining permission because there was plenty of cultivable land. However, where there was issue of trespass, such matter was brought to the attention of the elders of the community. They deliberated on the matter and made pronouncements that were binding on the parties to the dispute. Ancestral landmarks and natural boundaries like rivers or valleys were used to ascertain issues of trespass. Upon adjudication, the Ikhinmwin tree was used to demarcate such boundaries. However, where a party was not satisfied with the decisions of the community elders, appeals were made to the monarch, who either affirmed the decision of the village elders or caused a commission of enquiry to be set up to look into the case and later decide, based on the report submitted. It was

also sacrilegious to destroy economic crops in pre-colonial Benin. This was because Benin tradition frowned seriously at it and was regarded as Aghwa. It thus constituted a strong offence in Benin custom till date.⁹³ Where a case of this nature was reported, the matter was referred to the elders of the community who investigated the matter and took decision. There was the belief that such matter if not well handled could elicit the anger of the gods and ancestors, elders were expected to exercise caution and carry out thorough investigations before making pronouncements. Like arson, punishment for such offence included: the imposition of fines, performance of rites to cleanse the land, up to outright banishment from the community.

V. CONCLUSION

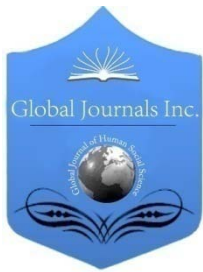
The above analysis of conflict resolution in pre-colonial Benin to our understanding of Benin early history provides the basis for some observations. It is evident from the study that the contribution of conflict resolution to the reconstruction of the histories of pre-literate societies, further debunks the Eurocentric perception that developments in Africa was externally stimulated. Therefore, historians working on pre-literate societies need to be seriously engaged in the collection and analysis of data to expand the scope of knowledge about pre-literate African peoples and societies before the advent of colonialism.

End Notes

1. See O.B. Osadolor, "The Military System of Benin Kingdom, c. 1440-1897" Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History and Philosophy, University of Hamburg, Germany, 2001, p. 2.
2. Two main reasons could be advanced for this, namely, as a result of the large number of Benin royal art taken to Europe by the British, which could be located in different museums in Europe and the United States of America, and the fact that early European travelers, traders and consuls gave information about Benin that attracted the attention of scholars. See for instance, K. Ezra, *The Royal Art of Benin: The Pearls Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1992) and N. Matthews, *Materials for West African History in the Archives of the United Kingdom*, (London: University of London Press, 1983), cited by O.B. Osadolor, "The Military System of Benin Kingdom..." p.2.
3. See for instance, A.F.C. Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans, 1485-1897*, (London: Longman Group Ltd, 1969).
4. O.B. Osadolor, "The Military System of Benin..." p. 3.
5. J.U. Egharevba, *A Short History of Benin* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1968), p. 1.
6. For instance, it is argued that reference to Egypt may be an attempt for a search for a glorious past

- to share out of the accomplishments of ancient Egypt. Second, it has also been argued that perhaps, the view may have been anchored on the similarities in the culture of Benin and Egypt. See R.G. Armstrong, "The Development of Kingdoms in Negro Africa" *Journal of Historical Society of Nigeria*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 1961, E. Sander, "The Hamitic Hypothesis: Origins and Functions Through Time" *Journal of African History*, Vol. X, No. 4, 1969, Pp. 521-532, and P.A. Igbafe, "A Bridge Across Time: The Benin Factor in Nigerian History" 23rd Inaugural Lecture, University of Benin, Benin City, 3rd April, 1986.
7. A.E. Afigbo, "Igboland before 1800" in O. Ikime (ed.) *Groundwork of Nigeria History*, (Ibadan: Heinemann, 1980), p. 73.
 8. Interview with Chief Osemwegie Ero, 78yrs, the Edobayokhae of Benin Kingdom, Benin City, 30/8/2014. Also see J.U. Egharevba, *A Short History of Benin...* and E.B. Eweka, *The Evolution of Benin Chieftaincy Titles*, (Benin City: University of Benin Press, 1992).
 9. E.B. Eweka, *The Evolution of Benin Chieftaincy Titles...* p. 82. The author even cited examples of Ogiso Ere, Oba Ewedo, Ewuare, Esigie, Ehengbuda and Ozolua.
 10. Interview with Chief Osemwegie Ero,... 30/8/2014.
 11. Oba Akenzua II on "The Categories of Bini Titles", *Nigerian Spokesman*, 15/12/1947, National Archives, Ibadan.
 12. *Ibid.* This point is corroborated by the work of E.B. Eweka, *The Evolution of Benin Chieftaincy...* p. 84.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
 14. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
 15. *Ibid.*, Pp. 145-147.
 16. Such confirmation ceremonies were carried out at the Oba's palace. It involved Iwoghene or Itiedeha ceremonies. The former was performed within the palace by the Eghaevbo n' Ore at the Iyase's house. See E.B. Eweka, *The Evolution of Benin Chieftaincy Titles...*, p. 148.
 17. Such gifts included: kolanuts, drinks, food and money. Interview with Chief Osemwegie Ero,... 30/8/2014.
 18. E.B. Eweka, *The Evolution of Benin Chieftaincy Titles...* p. 153.
 19. A. Omoruyi, *Benin Anthology*, (Benin City: Anioko Publishers, 1981), p. 13.
 20. See A.P. Ojiefoh, *Uromi Chronicles, History and Culture, 1025-2002*, (Uromi: Aregbeyeguale Publishers, 2002), p. 124.
 21. Interview with Solomon Nomayo Okungbowa, 73 years, retired civil servant, Benin City, 26/8/2014.
 22. Interview with Chief Osemwegie Ero,... 30/8/2014.
 23. *Ibid.*
 24. The amount paid varied from family to family, but generally it ranged between 20 and 24 cowries which was the means of exchange then.
 25. This was a rite in which the bride was made to swear at ancestral shrine with an undertaking to maintain her fidelity.
 26. Interview with Chief Osemwegie Ero,... 30/8/2014
 27. *Ibid.*
 28. *Ibid.*
 29. *Ibid.*
 30. See F.E. Oghi, "Abolition of Trial by Ordeal at Eni-Lake, Uzere, Delta State of Nigeria, 1903: A Reconsideration", *Affrev, International Journal of Arts and Humanities*, Vol. 2(1), S/No. 5, February, 2013, Pp. 132-144.
 31. P.M. Peek, *The Founding of the Isoko Clan of Uzere*, (Berkely: University of California, 1966), p. 12.
 32. A. Omoniyi, *The Judicial System of Southern Nigeria, 1854-1954*, (London: Longman, 1977), Pp. 7-8 and 207.
 33. F.E. Oghi, "Abolition of Trial by Ordeal...", p. 137.
 34. Interview with Chief Osemwegie Ero,... 30/8/2014
 35. *Ibid.*
 36. *Ibid.*
 37. Such persons were left with their Onotueyevbo. While Ewedor was the state prison under the control of the Eribo, Oshodi was the controller, while the eunuchs were under the control of the Obazuwa. See P.A. Igbafe, *Benin Under British Administration...* Pp. 17-18.
 38. P.A. Igbafe, *Benin Under British Administration...* p. 27.
 39. Such rites included: Iwa-Orinmwini, Izakhue, Isoton, Isuerhanfua and Ukomwen. See E.B. Eweka, *The Evolution of Benin Chieftaincy Titles...*, Pp. 145-147.
 40. J.I. Osagie, "Economic Development in Esan in the Colonial Period, 1900-1960", Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, University of Benin, Benin City, 2007, p. XII.
 41. Interview with Sunday Odobo, 66years old, member of the Ogiefa family of Benin, Oluku Village, farmer, 10/8/2014.
 42. P.A. Igbafe, *Benin Under British Administration...* p. 23.
 43. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
 44. *Ibid.* p. 29.
 45. *Ibid.* This could be the reason why in most Benin Villages, there are lands occupied by strangers such as Urhobo, Isoko and Yoruba. In later years, such inhabitants set up camps and cocoa farms in them.
 46. P.A. Igbafe, *Benin Under British Administration...*, p. 30.
 47. *Ibid.*, p. 31.
 48. *Ibid.* p. 32.
 49. Interview with Chief Osemwegie Ero, the Edobayokhae of Benin Kingdom, Benin City, 30/8/2014.

50. Ibid.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. See F. Afolayan, "Kingdoms of West Africa: Benin, Oyo and Asante" in T. Folola (ed.) *African History Before 1885*, Vol. 1 (Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 2000), Pp. 161-163.
55. See for instance, P.A. Igbafe, *Benin Under British Administration...* and A.F.C. Ryder, *Benin and the Europeans, 1485-1897*, (New York: Humanities Press, 1969).
56. Interview with S.I. Eghaghe, 81 years old, retired civil servant, Ekiador Village, 03/8/2014.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. P.A. Igbafe, *Benin Under British Administration...*, p. 405.
62. See the Report of Panel of Investigation on Disputed Seniority among Igbanke Enogie set up Oba Erediauwa, 20/8/1980, cited in E.B. Eweka, *Evolution of Benin Chieftaincy Titles...*, p. 230.
63. E.O. Ose-Amadasun, "Key Issues in the Changing Dynamics of the Social Process in Africa (1)", *The Guardian Newspaper*, Tuesday July 29, 2014, p. 56.
64. See for instance, W. Isard, *Understanding Conflict and the Science of Peace*, (Cambridge: M.A. Blackwell, 1992) and D. Weeks, *The Eight Essential Steps to Conflict Resolution*, (New York: Putnam Tharcher, 1992).
65. O.D. Oche, *From Dispute to Dialogue, Essays on Conflict and Conflict Resolution*, (Lagos: FOG Ventures, 2006), p. 11.
66. Interview with HRH, T.I. Idu-Akenzua, 59 years old, Enogie of Oghobaghase Dukedom, Legal Practitioner, Benin City, 19/8/2014.
67. H. Ling Roth, *Great Benin: Its Customs, Art and Horrors* (North Brook: Metro Books Inc, 1972), p. 37.
68. P.A. Igbafe, *Benin Under British Administration* (London: Longman, 1979), p. 19.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Interview with HRH, T.I. Idu-Akenzua,... 19/8/2014.
72. P.A. Igbafe, *Benin Under British Administration...* p. 20.
73. Ibid.
74. See N.A.I, CSO. 26, File No. 50569, i, p. 72 and B.D. 13/1, Annual Report 31st December, 1905 by C.C. Pykes, Ag. D.C. Unnumbered File 1809-1907 and Ben. Dist. 13/2, C. Pykes, Report on Benin City District for Quarter Ending, 30th September, 1906.
75. Ibid.
76. Interview with Osemwegie Ero..., 30/8/2014.
77. Interview with HRH T.I. Idu-Akenzua, 59 years old, Enogie of Oghobaghase Dukedom, Benin City, Legal Practitioner, 19/8/2014.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Interview with Chief Osemwegie Ero,... 30/8/2014.
81. See P.A. Igbafe, *Benin Under British Administration...* p. 22. The Idegbe marriage system was the type in which the bride-price had not been paid. A husband to an Idegbe wife could also make claim for damages against any adulterer and the parents too, had the prospect of obtaining possession of some of the children resulting from such union.
82. Alan Ryder, "The Rise of Benin Kingdom" in R. Oliver (ed.) *The Middle Age of African History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 29.
83. See J. Burton, *Conflict: Human Needs Theory* (London: Macmillan, 1990), M. Berdal and D. Malone (eds.) *Greed or Grievance: Economic Agendas in Civil Wars* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2000) for the arguments on this point.
84. Instructive are the works of J. Ihonvbere (ed.) *The Political Economy of Crisis and Underdevelopment in Africa: Selected Works of Claude Ake* (Lagos: JAD, 1980) and A.A. Boahen, "Colonialism in Africa: Its impact and Significance" in A. Boahen (ed.) *UNESCO General History of Africa, VII: Africa Under Colonial Domination, 1880-1935*, (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd, 1985), Pp. 782-809.
85. Interview with Chief Osemwegie Ero,... 30/8/2014.
86. Ibid.
87. Interview with Pa Benson Ehodon, 76 years old, farmer, at Siluko Town, Ovia South-West Local Government Area of Edo State, 22/8/2014.
88. P.A. Igbafe, *Benin Under British Administration*, (London: Longmans, 1979), p. 30.
89. See H. Ling Roth, *Great Benin: Its Customs, Art and Horrors*, (North Brook: Metro Books Inc., 1972), p. 103.
90. Interview with Chief Osemwengie Ero, the Edobayokhae of Benin Kingdom, Benin City, 30/8/2014.
91. Ibid.
92. P.A. Igbafe, *Benin Under British Administration...* p. 29.
93. Interview with Chief Osemwegie Ero,... 30/8/2014.



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Exposing Indigenous Punjab to Modern Technology: An Anthropological Analysis

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Abstract- The current day development models proclaim and promise for self sufficiency and sustainability for the masses especially whenever there is a debate over rural development issue in the third world countries like Pakistan. In fact the today's world is fast approaching the sustainable livelihood strategies which unfortunately failed to bring about the results assured. Failure of Green Revolution has made the scholars, professionals and development practitioners to reponder the western development model particularly those promising agricultural development. The western developmental approaches basically imbedded in the capitalistic ethos resulted for radical changes while increasing the rural dependence on the urban areas and even upon the international multinational corporations. These new interventions erased the traditional self reliance of country side and thus became an indirect reason for rural urban migration. The current paper is an attempt to throw light on the effects of modern technology upon the cultural life of people of a village Sacha Soda in the district Sheikhpura of the Punjab province. The paper evaluates the indigenous people's views on Mechanized Agricultural Methods in terms of Economic Sustainability and Cultural Compatibility.

Keywords: *development, modernization, modern technology, empowerment, soil fertility, fertilizers, soil erosion, soil compaction.*

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Abstract- The current day development models proclaim and promise for self sufficiency and sustainability for the masses especially whenever there is a debate over rural development issue in the third world countries like Pakistan. In fact the today's world is fast approaching the sustainable livelihood strategies which unfortunately failed to bring about the results assured. Failure of Green Revolution has made the scholars, professionals and development practitioners to reponder the western development model particularly those promising agricultural development. The western developmental approaches basically imbedded in the capitalistic ethos resulted for radical changes while increasing the rural dependence on the urban areas and even upon the international multinational corporations. These new interventions erased the traditional self reliance of country side and thus became an indirect reason for rural urban migration. The current paper is an attempt to throw light on the effects of modern technology upon the cultural life of people of a village Sacha Soda in the district Sheikhpura of the Punjab province. The paper evaluates the indigenous people's views on Mechanized Agricultural Methods in terms of Economic Sustainability and Cultural Compatibility.

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I. INTRODUCTION

The main theme of the paper is to conceptually discuss the term development as visualized by various social scientists. The thrust of paper is to throw light on the human aspects of development that focuses development with a humanistic point of view. The development to us is something that puts human on top while bringing sustainability and independence of decision making in the large web of options available. According to Bottomore (1971) "in most sociological writings, the term 'development' has been used in quite a different way, first to differentiate two broad type of societies, on one side the prosperous industrial society and on other side rural society which is predominately rural, agricultural and poor, and secondly, to describe the process of industrialization and modernization".

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A lot has been written by the various schools of development and modernization about bringing the world to witness a more sophisticated way of life. The promise has not been in effect since we have seen that the interaction of the new models and technologies lag the most important and crucial element of Culture. People of the third world have been influenced and accepted the western techniques and developmental thoughts as something that could bring prosperity to their mother lands. On the contrary, all of them proved to be exploitative and anti cultural and production of the colonial strategy. As endorsed by Laufer (1967), that the term 'development' means dams and factories, roads and canals, bush clearing, universities, electrification, land improvement, secondary schools, primary schools, sanitation, research and multitudes of other activities and achievements. But again he argues that all the above development means people, the perpetration and activation of people is the cause of economic and social development.

The paradigm of David Apter (1968) provides four characteristics in his definition of development and they are:

1. Differentiation (i.e., increasing specialization of their role and integration),
2. Stability (i.e., capacity to make decision, that solves the problems without major disruption),
3. Choice (i.e., increasing capacity to innovate & to be flexible), and
4. Emulation (i.e., imitation of foreign models, especially industrial society).

A similar model of Mehta (1984) also describes indicators of development at various levels as below:

1. Individual level: possession of material objects by the individual, families, public laboratories, construction of new houses etc.
2. Community level: mobility of group or individual in social hierarchy, standard of living of people and increased employment opportunities,
3. Societal level: economic growth, industrialization, urbanization, literacy rate, status and health status.

There has a lot been written on the economic face of development without the assurance of putting the improved GNP and GDP figures back on human development. The objective of the research was to discuss the proclaimed improved agricultural methods and their relevance with the farmers' community. The failure of improved agriculture especially the Green

Revolution technologies is portrayed by UNECA (2003) that "it should be noted that the designers of the Green Revolution did not address the issue of malnutrition. They concentrated on one or two crops - rice, wheat or maize. They overlooked the need for a complimentary crop for a balanced diet. The second short coming of the Green Revolution was that the designers overlooked the impact of high levels of fertilizer inputs for rice on the soil structure, and eventually on the ecosystem. In this regard, they focused on irrigated rice, thus encouraging extensive use of the wetlands, which could create long term environmental adverse effects. However the CIMMYT group that bred the improved wheat and maize bred for the uplands which can use rain fed agriculture. The most significant socio-economic constraint that remained unchanged by the Green Revolution forces was the rapid population growth. If the rate of population pressure on the land remains unchecked, experience has shown that the impact of the Green Revolution can easily be eroded away by high populations. It is also argued that the possibility of rice technologies caused rich farmers to buy off poor ones and put them out of land, because poor farmers could not sustainably afford high inputs" [UNECA: 2003].

The same argument was raised by IFPRI (2002) in its report on Green Revolution states that "a revolution of this magnitude was bound to create some problems of its own. Critics charged that the Green Revolution resulted in environmental degradation and increased income inequality, inequitable asset distribution, and worsened absolute poverty. Some of these criticisms are valid and have been or still need to be addressed. But there is a tendency today to overstate the problems and to ignore the appropriate counterfactual situation: what would have been the magnitude of hunger and poverty without the yield increases of the Green Revolution and with the same population growth? The Green Revolution in Asia stimulated a large body of empirical literature on how agricultural technological change affects poor farmers. Critics of the Green Revolution argued that owners of large farms were the main adopters of the new technologies because of their better access to irrigation water, fertilizers, seeds, and credit. Small farmers were either unaffected or harmed because the Green Revolution resulted in lower product prices, higher input prices, and efforts by landlords to increase rents or force tenants off the land. Critics also argued that the Green Revolution encouraged unnecessary mechanization, thereby pushing down rural wages and employment. Although a number of village and household studies conducted soon after the release of Green Revolution technologies lent some support to early critics, more recent evidence shows mixed outcomes."

Having studied the intellectual work of scholars cited above that let the readers and practitioners of development understand that the promises of development approach have not been successful in order to bring the announced outcomes. The adverse effects of development paradigm are now being studied by various researchers in different aspects of social and cultural life. Likewise, Ashby (2003) is cited in edited works of Pound et al (2003) that "The change in concepts and approaches that is represented by 'research for development' is a crucial part of a larger societal process of rethinking several important relationships: between post-industrial, globalizing economies and stocks of natural capital; between human health and the environment; between our food systems and the flora and fauna, soil, water and air on which we depend; and, ultimately, the relationship between human society and nature. This shift in thinking is occurring because the capacity of global ecosystems to support current levels of human consumption of food and environmental goods and services is threatened at local, regional and global scales and has finally become a major political issue and a topic for headline news. Research for development is also part of a movement to promote broad and inclusive participation in determining the goals and direction of societal development".

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In many parts of the world, people have questioned the effectiveness of the non local ideas and technologies and so called "bottom-up" approaches of development that were not democratic in their nature. Meanwhile, a group of people commenced to work on studying indigenous knowledge systems to establish the centuries' old repertoire and its relationship with empowerment¹ of local populations and sustainable solutions to development. Many countries in the world are dealing with IKS on several levels, first as a mean for sustainable and self reliant development, second as an alternate source of overcoming the current problems arising out of applying non-local models of development, and third to preserve their own cultural individuality which has long been in question by the capitalist ethos. Peter Parkes did his research in Chitral district of NWFP province of Pakistan. Parkes (1999) in his study quotes Saifullah Jan "in those times (of Ayub Khan in the 1960s) the appointed (Basic Democracy) Members did good work for us. Yet some were still ignorant and mistaken. Their fault was this: outsiders were coming and taking our property, yet they did not

¹ Empowerment: The expansion of people's capacities and choices; the ability to exercise choice based on freedom from hunger, want and deprivation; and the opportunity to participate in, or endorse, decision-making that affects their lives.
<http://magnet.undp.org/policy/glossary.htm>

say a word against it. People took our trees, and they did not say a word. Because of that we now have serious problems. And with outsiders entering our valleys, our customs began to get weak, becoming mixed with theirs. With this mixing of customs, even our Members began to think: 'Perhaps our custom is wrong, since other people say it is bad!' Like that our customs became endangered, even until now" (Saifullah Jan in Parkes: 1996)

The argument that is presented here is basically to highlight the issue that since the independence, Pakistani society never implemented any model for development which preferred its own resources rather the planners only preferred the foreign models for development. The innovations in agricultural sectors though raised the agricultural yield but in the longer run disturbed the natural cycle of resources. Now it is clearly observed that lots of problems are hindering the agricultural development including soil and land erosion, soil compaction, effects of synthetic fertilizers, pesticides, fungicides and weedicides on human health as well as creating water pollution.

Keeping in view, the long quotable experience of the anthropologists with the rural communities, the present research strived to bring forth an important issue of research in the on-going debates on rural development in Pakistan. Pakistan has seen various phases in her agricultural development cycle with incessant and perpetual shifts in policy further bringing the upshots of not achieving the level of sustainability. Failures in heavily invested programs² and projects, fragmentation of rural population, rise of rural rifts, etc were the aftermaths after what has been done by previous political and military set ups to bring revolution in agricultural sector. Unfortunately, the most ignored area was the strengthening of research traditions to benefit the rural farmers willing to adopt newly evolved varieties and practices according to developmental needs of country. Appropriately deemed investments in the domain was severely lacked and resultantly lagged the farming community to arrogate the winning board. Most of the new experiments done in the agricultural research institutes were either restricted to the laboratories, or were a matter of disagreements among the planners at the national and provincial levels. Few of the new innovations made by the scientists were not cost effective. The said problems perplexed the scenario for the rural farmers and made them only thinking of ensuring their own survival. This phenomenon also raised dependency on the

agricultural imports that further put farmers out of the developmental priority.

The decade of 1960s was the crucial era of the world in which most of the global agricultures saw huge commercialization of the same. The governments and the people welcomed the newly evolved technologies in agriculture. An important reason among the others could have been the recent cessation of world war two that engulfed millions of precious human lives and unexplainable damages to all countries on the globe that definitely required lots of people regardless of their qualifications and interests to be involved in their respective nation reconstruction efforts and programs. It may be concluded, agriculture (that had been traditionally seen as an enterprise of large number of people and occupations working together) was under a challenging situation to sacrifice people allowing them to take their hands off and being shifted to other national reconstruction efforts. This element required the invention and innovation of new ideas and technologies to replace the farm labor to meet the food and nutritional necessities of the world. The aforesaid technologies were also adopted by Pakistan like other nations under the faith of getting the sustainability in agricultural yield and other related commercial benefits.

The adoption of both labor and land saving technologies brought initially encouraging results but later on the inconsistency in the technical aspects of the technologies was a big hurdle in bringing the results at grass roots. Ali (1978) says that mechanization of agriculture should be according to the material needs of community. Mechanization process should be guarantee non-disruption of the socio-cultural setup of a community. He is in favor of using Land Saving Technologies (chemicals) to be used in Pakistan not the Labor Saving Technologies (mechanical tools) which caused problems of rural urban migration and creation of a new class of land less and jobless peasants.

Heavy machinery was not subsidized by the governments; the purchase of tractors and threshers became matter of being sound in economic terms and largely remained to the clot of big feudal and land lords as endorsed by William's (1981) work on American agriculture. She says when "American agriculture became capital intensive it had an adverse impact on small farmers who were unable to buy the technology, because, they did not have the resources to buy and adopt that technology" (William: 1981).

The same argument was rectified by Erasmus (1976) also found out through extensive endeavors made upon farmers' tendency towards adopting modern and improved cultivation methods. Erasmus says "that farmers appear to be more receptive to improved cultivation practices, when they are being materially aided in other ways, e.g. by the distribution of seeds and tools at cheap costs" (Erasmus: 1976).

² Program; Descriptive notice of series of events, including an indication of the intended proceedings. In these guidelines, the term is used for an undertaking structured around a defined *objective*, usually consisting of a number of projects.

http://www.fao.org/documents/show_cdr.asp?url_file=/docrep/W8440e/W8440e30.htm

The author also points out that the same hold true for irrigation projects. The farmers are more open to cooperation with extension agents if they receive some kind of material aid. Under such circumstances, they are much more willing to accept new and improved plant species, new cultivation practices and cooperative work tasks.

This course of events also stimulated another class namely the “middlemen” who just got hold on the technical equipments and consequently raised the dependency of small farmers on these for further leftover exploitation. It was due to these policies without checks and balances that the fragmented Pakistani rural society undergone breakage in group solidarities; increased reliance on the cities, and emergence of new power elites, etc. This whole scenario led to the maximization of assets by wealthy, politically influential and resourceful people in the rural areas.

In fact, common to all issues is what Prawl (1969) has mentioned about the planners, policy makers and the administrators’ perception about the farming community and the farmers. He opined that the bureaucratic set up wrongly understands these farmers. Prawl says that these people see farmers as “Farmers are ultra-conservative individuals, stepped in tradition, hemmed in by custom, lacking in motivation and incentive, captives of age-old methods, and lacking in ability to make decisions” (Prawl : 1969).

Many people in the communities still believe that the farming community is not active society rather they are the ones strictly relying on the fate and luck without having faith in one’s efforts to change the fate. One of the scholars’ schools that believed the same is Alatas who has emphasized that the anthropological studies have by now firmly established that “Farmers have all these years been wrongly characterized as lazy, conservative, bound up by traditions and superstitions. Such characterization has been and continues to be helpful only to planners and administrators they are absolved from responsibilities for the project failures” (Alatas: 1976).

It is often felt essential that the development agencies are found complaining about behaviors of rural people as being conservative and lethargic. Whereas, they forget that rural people have got their own understanding of the world and their own unique patterns of worldly dealings. All that is needed is the willingness of the developmental agencies to give worth and importance to the views of the local people.

Dube (1995) in his book states “The naiveté of the earlier developmental strategy is now apparent and the Third World is left with the sober realization that the process of development is infinitely complex and involves a wide range of interpenetrating variables. Development is not a simple matter of making calculated inputs to raise the output to the desired level. The transfer of technology bristles with difficulties: the

transfer of institutions, even if desirable, is almost impossible to accomplish. The adaptation of technology is a time-consuming process that needs patient innovation involving a great deal of trial and error. The institutional and motivational frameworks, propitious for development, pose a series of puzzling paradoxes and baffling problems. Countless alibis for failure can be offered, but they are at best a poor consolation, for they do not illuminate the path to attainable progress in a predictable period of time. It is essential now to look retrospectively on the causes of the failure of the western paradigm for development and prospectively to viable alternatives. This task involves serious rethinking of the concept of development itself as well as of its strategies. In this respect, De Silva, et al, (1988) in argues that “the process of economic growth as it has been unfolding in the past quarter century has multiplied the problems of both the industrialized and the Third World countries, as well as those of individuals within each group. In both groups of countries the creativity and potential of people is unlimited, yet life lacks fullness, resources continue to be misused and major social and political contradictions remain unresolved” (De Silva: 1998).

If the quotation given above is critically examined with the current scenario, one would agree that the policy makers and decision takers are not either aware of the ground realities due to which there lies a big gap between the theory that is policy and its practice that is its practicalities in the rural areas or simply they overlook it. Biggest dilemma is that huge programs were designed to bring structural and system changes in the country but the result was not the one as perceived. The lack of political will is another challenge which is faced by the people of Pakistan. It was the environment in which people of Pakistan were made dependent on foreign nations regarding the new ideas, innovation, models of development, and even the dress styles.

While studying the right direction pertaining to the developing countries in South Asia De Silva has appropriately found out the real issues faced to the population of the developing countries. He et al (1988) further states “by borrowing foreign technology, the growth of appropriate local technology was smothered; as a result, the developing nations neglected to foster their own research capabilities and innovativeness, perpetuating a dependent relationship. The very character of development, however, ensured a grossly unequal distribution of the benefits and the disparity grew enormously per cent since 1960, this growth has been very unequally distributed among countries, regions within countries and socio-economic groups” (De Silva: 1988).

This was a feeling that remained with me throughout during the research that people who are requested to talk on their own resources and

technologies were pretending that they were not satisfied with the national talent. The examples quoted by them were mostly from Europe, USA and UK. Otherwise, within South Asia, India and Bangladesh were the countries given priorities. As a matter of fact, people mostly in the policy framing side and higher officials were unhappy with my topic of research. I sought help from the paradigm of Wignaraja as stated below. He et al, (1998) says "ideas regarding the up-gradation of indigenous knowledge and technology, organization and the conceptualizing of experience could be provided by Participatory Action Researchers. These action researchers would be a new breed of "organic intellectuals". They would be identified and absorbed in the culture and knowledge system of the people and also be equipped with scientific training. Such researchers, while engaged in the struggle alongside the people, would be interacting with their creative ideas and knowledge and at the same time helping to conceptualize the results of their collective social, political and productive efforts. Finally, Participatory Action Research could help rediscover folk literature and use it to reconstruct a sense of community identity. Such consciousness could reinforce the contemporary creative quest of the community" (Wignaraja, 1998).

The objective behind the current research to compile few words in order to at least commence the debate of whether or not the local traditional knowledge should be consulted in order to seek sustainability in the developmental efforts. The effort was to explore the possibilities to study the impacts of modern technology on the natural resource base as well as on the human life. We agree with Wignaraja and his colleagues regarding their assumption but further intended to add that this proved to be a very laborious for me to work on the same lines as proposed by him.

III. MATERIALS AND METHODS

a) *Locale*

The current study was conducted in the Union Council of Sacha Soda in the Tehsil and district of Sheikhpura district of the Punjab province. The life of this Union Council is characterised by big political players who acted as middlemen in the local power structure.

The village is located on the main Lahore to Sargodha road not being far way from Sheikhpura city and nearby town of Farooqabad. The village is under transition and very much in contact with the urban areas and thus new innovative ideas from all over. In recent years, the village also experienced planned changes from the government of the Punjab that included Second Scarp Transition Project (SSTP), Water Management Program (WMP). In addition, a permanent Adaptive Research Project of Agriculture Department is located within the village. The village is also politically

active and also contains local factions which are influential and play an important role in the social and cultural life. The village's rich farmers are more prone to adopt the modern agricultural technology to enhance their capitalistic interests whereas the middle class farmers mostly use a mix of modern and traditional farming methods. The lower quartile mostly prefers their conventional methods of farming.

b) *Location*

Sheikhpura District lies roughly between North latitudes 31.0 degree and 32.5 degree and East longitudes 73.5 and 74.42 degree. Its shape is roughly that of trapezoid with a triangular off-shoot to the west from the Southwest corner. The village Sacha Soda is 18 km from Sheikhpura city towards North West.

c) *Methods*

Data collection was done through the exploratory method while using main techniques of participant observation, in-depth interviews, and key informants.

IV. RESULTS

a) *Reduction in Soil Fertility*

Farmers refer that use of fertilizers for few initial years enhanced the fertility. It was observed later on that soil's natural fertility level was reduced. Whereas this factor raised a situation in which there was a constant demand for more and more synthetic fertilizers for gaining profits out the sown crops. Farmers cited that constant use of artificial fertilizer, together with a lack of crop rotation, reduces the soil's fertility year by year due to which land is facing huge problems as it is losing its fertility and thus becoming barren. As the population in a particular area increased, more of the land had to be cultivated for longer periods to satisfy the peoples' needs. The response sought from the respondents was mainly due to different reason responsible for decline in soil fertility. People opined that increasing pressure of population laid stress on the natural resources for producing more, second, the inclination towards commercialization of crops boasted the utilization of chemical technology for increasing fertility of the land, pesticide and weedicides etc were the ones due to which land's fertility was disturbed and the farmer thus caught in a web where they had to rely heavily on the artificial sources of increasing soil fertility. The danger came when the number of people depending on a particular area of land (the population pressure) became too great for the carrying capacity of that land using existing technology. This fact has further been reinforced by the research findings of Bennett (1939), who had an immense effect on the huge problem of soil exhaustion and erosion in the United States in the 1930s, has described the same process occurring down the ages and throughout the world.

b) Incompatible Fertilizers

Farmers state that agriculture department especially the extension staff advocates for the HYVs for more yield on the average. HYVs demand huge amount of water for irrigation and also high quantity of artificial fertilizers are required for bringing in the required results, instead of by maintaining the natural fertility of the soil.

c) Nitrate³ run-off

As per the direction of extension staff, nitrate is used which is contained in the fertilizers. After the use, half of the nitrate in the artificial fertilizer used on crops was dissolved by rain. The dissolved nitrate runs off the fields to contaminate water courses. Farmers' community referred that they had witnessed a change in the taste of drinking water due to which they felt that water is not satisfying the thirst. It was rather found to be more toxic for the skins of both human and animals. Another problem was the water being less effective during cloth wash and also changing the hair color of the people and causing baldness among the people. The farmers told that the agriculture department conducted the experiments on several samples of water taken from all corners of the village and their staff told that the negative effects are being observed in the lives of the farmers.

d) Soil Erosion

The agriculture department pleaded for deep tilling as it was thought that deep plough always enhances the yield. The farmers shared that while going after the recommendations, they observed that recommended yield was not achieved which was shared with the staff who visited the village occasionally but they kept on telling farmers that something else might have gone wrong instead of going after real reasons and testing that why newly referred methodology did not produce its anticipated results. The agriculture department proclaimed that repeated deep ploughing was used to turn over the ground, heavy rains can carry away topsoil and leave ground useless for cultivation. The farmer community felt aggrieved when they started going after recommendations of agriculture department. It was reported that "What else we had in our hands. The pressing economic burdens misguided us to go and change our farming methods under the advices given by agricultural extension staff in the mere hopes of economic gains but there was even a deficiency in the previous one. Nobody from the government came to see the agony".

³ Nitrates: A salt of nitric acid. Potassium nitrate or sodium nitrate used as fertilizers produces nitrates that, if in overabundance, can leach out of the soil into crops and into water supplies or adjacent streams. http://www.ebfarm.com/Organic/Glossary.aspx#C_glossary

e) Soil Compaction

This was a hidden problem that remained out of notice for so many years but sudden discovery of this problem created a bewildered set of responses from farmer community. The areas that were heavily and intensively farmed usually saw a series of problems of Soil Compaction as there was damage to the soil structure. Whereas, conventional tillage involved a tractor passing over land six or seven times, and wheeling can cover up to 90 per cent of a field. Even a single tractor pass can compress the surface enough to reduce porosity of soil by 70 per cent, increasing surface run-off and, therefore, water erosion. In worst cases, surface run-off approached 100 percent and irrigation water did not penetrate the surface. It was observed by the farmers that animal drawn plough was disappeared largely because of tractors; even individual owners provided services due to which farmers opted for mechanical traction. The villagers cited their practical observations while tilling fields that wheels of this heavy machine were pressing soil hard. Later on, upon irrigation, water could not be absorbed by land rather it only evaporated under sun.

f) Threats to Indigenous Seeds, Animal Breeds and other Species

The elders of village told that various local breeds of animals including horses, cows, buffaloes, goats and chicken were completely replaced by the new breeds that were not native. Many native animal breeds are extinct out of which farmers cited various forms of wild life especially jackals and snakes that were totally vanished from scene. The same holds true for many indigenous plant varieties which have disappeared within space of one generation.

g) Habitat Destruction

The wild animals and plants which were once a common sight around farms are deprived of their natural habitat and die out. Mostly the animals were seen in concrete shades without an opportunity to interact with natural habitat. It was also observed during my visits to interact with owners of the goat farms or buffalo farms where animals had no chances of remaining in natural environment. Similarly, milk giving animals were treated with machines. The owners were also concerned that though modern milk blowing practices have saved much time but it is not natural due to which damages are commonly seen in a shape of physical hurts among animals.

h) Contaminated Food

The farmers also cited food items contamination and its residual effects after the crop harvest. Both plant and animal products were told to leave the farm contaminated with the chemicals that were used to produce it. A lot of diseases were now reported to be the result of chemicals in agriculture. For

example, the DDT which has been proved for cancer causing, damage to liver, nerve, brain, extremely persistent, toxic to wildlife. Another example of contamination is Aldrin/Dieldrin/Endrin that is allegedly causing cancer suspect, birth defects, very persistent, and toxic to wildlife. Similarly, the use of chemical pesticides was also known to eliminate the natural enemies of crop pest. In same way, different food items were found to be containing remnants of chemicals being used on them. For instance, Potatoes are tested to be carriers of DDT. Onions carried toxic effects of DDT. Cucumber carry Methamidophos, Endosulfan, similarly, cauliflowers were the carriers of Methamidophos, Endosulfan, etc.

i) Destruction of Traditional Knowledge Systems and Cultural Traditions

Farmers and other followers of rural indigenous knowledge and traditions (both agricultural and non-agricultural) were invariably connected to agriculture and agricultural systems. The new technologies undermined the confidence of traditional farmers in their own abilities and in value of their traditional knowledge. It disintegrated farming communities, impoverished social life of millions of farmers and raised social alienation. The same technologies under promise of bringing prosperity to farming community brought intermingled effects of rural-urban migration, rural depopulation and loss of socio-ecological balance, etc.

j) Control of Agriculture Inputs and Food Distribution Channel

The role of middlemen was also very much visible in rural Punjab since advent of modern agricultural techniques. It is beyond doubt that running business of agro-chemicals is a matter of putting millions of Rupees which these middlemen without any practical experience in agriculture invested to gain three times more benefits. These middlemen clout employed agricultural graduates and engaged them in selling products of their companies for profit margin. The marketing staff was only concerned about selling products and thus making profit without any concerns what so ever for farmer community. I found quiet a few marketing staff while celebrating that they sold medicines to farmers without any prior experience of dealing with a specific disease of the crops. It can safely be concluded that supply and trading in agricultural inputs and produce is in hands of a few large corporations. This threatens food security, reducing leverage and importance of first and the last part of supply chain of farmer and consumer.

k) Threat to individual farmers

In first instance, the mechanization and chemicalization of agriculture was not a matter of small scale farmers. The later experience of small farmers also proved that only rich farmers can adopt improved and modern technologies. The farmers reported that

economically they were not in a position to buy and adopt expensive sprays and fertilizers. In other specimens, small scale farmers had to take loans to adopt new methods of farming which later on did not match with their socio-economic conditions. Thus instead of poverty level going down rose with increased dependence on costly external farm inputs and credit which proved to be infeasible and unsustainable. The adoption of new technologies changed life styles of farmers without fulfilling promises of prosperity and sustainability in life of rural population in the Punjab.

l) Financial Constraints of Subsistence Level Farmers

Shortage of capital is a widespread constraint among subsistence level farmers of village. Traditional subsistence very much manipulating in the sense these people provide fertilizers, pesticides and weedicides on installments that is payable after harvest of crop which even multiply economic burdens of farmers because they in this way lessen their profit margin to spend in their other family, brethren and cultivators invest little capital in their farms simply because they cannot afford buying expensive modern farming methods. In this regard, the role of middlemen available in nearby markets was social commitments. Typically, possessions of small scale farmers comprise traditional tools, and some livestock. Big landowners who are wealthier have a considerable amount of capital tied up in livestock. There appears to be an increasing trend to purchase livestock with any profits from crop sales (Haswell 1975; Norman et al. 1981). The importance of livestock for these subsistence level farmers is like an additional benefit in terms of being a source of Milk, butter, village level business (by selling the breed of their animal) in case of an emergency can always be sold to earn a small to medium amount of ready money, animal power for plowing and manure for land (Delgado 1978).

With increased modernization and commercial production for the market, gradually demanded more inputs such as fertilizers, crop-protection chemicals, and machinery, but capital investments for fencing, water supplies, and so forth tend to remain minimal for all but wealthiest farmers. In many areas, poorer farmers may be so short of money that they are forced to sell a substantial proportion of crops such as groundnuts soon after harvest, when prices are often low, to obtain cash, and then to buy food or seed when they become short later in the season at much higher prices. In general, it appears that farmers are more willing to apply inputs such as fertilizers or insecticides if they are provided on credit, the cost being deducted when the crop is sold, but Eicher and Baker (1982) have questioned the real need for credit in many situations.

m) Non Suitability of Modern Agricultural Machinery

This understanding was acknowledged thoroughly in my field that farmers of the village had good understandings of agriculture practices but they were always robbed off by the “Lambi Zaban”⁴ (allegedly the marketing staff of agricultural products’ selling companies), who promised incredible results and dreams coming true. “It never happened in my sixty years of life” said one respondent. He quoted that few years back when there was large hue and cry for promotion of Combine harvesters (a composite agricultural unit serving many purposes from sowing seeding, harvesting crop, threshing grain, bagging yields, substituting for hundred farm laborers, etc). The machine was failed because of undeniable reason which “Sahib Log” did not accept. He analyzed and gave four main reasons for the failure of combined harvester in the area:

1. Firstly, that mostly people are having small tracts of land meeting only their subsistence. The machine was not successful in small farms because of rent and fuel it consumed during the service. It merely lowered the share of profit to farmers and actually went to owner of combined harvester.
2. Secondly, that during threshing, wheat seeds were badly damaged due to which they were not able to serve purpose of next season crop’s seeds.
3. Thirdly, the stalk of crop that was also an asset for farmers because of two reasons, i.e., fodder for cattle and burning in fields as fertilizer because stalk was severely damages through machine use that instead of its being turned in straw, it was damaged in a powder form that did not serve both purposes.
4. Fourthly the social cost of the machines that put hundred people out of farm and further pushing them to cities for seeking employment or making them sit idly doing politics and fighting with fellow young men.

He cited an example of adjacent district of Hafizabad where combined harvester was successful because it was a city of big land owners and feudal having two to three thousand of acres of land on the average. “The machine was for big land holdings” said Mr. A.D but officials of agricultural department refused to accept. They kept on blaming us as somebody resistant of new technologies and thus change. “You do the justice which is wrong and who is right” he left the decision on me.

Another view regarding modern pesticides and fertilizers was also shared by respondents in village. They said to make farmers ready to accept attractive offers, companies dealing in modern sprays adopted different methods of attracting farmers through gift schemes, etc. The comparison made by respondents

was that precondition of promised high yield was need for massive doses of synthetic fertilizers and agro-chemicals which were too expensive and environmentally destructive, both at production as well as consumption stages. One respondent quoted a research which highlighted that “chemical fertilizers poison micro-and macro-organism in soil, these cause diseases and pests in plants and indirectly affecting the health of the farm animals and human beings. Any chemical fertilizer not absorbed by plants may increase the percentage of particular chemical in the soil and may eventually make the soil infertile. Chemical fertilizers particularly nitrogen and phosphorous caused leaching of nutrients from the soil,so they decreased the soil fertility in the longer run”. He also quoted his discussion with one agricultural scientist that if chemical fertilizer was used once, it had to be used every year in order to maintain a high yield. If chemical fertilizers were not used in consequent years, production goes down even below the original yield.

V. DISCUSSION

In many parts of the current day world, people have questioned the effectiveness of the western ideas and technologies and “bottom-up” approaches to development that were not democratic in their nature. We see that people have commenced to work on their indigenous knowledge systems to develop their centuries’ old repertoire to benefit their communities and nations. Almost all developed countries in the world are dealing with IKS on several levels, first as means for sustainable and self reliant development, second as an alternate source of bringing self reliance, third to preserve their own cultural individuality which has long been threatened by the capitalist ethos. The present status of IK is that these forms of knowledge have been suppressed because of the new innovations being introduced in the local communities promising high performance, increased inefficiency, facilities and leisure in life. This finding holds true of itself when applied to the policy level.

The situation on ground seems a bit different as most of the rural population is either not capable of adopting the new technologies as these are expensive or they adopt them in a competition against the fellows in villages. Therefore, IKS may be brought into the mainstream of knowledge in order to establish its place within the larger body of knowledge. There is still a need to discuss that revitalization of IK would be in holistic approach to cover both its economic and non-economic aspects. Applied researches are also required to explore IKS, and should be carried out with the participation of the communities that once practiced its unique cultural heritage.

It is worth noting that the scholars especially the Anthropologists have thoroughly worked and analyzed the failures of the development that is to put

⁴ literally means “big mouth”

into practice from just a profit maximization view point. The current debate of development practices in the Punjab also presents the case of big failures in setting the urgencies regarding a sustainable rural development especially sustainable agriculture. Similarly, the whole world nations are now desperately looking for having a sustainable agriculture which lessens burdens from the ever decreasing natural resources. The development has been described as a process of change by which people who, in a certain social and ecological milieu and at a given historical; movement, while seeking their liberation, transforms their structure of "production" establish new social relationships, set up appropriate political and administrative institutions for themselves and redefine their own culture in order to achieve a better existence.

Rural Development is essential for accelerating Economic Growth, boosting agriculture and non-farm sectors productivity, expanding the coverage of social, economic and community services, building the capacity of rural institutions and improving rural infrastructure. Pakistan like other developing countries also faces many problems of rural development, particularly inequality of assets' ownership, physical and financial resources, vulnerability to shocks and poor governance which are the root causes of under-development, low level of agricultural productivity and rural poverty.

The common problems and issues faced by different rural areas with variation in magnitude and intensity can be categorized as low education, low income, high population growth rate, poor infrastructure i.e. education, health and other institutions (school, colleges and health centers etc), poor communications i.e. telephone network, roads transport etc., rigidity in attitude and poor organizational and managerial capabilities. Keeping in view the discussion in the previous pages there is a need for consulting the society's once used and needs fulfilling IKS to be revived and allowing it to be the long term remedy in terms of sustainable development

VI. CONCLUSION

The survey of relevant literature and primary data from the research locale qualifies and persuades that today the indigenous knowledge systems are at risk of becoming extinct because of the natural environments being altered and economic, political, and cultural changes occurring in the world due to new approaches being testified. The new approaches require a new mode of responses from the people who put them in to practice thus making the local practices disappear simply because that they then become hurdles for the new innovations. There is another issue involved that these new approaches often term the local and traditional methods as low in productivity and being

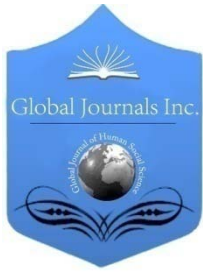
innately slow to adjust with new scenario. What we can see is that introduction to new methods and techniques also ask round the people to abandon the older ones due to which the local methods swiftly get obsolete. I believe that IKS is not only a recipe for the people of a specific place rather it is a uniqueness of a particular culture that makes the people different from other which in my view is the beauty of world cultures. Indigenous knowledge is not yet fully utilized in the on-going development process in the Punjab. One can only see conventional approaches imply that development processes always require technology transfers from locations that are perceived as more advanced. This has led often to overlooking the potential in local experiences and practices.

Pakistan has seen various phases in her agricultural development cycle with incessant and perpetual shifts in policy further bringing the upshots of not achieving the level of sustainability. Failures in heavily invested programs and projects, fragmentation of rural population, rise of rural rifts, etc were the aftermaths after what has been done by previous political and military set ups to bring revolution in agricultural sector. Unfortunately, the most ignored area was the strengthening of research traditions to benefit the rural farmers willing to adopt newly evolved varieties and practices according to developmental needs of country. Appropriately deemed investments in the domain was severely lacked and resultantly lagged the farming community to arrogate the winning board. Most of the new experiments done in the agricultural research institutes were either restricted to the laboratories, or were a matter of disagreements among the planners at the national and provincial levels. Few of the new innovations made by the scientists were not cost effective. The said problems perplexed the scenario for the rural farmers and made them only thinking of ensuring their own survival. This phenomenon also raised dependency on the agricultural imports that further put farmers out of the developmental priority.

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Land Prices and Negotiation Patterns in Coffee Economy: Region of Ribeirão Preto between 1874 and 1899

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Abstract- This article had the purpose to analyze the rural land valorization of a major Brazilian city in coffee production in the period of expansion of coffee production into the northeast of São Paulo state at the end of the 19th century. In this research, we aimed to understand the value of the lands and the impact of land improvements and of coffee plantations on the prices of rural lands.

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Land Prices and Negotiation Patterns in Coffee Economy: Region of Ribeirão Preto between 1874 and 1899

Jorge Henrique Caldeira de Oliveira^α, Iliane Jesuína da Silva^σ & Lélío Luiz De Oliveira^ρ

Abstract- This article had the purpose to analyze the rural land valorization of a major Brazilian city in coffee production in the period of expansion of coffee production into the northeast of São Paulo state at the end of the 19th century. In this research, we aimed to understand the value of the lands and the impact of land improvements and of coffee plantations on the prices of rural lands.

Keywords: economic history, coffee, land market.

I. INTRODUCTION

Coffee economy had fundamental importance to the Brazil's economic history during the 19th and 20th centuries. Ribeirão Preto, a city in the Northeast of São Paulo state, became one of the major producers of the precious rubiaceae at the end of the 1800s. Only a few studies approached the history of Ribeirão Preto in the last quarter of the 19th century, especially concerning economy and the effects of coffee plantations on the real state market. This motivated the search for data about the economic history in this period.

The objective of this work was to understand the impact of this drastic economic change (from subsistence to agro-export economy) in Brazilian lands. It can be said that this issue has not been fully explored, mainly in South America, since there are no studies that cover valorization of lands and rural negotiations over a period of time. Land valorization is expected in any rural area that undergoes drastic changes by becoming an exporter. Nevertheless, some questions have been raised: What is the magnitude of land valorization? What is the difference in the valorization of lands with and without coffee plantations? What value was aggregated to these cultivated lands? In addition to these questions, the focus is to understand the negotiation patterns of this environment subjected to profound changes.

The novel and primary data source for this study was a total of 3.600 land registry deeds of purchase and sale collected from the 1st Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto, among which 1.501 were selected because they were local rural real state deeds and 747 had records of the property size.

The study begins in 1874, which is date of the first data records and also because this is the period

when coffee started growing in local soils. It ends in 1899, period immediately before the onset of the problem with the super production of coffee, between 1900 and 1905. During the period covered in this study, 26 years, the local landscape changed considerably since the region economy changed from a subsistence economy focused on cattle breeding to a coffee agro-export economy integrating immigrant labor.

Besides this introduction, this article is divided into four other sections. The following section discusses the impact of the coffee "rush" upon the rural real state market identifying the investment variation, year-to-year for example. Section 3 presents the results of valorization of cultivated and non-cultivated lands focusing on relevant issues. Section 4 presents a classification of the lands according to size or business value identifying some patterns in the local rural area. The last section presents the final considerations and summarizes the findings of the study.

II. THE COFFEE "RUSH"

The last quarter of the 19th century was marked by rural business transactions in Ribeirão Preto. The goal of this section is to verify the changes in several local real state market indicators. The influence of coffee is evident since the acquisition of farmland for coffee cultivation increased, especially by people from other regions. Quoting Luís Pereira Barreto from Terra Roxa, "those from São Paulo state, in general, have no idea of how much their lands is been debated in other regions (...)"¹; this book originated a number of articles focusing on the so called "Terra Roxa" (red land) from western São Paulo state.

In his first study, published in the newspaper "A Província de São Paulo" in 1874, the author expressed enthusiasm for the western region of the state, and "Terra Roxa" proved highly productive.

The mark of changes in the rural landscape of Ribeirão Preto is the first land acquisition by this very author in June 24th, 1876. The value of the land was 30 contos de réis (Brazilian currency at that time), surpassing the biggest negotiations since 1874, i.e, the beginning of the period studied¹.

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¹ Luís Pereira Barreto, *A Província de São Paulo*, 12/02/1874.

Over the period studied, 1874-1876, the average value of the business transactions reached 1.6 conto de réis. The land registry deed of this transaction did not specify the size of the land (in alqueire), but the land already included the following improvements: 2 two-story houses, barns, manual sugarcane mills, fences, pen (enclosure), 6 alqueires of corn, and 50 pigs².

This purchase reflected the enthusiasm present in his newspaper articles, in the states of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, and marked the beginning of a new era of changes in Ribeirão Preto.

In the same year, six months later, another member of his family purchased lands in Ribeirão Preto. On December 28th, 1876, Augusto César Pereira Barreto purchased lands from Antonio Baptista dos Santos and others for 14.4 contos de réis, the biggest negotiation in the period 1874-1876. This property had 180 alqueires, and it was a simultaneous negotiation with several local sellers or real state agents.

Among the improvements of the farm, there were pigs, 2 tile-roofed houses, a monjolo, a cultivated area, pasture, and corn plantation, i.e. typical subsistence activities and structure³.

The business negotiations grew exponentially. In 1874 there were 16 land registry deeds and only four years later this figure had increased up to 83 registry

deeds. Nevertheless, the first of the two negotiation period peaks was in 1885, probably due to the arrival of the railroad Companhia Mogiana de Estradas de Ferro. That year accounted for the highest number of business negotiations before the arrival of the immigrants to Brazil with 117 registry deeds. After this peak, it was only in 1890 that the number of negotiations was as high, 125 registry deeds.

The increase of the values of negotiations in the deeds is shown in table 1 (real values). In 1874, the total value negotiated was 15.94 contos de réis. In the following year, the value doubled reaching 31.80 contos de réis. In 1885, the values summed up 400 contos, that is, 25 times more than what was reached in 1874.

The tendency towards growth in business volume in that period was strong. Concerning real values, the highest negotiated sum occurred in 1890 totalizing 2.318 contos de réis. This increase can be seen as the proxy of the transformations that the region was undergoing.

The region of Ribeirão Preto had an expressive demographic economic growth (MILLIET, 1982; PIRES, 1997). This drastic change transformed the landscape from small areas cultivated with corn, rice, subsistence cattle breeding farms, and small coffee plantations into a great "green wave" of coffee.

Table 1: Total and average values of rural transactions in contos de réis a (1874-99).

Year	# of deeds	Real value	Average value	Year	# of deeds	Real value	Average value
1874	16	15,94	0,99	1887	90	1.011,57	11,23
1875	29	31,80	1,09	1888	65	255,20	3,92
1876	32	88,39	2,76	1889	81	1.030,67	12,72
1877	29	85,05	2,93	1890	123	2.318,66	18,85
1878	83	235,94	2,84	1891	74	1.485,69	20,07
1879	48	107,01	2,22	1892	46	381,09	8,28
1880	49	310,19	6,33	1893	52	530,96	10,21
1881	33	55,65	1,68	1894	71	371,27	5,23
1882	28	74,97	2,67	1895	69	2.075,06	30,07
1883	28	46,28	1,65	1896	91	1.466,62	16,11
1884	55	237,15	4,31	1897	54	1.082,33	20,04
1885	117	400,76	3,42	1898	41	696,98	16,99
1886	78	264,60	3,39	1899	19	176,67	9,29

a - the data in shown in this table and the results of this study were deflated based on the year 1874 through Catão, L. A. V. index, *A new wholesale price index for Brazil during the period 1870-1913*, *Revista Brasileira de Economia (Brazilian Journal of Economy)*: Rio de Janeiro, Oct./Dec. 1992, p. 530.

Despite the tendency of growth during the period studied, there were four boom periods in the rural real state market of Ribeirão Preto indicating a business cyclic behavior. The first boom occurred between 1878 and 1880. As of 1874, the effect of advertisement on the

quality of terra roxa (red land), adequate for coffee, run through articles of Martinho Prado Júnior, Luís Pereira Barreto and others reflected clearly in the rural real state market. The values negotiated during this three-year period summed 653.14 contos de réis, which is way higher than that of the three-year period before and after, which summed 205.14 and 176.90 contos de réis, respectively.

The second boom was a longer growth cycle period, four years, and started in 1884. In this four-year

^{1st} Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto, Book # 4, deed # 88.

³ Cartório do 1º Ofício de Ribeirão Preto, *Livro nº 4*, escritura nº 88. 1st Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto, Book # 4, deed # 88.

1st Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto, Book # 7, deed # 125.

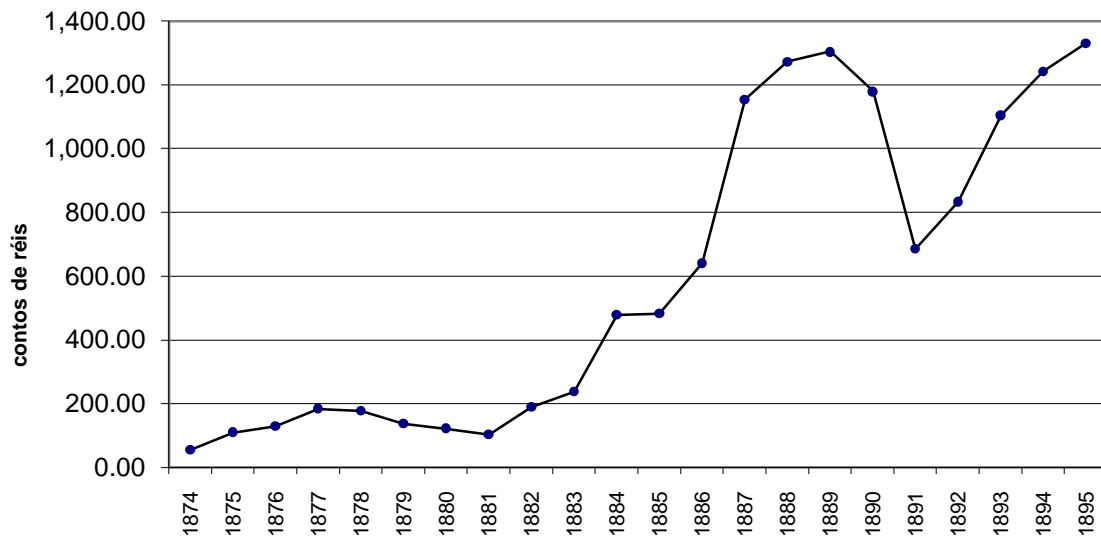
higher than that of the three-year period before and after, which summed 205.14 and 176.90 contos de réis, respectively.

The second boom was a longer growth cycle period, four years, and started in 1884. In this four-year period there was a total value of negotiations of 1.914 contos de réis. Besides the favorable market, the arrival of the railroad in 1883 is the most probable reason to explain the new phase of business expansion (HOLLOWAY, 1984; LAGES, 1996). The arrival of the railroad Companhia Mogiana promoted a new business dynamics in Ribeirão Preto. The easy transport of coffee and people aggregated to other local advantages such as terra roxa. In 1888 the cycle was interrupted due to institutional changes such as abolition of slavery and politics (TREVISAN, 2004).

The third period of increased business number and values occurred between 1889 and 1891 and lasted

three years. During this three-year period, the total value of negotiation was 4.835 contos de réis. This cycle benefited from the arrival of immigrants to work on coffee plantations, the solution to the problem of labor, and from “favorable winds” of the economy under the effect of encilhamento (PRADO JÚNIOR, 1961 and 1976). Thus, the total values negotiated in the rural transactions were high until 1891, when it started to decrease.

The last period of growth was from 1895 to 1897. The total deflated values for this three-year period were practically identical to the three-year period of the third boom. It is clear in table 1 that despite the four periods of quick cyclic expansion of this economic activity, whenever a cycle ended the values negotiated did not decrease to their last position, but instead lay in a higher position indicating a tendency of growth, as shown in graph 1.



Note: * Moving average with four entries

Source: Primary data. Land registry deeds collected from the 1st Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto.

Graph 1 : Tendency Of Growth Of The Volume Of Rural Business In Ribeirão Preto (1874-1899)⁴

III. THE VALUE OF THE LANDS

Not only did the value of real state transactions increase considerably, but also there was a strong land valorization. The valorization of the land alqueire

highlighted the changes in the rural environment in Ribeirão Preto. As it can be seen in table 2, the average alqueire value was 31\$037 in 1874, and it increased over 100% reaching 71\$817 six years later, in 1880.

Table 2 : Real aggregated value of alqueire – with coffee plantations, improvements, and “naked lands”; total area transacted – in Ribeirão Preto, in réis (1874-98)⁴

Year	# of deeds	Real value	Year	# of deeds	Real value
1874	5	31\$300	1887	43	197\$700
1875	20	16\$044	1888	32	90\$541
1876	20	35\$810	1889	47	183\$635
1877	18	40\$870	1890	60	241\$193
1878	37	65\$553	1891	32	587\$773
1879	21	79\$592	1892	25	382\$173

⁴ To find these values, the total sum of the deeds were calculated year by year, indicating the property size in alqueires or hectares, and dividing these values by the sum of the values of the deeds. There were 748 land registry deeds with complete information on the area negotiated.

1880	22	71\$817	1893	24	952\$717
1881	20	54\$167	1894	33	754\$792
1882	16	74\$249	1895	32	1:425\$134
1883	13	46\$982	1896	39	2:238\$175
1884	27	67\$526	1897	29	1:610\$469
1885	73	163\$013	1898	22	1:302\$234
1886	30	86\$267	1899	7	387\$984

Source: Primary data. Land registry deeds collected from the 1st Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto.

That was only the beginning of an impressive growth. Until the beginning of 1890, the land prices doubled every five years, and as of 1891 it increased even more. From 1890 to 1891, the alqueire price increased from a little over 200 mil réis to 587.77 mil réis and kept increasing until it reached 2.23 contos de réis in 1896. The Brazilian encilhamento and the change to republican government allowed easier access to credit to land owners in the state of São Paulo (CASALECCHI, 1987; FAORO, 2001). From 1890 to 1891, the price per alqueire increased from 241 to 587 mil réis.

Considering that the continuous increase of the cultivated areas that started in 1870 would result in an excessive offer and consequent decrease of coffee prices in 1894, (decrease of 1/3 of its market value between 1895 and 1902), the expressive land valorization becomes even more interesting (BACELLAR & BRIOSCHI, 1999).

Although the data in Table 2 do not consider separately the improvements or areas already cultivated in the farmlands negotiated, it does make these data less valuable since it is still possible to verify the changes the rural region of Ribeirão Preto was undergoing at that time, probably as a consequence of the coffee plantations. The aggregate value of the farmlands risen from a little over 31 thousand réis per alqueire in 1874 to 2.23 contos per alqueire in 1896, more than 7.093,5 % percentage increase or a 71-fold increase.

In order to analyze the actual land price fluctuation, the farms with areas cultivated and

improvements were not taken into consideration. The coffee plantations, in particular, made this analysis difficult due to the valorization of the lands that produced rubiaceae distorting the analysis towards the land price. Hence, the analysis considers the value aggregated to the land, but separately.

Another analysis was conducted separating the rural businesses according to the characteristics registered and detailed in the registry deeds. Thus, it was possible to estimate the value of the lands in details and more accurately. The characteristics that determined disaggregation are: naked lands, improvements, and coffee plantations.

“Naked lands” were identified as those without any kind of improvement - such as houses, monjolo, and fences - or crops, either coffee or other ones. A total of 356 registry deeds of naked lands only which contained information on the land size were found.

“Coffee plantations” were identified in registry deeds of lands with a cultivated area with coffee plants regardless the amount cultivated. In the period between 1874 and 1899, a total of 42 deeds were found, among which only 22 contained information on the land size negotiated.

A total of 207 registry deeds of lands with coffee plantations and other improvements were found, among which 131 contained information on the size of the lands in alqueires.

Table 3 : Registry deeds of rural lands according to categories (1874-99)

Categories	Total		With information about the Area negotiated	
	Nº	%	Nº	%
Naked Land	800	53,3 %	356	47,7 %
Coffee Plantation	42	2,8 %	22	2,9 %
Improvements	452	30,1 %	238	31,9 %
and coffee plantation	207	13,8 %	131	17,5 %
Total	1.501	100,00 %	747	100,0 %

Source: primary data. Deeds of purchase and sale collected from the 1st Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto.

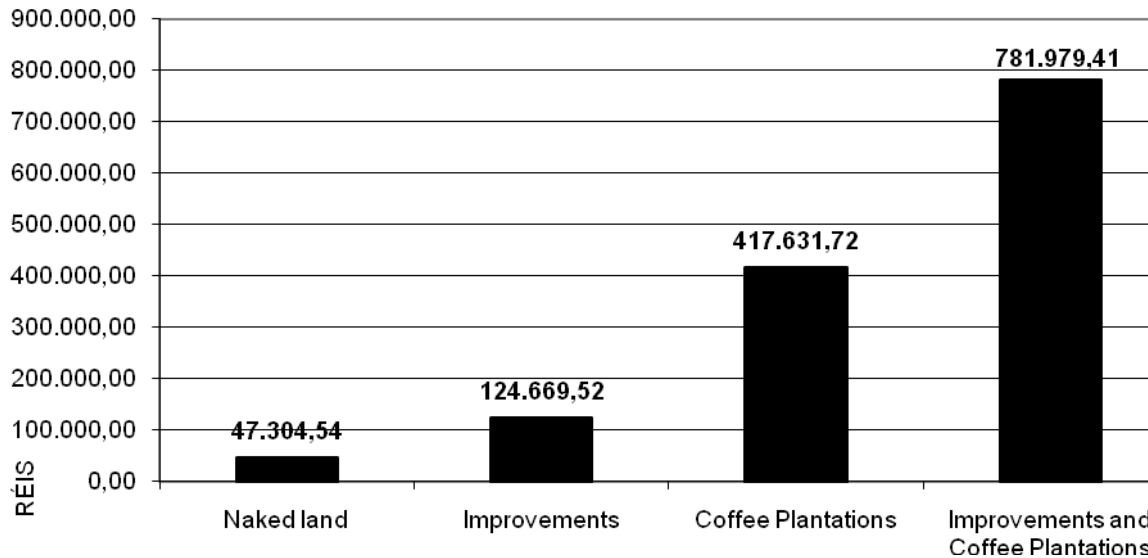
Graph 2 was drawn using the information collected about the area negotiated. This graph shows the average values of the naked lands, lands with coffee

plantation only, lands with improvements only, and lands with both coffee plantation and improvements during the period studied.

Only a small percentage (2.8%) of the rural transactions involved coffee plantations only, no other improvement, and the average alqueire price, was quite lower than that of lands with coffee plantation and improvements. Besides the possibility of misreporting

improvements other rather than coffee plantations in the deeds, which by the way was not a common behavior, there is also the possibility that farmlands with coffee plantation only were less valued due to the lack of infrastructure such rural worker's dwelling.

Graph 2 : Real Average Value Of Land Alqueire In Réis According To Improvement Categories (1784-1899)



Source: primary data. Deeds of purchase and sale collected from the 1st Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto.

Although the transactions with lands with coffee plantations only involve a considerable sum of money, most of them are worth over 20 contos de réis and include more than 10.000 coffee trees (sometimes it reaches up to 65.000). It is likely these are transitory situations or pieces of land close to areas that offer some infrastructure.

It was necessary to analyze the price of the naked lands during the period studied since it could be noted the real valorizations of the average price of the land alqueire per se and not the valorization of the improvements aggregated to the land. Therefore, this analysis enabled to verify that the prices per alqueire in Ribeirão Preto were lower than those mentioned above. But, even though, the increases were substantial. From 1874 until the peak period indentified (1895), the real price percentage variation was 1.317,0 %.

During the period studied, the increase in the valorization of naked lands in Ribeirão Preto was constant, i.e., without extremes. Starting from an initial value of 14.09 thousand réis in 1874, the valorization percentage was 25 % reaching 35.09 thousand réis.

In 1880s, the land price variations were much higher than those in the decade before. In spite of the price reduction to approximately 20 thousand réis until the mid 80s, there was a recovery from 1885 to 1886 reaching 96.80 thousand réis per land alqueire.

The data obtained show that with the arrival of the immigrants in 1886, there was a sharp increase, and, for the first time the prices reached 100 thousand

réis per alqueire in 1887. Nevertheless, this reality changed in the 1890s and price quotes became variable, especially in the last years of the decade.

Although the 1890s was marked by instability, as stated by Gustavo Franco who said that “besides causing structural changes in the economy, it will be full of politics crisis, doctrinaire opposition, and great personalities”, the prices of naked lands kept a steady and expressive rhythm of rising (FRANCO, 1989).

The political instability, uncertainties, inflation, and coffee price fall affected the land prices, which explains the dramatic variations in the last years of the decade from 1897 to 1899.

Next, a discussion about the value of lands with improvements and lands with coffee plantations plus improvements will be presented. The lands with coffee plantation only, i.e., without any improvements, were not considered in this analysis since there were only a few data were collected form registry deeds (22) in the period studied. Table 4 shows the price (per alqueire) of lands with improvements only.

Given the increasing attractiveness of the lands in the region of Ribeirão Preto focusing on agro-export production, there was a strong valorization of lands with any kind of improvement that could facilitate the access and dwelling in the property leading to an easy start to develop economic activities related to coffee production.

A good example of low valorization of improvements occurred in the mid 1870s, in 1874

specifically, with the purchase of farmlands that belonged to Maria Cândida Dias made by José Villalobos on Laureano farm at the price of 1.3 contos de réis. The property had 50 alqueires and had only one tile-roofed house with no fences and any kind of crop .

Another example shows of high valorization of lands with improvements at the end of 1870. It is the

purchase of farmlands that belonged to Eufrasina Maria da Conceição made by Eloy Franco de Moraes Octavio also on Laureano farm. The improvements were a tile-roofed house (which were more valued) and a small area meant for raising cattle.

Table 4 : Real average value of lands with improvements (*in réis*) in the region of Ribeirão Preto (1874-99)

Number of Year	deeds	Land Alqueire with improvements	Number of Year	deeds	Land Alqueire with improvements
1874	3	11\$205	1887	15	202\$431
1875	6	17\$759	1888	10	132\$982
1876	8	46\$486	1889	14	114\$235
1877	6	33\$358	1890	11	176\$090
1878	11	96\$898	1891	11	487\$998
1879	5	56\$719	1892	8	77\$895
1880	7	225\$129	1893	8	309\$819
1881	3	61\$678	1894	11	152\$282
1882	7	47\$974	1895	6	196\$014
1883	5	56\$211	1896	7	417\$892
1884	17	72\$431	1897	8	341\$554
1885	33	59\$508	1898	2	753\$245
1886	14	107\$296	1899	2	102\$132

Source: primary data. Deeds of purchase and sale collected from the 1st Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto.

This business transaction conducted in 1879, was worth proportionally for times more (in reais) than that conducted by Domingos Villa-lobos in 1874, i.e. only five years after the transaction with the 50-alqueire farm. The reason could be land valorization, location, or some other unknown factor, but it seems that the improvements were increasingly responsible for land valorization at the end of 1870s.

The difference of valorization of lands with a few improvements over naked lands was getting bigger and bigger. In general, these improvements included the dwelling house, barn, monjolo, and fences, but rarely were they present altogether in a property. In 1880, the average price per alqueire of lands with improvements, 225 thousand réis, was 574% higher than the average price of naked lands, around 33 thousand réis.

The price difference of lands with improvements and naked lands lowered between 1886 and 1890, period when all naked lands seemed as attractive as lands with improvements. Such reduction, however, did not last, and in the 1890s the gap between the value of lands with improvements and that of naked lands increased. In addition, it can be said that the lands with improvements were less subject to market fluctuations than those without improvements.

The majority of the lands with coffee plantations also had improvements, i.e. there were only a few business transactions involving lands with coffee plantations only without any other kind of improvement such as dwelling house, monjolo etc. Table 5 shows that the fluctuations of lands with improvements and coffee plantations were larger, mainly in the first two decades

of the period studied, probably to the small number of observations.

Comparing the values obtained for the naked lands and lands with coffee plantations and improvements, it can be clearly seen the considerable aggregation of value as a consequence of the coffee plantations in the region of Ribeirão Preto. Although the strong valorization, naked lands could not achieve the same pattern of valorization obtained by the lands with improvements and coffee plantation.

For example, from 1877 to 1888, the naked lands achieved 11.2% of real valorization, that is, from 21.32 thousand réis to 23.72 thousand réis. The real valorization of lands with coffee plantation was 267.1%, that is, from 60.08 thousand réis to 220.60 thousand réis. From 1888 to 1889, coffee promoted another rise of approximately 119.0%

The fluctuations in coffee prices were clear over the period studied (DELFIN NETTO, 1981). Two years after the average price of lands with improvements and coffee plantation reached almost 500 thousand réis per alqueire, the desvalorization was 88%. These fluctuations remained for the three decades studied. It is worth highlighting the associated richness in lands with coffee plantations: from a value of 10 thousand réis for lands without coffee plantation in 1874, a 17-fold valorization was achieved at the peak (1896) of the period studied. The coffee prices crisis in 1887 interrupted this significant valorization.

Table 5 : Real average value of lands with improvements and coffee plantation (in réis) in the region of Ribeirão Preto (1874-99).

Year	Number of deeds	Land Alqueire with improvement and coffee plantations	Year	Number of deeds	Land Alqueire with improvements and coffee plantations
1874	0	-----	1887	10	467\$861
1875	0	-----	1888	2	334\$575
1876	0	-----	1889	12	381\$318
1877	1	60\$083	1890	13	376\$931
1878	4	220\$604	1891	11	836\$228
1879	1	484\$259	1892	2	653\$252
1880	0	-----	1893	6	1:159\$172
1881	1	53\$999	1894	5	416\$351
1882	0	-----	1895	14	1:052\$979
1883	0	-----	1896	19	1:786\$100
1884	2	87\$879	1897	8	1:479\$267
1885	8	217\$644	1898	8	1:002\$874
1886	1	84\$132	1899	3	641\$539

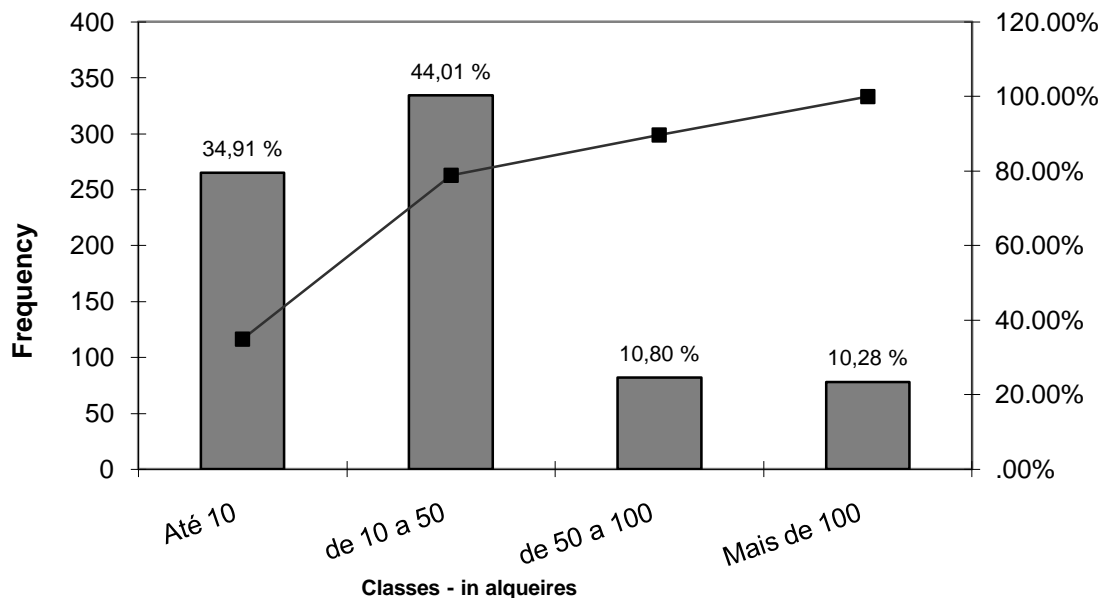
Source : primary data. Deeds of purchase and sale collected from the 1st Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto.

IV. NEGOTIATION PATTERNS

In this section, the farmlands negotiated according to size and business value are categorized focusing on the identification of the negotiation patterns. Dividing the farmlands into categories allows the identification of the most common types of business transactions. As it can be seen in graph 3, the small

sized lands, up to 10 alqueires, account for 34.9% of the transactions.

The mid-sized farms, 10 to 50 alqueires, accounted for 44.0% of the rural business transactions, and the big sized lands, 50 to 100 alqueires, accounted for 10.8% of the transactions. Rural properties with over 100 alqueires accounted for 10.2% of the business transactions.



Source: primary data. Deeds of purchase and sale collected from the 1st Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto.

Graph 3 : Farmlands Negotiated According To Size In The Region Of Ribeirão Preto (1874-1899)

Although the number of business transactions involving small sized farms' is the highest, when the area negotiated is taken into consideration the result can be significantly different. That being so, it can be seen that although the small sized farms. Up to 10 alqueires, account for a considerable percentage in the

rural business transactions in the region of Ribeirão Preto from 1874 to 1899, they are not as important anymore since altogether they account for 4.6% of the total area. In other words, this means that even though they account for 34.9% of the business transactions involving areas up to 10 alqueires, their participation in

the total number of the areas negotiated is considered small.

This pattern was not repeated in the following category, lands with 10 to 50 alqueires, considering both the frequency in the business transactions and the relative importance of the area, which was 29,25 of the total. The farmlands included in the 50 to 100-alqueire

category were not as representative since in terms of business transactions and area negotiated they accounted for only 10.8 and 19.5%, respectively.

Table 6 shows the analysis of the business transactions, area, and value to facilitate this comparison.

Table 6 : Proportional and cumulative participation of the farmlands negotiated according to size (1874-99).

Size (alqueires)	Nº of business transactions transactions (%)	Area – in alqueires alqueires (%)	value (%)
Up to 10 alq.	34,9 %	4,6 %	5,6 %
From 10 to 50 alq.	44,0 %	29,2 %	22,5 %
From 50 to 100 alq.	10,8 %	19,5 %	15,2 %
Over 100 alq.	10,3 %	46,7 %	56,7 %
Total	100,00 %	100,00 %	100,00 %

Source: primary data. Deeds of purchase and sale collected from the 1st Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto.

The results found for the big sized lands (over 100 alqueires) with areas over 100 alqueires excelled. They accounted for only a small participation in the business transactions, but had a great participation in the total area negotiated almost reaching the sum of all areas negotiated in the other categories.

Among the 99 farms in this category, the biggest was purchased in January 1885 by Mariana Constancia Junqueira de Rodrigo Pereira Barreto and consisted of a huge area of 1.479. This farm was described as croplands, fields, and cerrado, and it did not have any kind of improvement or crop. It was negotiated for a nominal value of 15 contos de réis, which can not be considered proportional to its area⁵.

Another analysis of concentration showed in more details rural real state inequalities found in the region of Ribeirão Preto. The concentration of size of rural properties did not indicate the best approximation of concentration of wealth since if the results of concentration of land ownership were expanded to income or wealth, there would be distortions. As discussed before, coffee plantations were an important factor for the valorization of the properties. In some cases, small sized farms, up top 10 alqueires for example, could worth much more than areas that are 100 times bigger due to the "black golden". Among several similar cases, an example was the purchase made in 1885 by Saturnino Dias Telles from Antonio de Paula Barreto at the price of 15 contos de réis. As mentioned in above in the business transaction conducted between Mariana Constancia Junqueira and Rodrigo Pereira Barreto, this farm was sold in the same year for the same book-entry value. The difference, though, lies on the coffee trees planted (not specified) and size, only 6 alqueires instead of 1.479. Hence, the area is 0.5% smaller than that negotiated by Mariana

Constancia Junqueira due to the presence of coffee and maybe to its proximity to the city⁶.

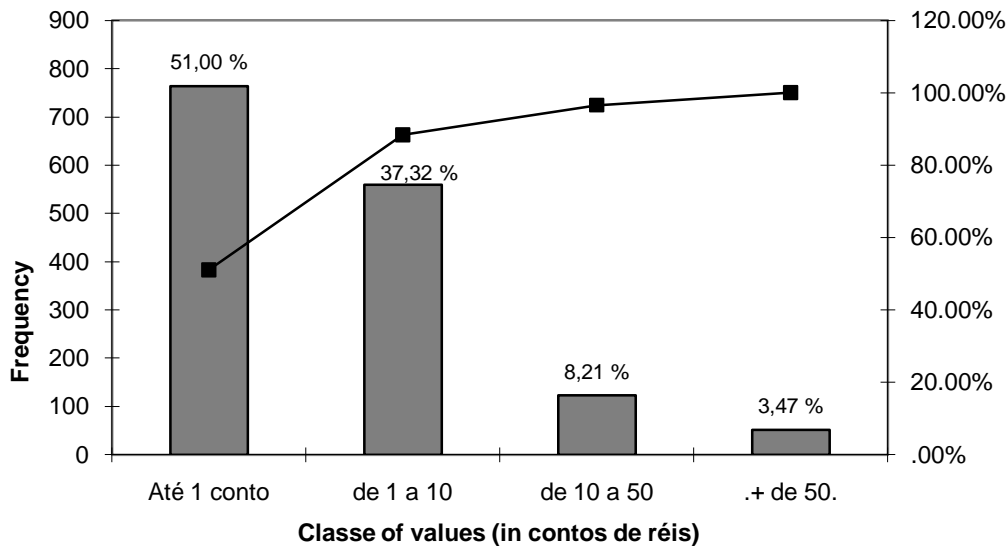
Therefore, owing big sized lands with hundreds of alqueires did not mean wealth, at that time. From these results, it cannot be said that there is an association between area and wealth with the people involved. The monetary wealth in the registry deed analyzed did not seem strictly related to landowning although it is a means to growth financially in the rural environment in the region of Ribeirão Preto through the production of coffee.

The result obtained in the case of Abel Leite de Souza, the farmer who sold 100 hectares of land in the Sertãozinho farm to Schmidt would be quite different. Owing such a big naked land farm, did not mean monetary wealth. It is likely that Souza could not afford start producing coffee, which would certainly require a period of time without financial gains and would mean considerable expenses with labor. Landowning per se would not mean monetary wealth to him, and certainly many other small farmers were indeed wealthier than large landowners.

In order to analyze the concentration of rural wealth without encountering the same problem, the value of the lands, including those with coffee plantation, was used. In Graph 6, the properties studied were categorized according to the frequency of class of values, i.e. the number of negotiations in each category. The rural business transactions with real values of up to 1 conto de réis held the great majority in this period accounting for 51 of the total. From 1 to 19 contos de réis, there are 37.3%, and the sum of these two categories reached 88.3% of the total. Thus, for every 10 farms or small rural properties negotiated, 9 were had relatively small values, and more than 1/3 were small farms, less than 10 alqueires.

⁵ 1st Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto, Book # 18, deed # 882.

⁶ 1st Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto, Book # 18, deed # 957.



Source : primary data. Deeds of purchase and sale collected from the 1st Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto.

Graph 4 : Frequency Of Business Transactions In The Region Of Ribeirão Preto (1874-1899)

The analysis of coffee trees per strips also contributed to a better identification of the size of the farm due to its importance in the value of the properties. Among 249 farms with coffee plantation, 135 registered the number of coffee trees planted.

Among these 135 farms (table 7), 43.7% had up to 10 thousand coffee trees, 40.0% had from 10 to 50 thousand coffee trees, 9.6% had from 50 to 100 thousand coffee trees, and only 6.6% had more than 100 thousand coffee trees. Therefore, considering the sum of two last categories, which represent the bigger farms with coffee plantation, only 16.3% of the business

transactions include information on the quantity of coffee trees in the region of Ribeirão Preto between 1874 and 1899.

On the other hand, considering the sum of the first two categories, which represent the small and mid-sized farms - up to 10 thousand coffee trees and from 10 to 50 thousand coffee trees –83.75 of the business transactions include information on the size of coffee trees. This means that, approximately 4/5 of all farmlands negotiated that had coffee plantations, had small (43.7%) and mid-sized (40.0%) plantation areas.

Table 7 : Proportional and cumulative participation of the coffee plantations cultivated (1874-99).

Coffee plantations (strip sizes in 1 thousand coffee tress)	Frequency % business transactions	Frequency % business transactions (cumulative)	Total number of coffee tress	Total number of coffee tress (cumulative)
Up to 10 mil	43,7 %	43,7 %	5,71 %	5,71 %
From 10 to 50 thousand	40,0 %	83,7 %	33,50 %	39,20 %
From 50 to 100 thousand	9,6 %	93,3 %	23,87 %	63,07 %
Over 100 thousand	6,7 %	100,0 %	36,92 %	100,00 %
Total	100,0 %		100,00 %	

Source : primary data. Deeds of purchase and sale collected from the 1st Court of Records of Ribeirão Preto.

When compared to the big sized farms negotiated (100 thousand coffee trees or more), these small and mid-sized plantations (up to 10 thousand and from 10 thousand to 50 thousand coffee trees) accounts more than the bigger farms (50 to 100 thousand coffee trees) which accounted for 23.8% of the coffee trees planted. They also accounted for more than big producer farms (more than 100 thousand coffee trees), which accounted for only 36.9%. The concentration in terms of number of coffee trees was smaller than that in terms of values or areas negotiated.

V. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The major contribution of this study was to evidence the impacts of coffee upon the expansion of coffee production at the end of the 21st century in one of the most important producer regions in the country. Moreover, there are only a few studies on the value of rural lands. The study of real estate transactions in the region of Ribeirão Preto during the coffee rush led to important considerations about the economic changes the city undergone as a consequence of coffee

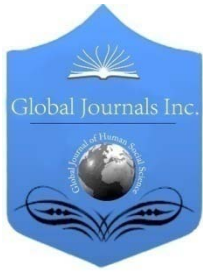
plantations and their impact on the lands of that region. It can be said that the economic history of the city is divided into two parts: before and after the coffee plantations.

The analysis of deeds of purchase and sale focusing on the land value evidenced a potential yet unexploited in studies on Brazil's economic history. It is worth mentioning that the data obtained can differ for different locations. This source had already been used in other studies, but not focusing on the serial analysis of the land market.

The goal of understanding the impacts of coffee plantation in one of the major producer regions in the period studied and how such drastic economic change affected the land market was accomplished. The major contribution of this study was to assess effects that had not been investigated before in the scientific literature. There are no studies on this subject, so further research in different regions would allow a more comprehensive knowledge of the real magnitude of land valorization and the validation of the results obtained in the region of Ribeirão Preto. In addition, it would allow a comparison between regions. Further research can also enable the investigation of whether land valorization was stronger in Ribeirão Preto than in other coffee producer regions.

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Eroticism in the Spanish Lyric Theater Scene in the Early Twentieth Century

By Dr. Jose Salvador Blasco Magraner

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Abstract- Early in the twentieth century some frivolous types of works in its staging began to appear in the Spanish lyric theaters showing curves and calves of the treble singers. Couplets and other musical numbers conferred a racy and risqué tone that was all the rage, especially among the male audience. Authorities and the church attacked this kind of theater. Morality in the theater had changed.

Keywords: Eroticism, Spanish popular opera, theater, pornography, sicaliptic.

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Eroticism in the Spanish Lyric Theater Scene in the Early Twentieth Century

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Abstract- Early in the twentieth century some frivolous types of works in its staging began to appear in the Spanish lyric theaters showing curves and calves of the treble singers. Couplets and other musical numbers conferred a racy and risqué tone that was all the rage, especially among the male audience. Authorities and the church attacked this kind of theater. Morality in the theater had changed.

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“During the nineteenth century up until 1931, Madrid experienced first an incipient struggle and then to the bitter end of two great ideological and political trends: a conservative, monarchist, cynical and hypocritical root staunch defender of law and order: its social basis is the bureaucracy and the civil service. Another rebel, renewing, mutinous and even scandalous root, formed by craftsmen, laborers, artisans and unemployed”.¹

“The short drama (always in imitation of the aristocrats of the Opera) has favored an intense sexual <cultura> among men of the bourgeoisie and treble, vicetreble, showgirls, <señoritas del conjunto> and all female personnel has increased with the expansion of the genre, a privilege evidently envied by those who looked excluded for economic reasons”.²

I. INTRODUCTION

Between 1895 and 1910 moral campaigns of the church and the authorities did not affect at all the theatrical consumption which was booming.³ The increase of anticlericalism had been based mainly on a series of political justifications: namely, the liberal politicians of the beginnings of the nineteenth century, mid-century progressives and Democrats of the “Sexenio Revolucionario” and of the Liberal Party at the turn of the century, represented by the figure of José Méndez Canalejas.⁴

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¹ ESTEBAN GONZALO, J.: *El Madrid de la república*, Ediciones Sílex, S.L., Madrid, 2000, p. 24.

² SALAÜN, S.: “El teatro español en la encrucijada”, In *Literatura modernista y tiempo del 98*, University of Santiago de Compostela, 2000, p. 102.

³ The Apollo Theater in Madrid made more than eight million tickets between 1900 and 1901. Moreover, keep in mind that the Apollo was one of the nineteen theaters in the capital and one of the eleven that were engaged in small forms in part or entirely.

⁴ AUBERT, P.: *Religión y sociedad en España siglos XIX y XX*, Ed.Casa de Velázquez, Madrid, 2002, p. 158.

The social anticlericalism came from movements claiming a radical change in the structure of society by the emancipation of the working classes. The press became the most powerful tool against the Church. In 1895, of a total number of one thousand seventy-eight newspapers, just two hundred and four were Catholic. The rest were liberal dailies with varying degrees of hostility towards the Church.⁵

The model of church-state relations, which favored political action as a form of presence of Catholics in society, was the basis for all those who thought it was tolerable the liberal way to understand and articulate the role of religion in public life and the inhibition of State in the field of consciousness.⁶ Antonio Maura worked for Spain to become a liberal state and invited to follow the example of Germany and the United Kingdom. Finally free the people from checks and audits of both Church and State, the commercial scene began to gain audience and adapt to market, and became the sole ruler of all time. The theater was consumed in high doses both in the capital city, Madrid, as in any other provincial town. The audience -excluding old people, children, much of the women and the vast majority of popular classes, consisted mostly of men of the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie who almost daily attended the functions.

Satisfying sexual needs outside home was a fact admitted even by great personalities of the political, economic and cultural life. The commercial theater had consolidated a double moral and the bourgeoisie had appropriated the theater space. The theater and how it was perceived by the public changed dramatically in the nineteenth century and eventually commercial theaters overpowered 'official' theaters. However, despite this transformation, the Spanish theater retained its quality. For example, Julio Nombela, in 1880, refused to admit the belief commonly accepted that the Spanish theater was in decline, and still saw it as a reflection of society:

“The Spanish theater is not in decay, not even those who contribute to its downfall as poets and performers are in decay: what is in decline, both in the sphere of art as in other social spheres, is self-denial, the sense of duty, the desire for culture”.⁷

⁵ 186 newspapers were hostile to religion.

⁶ ROBLES MUÑOZ, C.: *Antonio Maura, un político liberal*, C.S.I.C., Madrid, 1995, pp. 65-66.

⁷ THATCHER, D.: *El teatro en la España del siglo XIX*, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 491.

According to Juan José Montijano Ruíz the "sicaliptic" and "sicalipsis" words were used for the first time in the Madrid daily *El Liberal*, corresponding to April 25, 1902.⁸ In the fourth and last page this newspaper contained an advertisement that reads:

"Within a short time an exciting new publication will be for sale, 60 cents a book entitled LAS MUJERES GALANTES. This publication is highly sicaliptic. For a definition of the word, completely new, one must purchase the first book of LAS MUJERES GALANTES".⁹

The publication was nothing but a series of artistic etchings that contained naked women. Days later, on May 12, and in the same newspaper a new announcement regarding the publication reappeared, as Montijano Ruiz explains. Thus, the "sicaliptic", and "sicalipsis" terms emerged in the newspapers of the day and were spread by the theater with an average meaning between the relative innocence of the picaresque and the brazen effrontery of the pornographic.¹⁰

According to Juan Corominas the term sicaliptic was created in 1902, taking it from ancient Greek to describe a pornographic work. His *Brief Etymological Dictionary of the Spanish Language* (1961) reads:

"Sicaliptic <obscene>, 1902. Created to advertise a pornographic work, probably thought of a cpt. from gr. Sykon <vulva> and aleiptikós <used to rub or excite>. LEAD. Sicalipsis, formed with the corresponding abstract áleipsis".¹¹

Enrique Rivas, a correspondent for *El Heraldo de Madrid* pondered on the origin of the word "sicaliptic":

"Like all great inventions, the author of the word sicalipsis gave in to a moment of inspiration superior to every rule, and in spite of its rapid popularization, the writers still haven't told us where it comes from, although it is known where it is going and by which roads".¹²

Currently the term "sicalipsis" is described by the *Dictionary of the Royal Spanish Academy* as "sexual malice, erotic mischief".

The word "pornography" is obviously prior to "sicaliptic". Again José Corominas explains that the first word began to be used in Spain in 1880, and comes from the Greek pornógraphos, "the one describing prostitution" because it is a compound of porn, whore and grapho, "I describe".¹³

prostitution" because it is a compound of porn, whore and grapho, "I describe".¹³

From 1900 the invasion of scenic eroticism, of the varieties song and the cinema begin to contaminate the small forms from within. Obviously the aforementioned "sexual malice" already existed in the theater, especially in magazines where sexual connotations were present and were the main attraction for an audience eager to satisfy their carnal and primary appetites. It is not at all trivial to state that this last thought is the very essence of what the magazine turned into, a genre in which the erotic, the sexual, the double meaning of language, together with the extras or dancers acting on them constituted the most remarkable aspect of the performance.

*El Congreso Feminista*¹⁴ (1904), with a libretto by Celso Lucio López and music by Joaquín Valverde son; *El Arte de ser Bonita* (1905), with text by Antonio Paso Cano, Jiménez Prieto and López Laredo and music by Jerónimo Jiménez and Amadeo Vives, and *La Gatita Blanca* (1905), original by José Jackson Veyán and Jacinto Capella, with music by Amadeo Vives and Jerónimo Jiménez, were the forerunners of the genre. The frivolity of the staging, the curves and the calves of the treble singers, the couplets and other musical numbers that added spices giving a racy and risqué tone to these pieces were common features in all of them. As an example of this, the following couplet from *La Gatita Blanca*, one of the funniest numbers of Spanish popular opera, by the double meaning of the text:

"A very naughty kitty,
wanted me to play,
and made me so nervous
that I had to scratch him.
But so sweet,
the kitty turned,
that finally convinced
I played with him.
And I had a few games
the very rogue,
the scoundrel
I made myself a bump.
And when that swelling
was relieved,
with a few kittens
we got to play".¹⁵

Writers Ramos Carrión, Ricardo de la Vega, Thomas Luceño, Carlos Arniches, Sinesio Delgado and

⁸ MONTIJANO RUIZ, J. J.: *Historia del teatro olvidado: la revista (1864-2009)*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Granada, 2009, p. 119.

⁹ *El Liberal*, 25 April 1902.

¹⁰ RUIZ MORCUERDE, F.: "Sicalíptico y sicalipsis", in *Revista de Filología Española* Madrid, volume VI, 1919, p. 394.

¹¹ MUÑOZ LORENTE, G.: *Glosario panhispánico del amor y el sexo*, Ed. La Torre, Madrid, 2008, p. 74.

¹² *El Heraldo de Madrid*, 17 november 1906.

¹³ FELIPE LEAL, J.F.: *El cine y la pornografía*, Juan Pablos Editor, S.A., México, 2011, p. 15.

¹⁴ On Wednesday May 18, 1904 Judge 3rd instruction from Mexico City ordered the suspension of the operetta and prevented the company of el Teatro Principal to refrain from premieres of other works by Spanish authors in this city.

¹⁵ JACKSON VEYAN, J Y CAPELLA, J.: *La Gatita Blanca*, Tipografía Universal, Madrid, 1906, p. 6.

LopezSilva and the composers Chueca, Valverde, Lleó and Chapí were the authors of this initial stage that would end up being called "white magazine".¹⁶

The development of sicalipsis would not have been possible without the social rise of the middle classes and their alliance with the popular ones allowing the emergence and profitability of new shows, while old shows went into sharp decline. Thus the upper classes, accustomed to impose their taste for decades, were appalled by the emergence of a new kind of theater equipped with a moral vulgarity that neither they shared nor accepted. For example, the Teatro Real closed in 1925¹⁷ and was by no means, the first of the municipal theaters in the provinces forced to close the opera and serious versed drama performances for lack of an audience. Sometimes the theaters opened to make performances with as little aristocratic roots as the cinematography:

"Despite the condemnation of moralists, then, the more or less obvious eroticism of sicalipsis is a success; even if it is just one more of the deals greedy businessmen turn to, who also with no objections include in a program popular song concerts, or very soon, things like films. The formula of the vaudeville exemplifies this new spirit of pursuit of profit; in fact, it lacks internal structure and interlocking; but it is made of short numbers quickly mixing a variety of units with almost no time for the audience to fatigue with its diversified and adapted to all tastes offer. A purely popular demand is therefore adopted. That where the possibilities of expanding the benefits point to".¹⁸

The fact that this kind of theater would have an impact on both the social and intellectual life forced, from 1910, to strict monitoring by the authorities, always fearful of collective power that held the scene. The church attacked all kind of theater where "hot" meat prevailed. Also politicians and intellectuals as Maeztu or Unamuno entered the scene because they did not want to leave the monopoly on morality to the right wing.

It is easy to find numerous examples in the press of the time of bans and censorship of all kinds of sketches, pleasant jokes, or sicaliptic operettas by governors or other competent authorities. Despite the passage of time these situations occurred again. For example, on February 2, 1920 there were a series of angry protests in the Arriaga theater because of the representation of the erotic comedy entitled *Las Corsarias* - libretto by Enrique Paradas and Joaquín Jiménez and music by the maestro Francisco Alonso, with what the civil governor was forced to withdraw the

work of the theater scene.¹⁹ *La Gaceta del Norte* began a personal crusade against indecency on stage. In the pages of the mentioned newspaper one could read:

"Immorality, indecency, wherever they are, and in the theater more than anywhere else, are the determining cause of the degradation, the sentimentality, the idiocy of race".²⁰

The chronicler of *El Heraldo de Madrid* Fernando Porset wrote an article entitled "Morality in the theater", in which he asserted that gradually ethics and decency was gone from the stage. Authors were responsible for favoring the management company cashbox and not the good art. According Porset, refined and instructive work had given way to the peep and suggestive genre and theater walked without any fixed direction. This new and cheerful genre then renamed sicaliptic had begun to cultivate in the Comic theater first with *El Arte de ser Bonita*, and later with *La Gatita Blanca*. Then the *Eslava* theater became the bastion of sicalipsis, offering all kinds of delicacies with suggestive scenic treble singers cheering the show with their almost naked parades and suggestive, mischievous situations attended by the astonished spectators.

Although Porset believed that many works that premiered were filled with mustard and pepper-able to sicken the strongest stomachs-, but empty of salt; however, the correspondent of the Madrid newspaper acknowledged that not all the pieces of this kind were of a very poor quality. Titles of great artistic value could also be found in this theatrical variety:

"I shall not deny that there are works to which the name sicaliptic applies that are worthy of appreciation, for their wit and the skill with which lurid affairs are treated, with no rude jokes and some tacky details and situations; proof of them are *La Corte del Faraón*, *La república del amor* and some others; but there are so few!...Because the ones that usually abound are those riddled with profanity and obscenities, without any morality or wit".²¹

The growing immorality of certain shows led to the creation of a *Junta de Damas* in Burgos to put remedy and correct the theatrical performances. Women of the Spanish city, inspired by the Jesuits, welcomed texts by liberal writers hiding the truth:

"Unamuno lambasting *La Carne Flaca* and we do not remember which other work and, in general, all the pornographic genre. Ramiro de Maeztu censored pornography and regretted that anything useful could be done against it in Spain, for taking the initiative the priesthood for political purposes".²²

¹⁶ LABRADOR BEN, J.M.: *Teatro frívolo y teatro selecto*, Editorial CSIC-CSIC PRESS, Madrid, 2005, p. 22.

¹⁷ *La Bohème* was the last opera that was performed in the Teatro Real.

¹⁸ VERDÚ MACIÀ, V et al: *Fiesta, juego y ocio en la historia*, Ed. University of Salamanca, 2003, p. 369.

¹⁹ DOUGHERTY, D Y FRANCISCA VILCHES, M.: *La escena madrileña entre 1918 y 192*, Editorial Fundamentos, Madrid, 1990, p. 21.

²⁰ *La Gaceta del Norte*, January 31, 1920.

²¹ *El Heraldo de Madrid*, December 24, 1910.

²² *El País*, July 1, 1909.

Parmeno, correspondent for *El País* claimed that the authors of postcards and pornographic books proliferated and could not quite explain why they were not more harshly prosecuted and punished. Parmeno even considers some treble singers as "whores in night attire":

"And Jane Doe, who is a great lady, or a known soprano, or a popular waitress appears as she was born, with just a ribbon, or with a bow in the hair, which is what usually constitutes the famous night suit".²³

He also criticizes the old rakes and young student gatherings because such characters are the ones that bewitch both of them: "Sicaliptic pictures, gentlemen- they quietly say, Sicalipsis Verdá. What is called d'aprè natir"²⁴

Francisco Flores García compared the eroticism and pornography terms in an article entitled *La sicalipsis*, in the "Cosas del teatro" section of the newspaper *El Heraldo de Madrid*. This author blamed the atmosphere of hypocrisy in which theatrical boundaries usually were handled:

"Even the language is becoming hypocritical. Theft is called irregularity; meanness is called impropriety; pornography is called eroticism, and so on.
(...)

For example: the competent authority takes action against a shockingly pornographic stage work, and then the injured party turns up saying that it is slightly suggestive, mischievous ... and invoke freedom to indulge in immoral debauchery".²⁵

Flores García revealed that freedom of thought could not be the pretext for launching from a stage all the blasphemies and obscenities against decency, morality and good taste. In addition, as an example of this he named a number of theaters in different countries where the authorities had prohibited such performances and were shutting down theaters in which this kind of shows were staged. The writer is a bit more benign with comedians, being mere workers who just obeyed the orders coming from their employer:

"It seems an atrocity to imprison all Company personnel. Comedians perform works given by their employer, and therefore they are not responsible for their content; but let us think: how would these works be when the authorities took so violent an action?"²⁶

Enrique Rivas, a reporter for *El Heraldo de Madrid*, pondered on the sicaliptic audience and the distribution of such genre on the Madrid stage. To this reporter, the audience who came to these events was essentially masculine and of a trivial nature. Also he

alleged that the claque had control of the seats and a great influence on the good reception or failures of the functions. In any case, Rivas was of the opinion that women should attend more frequently to this kind of events, as they were the only true sicalipsis:

"Taken to the theater by the hours, the sicalipsis has done many good things and many bad things too. For the moment it has created a sicaliptic audience, of a peculiar and unmistakable physiognomy, formed by young people who are honorary old men and old men who do not want to retire.
(...)

La Menegilda created by Felipe Pérez has deceased at the hands of sicalipsis; it has been necessary an entire genre to kill a single type; but *El Arte de ser Bonita* has by now displaced *La Gran Vía*.
(...)

In the gallery the popular audiences squeeze, laughing out loud the worst atrocities or acclaims as a supreme pleasure, the very well-known choruses.
(...)

The claque has a great number of spontaneous subjects. In the boxes there seems to be a truly sicaliptic audience; at least, the chosen ones. There is always an excessive quota of seats, and there is a seated row and one standing and one perched on chairs. When the applause time arrives, with the childishness of viewers who aspire to be seen by the tiple, all raise their hands to clap and every box recalls the candid pictures where the damned souls rise, in flames, their hands to the Highest. The less observant may notice that the audience is mainly male, with the lack of the greatest charm in the public. This is a half theatrical eroticism, where the orchestra and the battery put a fence between sicaliptics, as women are withdrawn".²⁷

The rapid spread of the sicaliptic genre provoked a fierce competition between employers. This situation led to a deterioration of the literary quality of the performed works. It was too expensive to make a good script and a demanding staging when nudity and couplets filled entire rooms quarterly, making it easy for the companies to obtain huge profits.

Montijano Ruiz in his dissertation *Historia del Teatro Olvidado: La Revista (1864-2009)* subdivided the sicaliptic magazine in two, as mischievous magazine and rude magazine. The second type, as this researcher explains, possessed all kinds of obscenities, jokes, and profanities to a high degree. One example of this type of magazine is *La Alegre Trompetería* (1907) by Antonio Paso and Vicente Lleó. These authors carried us to a club of the same name where customers gathered to talk about their conquests. There the performance of

²³ *El Heraldo de Madrid*, May 27, 1909.

²⁴ Ditto.

²⁵ *El Heraldo de Madrid*, September 18, 1912.

²⁶ Ditto.

²⁷ *El Heraldo de Madrid*, November 17, 1906.

thevedette Dora Paris delighted the audience by singing a famous couplet with the following lyrics:

I have a garden at home
That is really, really nice;
But no one wants to water it
And it's withered, so dried up;
And although I am no gardener
And I get tired of work,
At night though unwillingly,
I have to water it.
And at bedtime
and when I'm up,
I fill with water
the sprinkler;
and with very
gatheredskirts
I keep watering
it thus.
Now these rocks,
Then this slope
and a couple of squirts
to the vine.
But it annoys me
to have to water it,
because I just end up wet
and I have to change .

(One act. 2nd Tableau. Scene IX).²⁸

The couplet was linked to the popular song because it was made of short duration units and therefore was ideal for memory retention. The simple vocal registers by which it moved, allowed an easy reproduction and its transmission in oral circuits. The text used to be clear, direct and pronounced with crystal diction. As for the message it was of an erotic cut, although the couplet singer constantly played with gestures and vocal nuances to compensate the shortcomings of the text and to overcome censorship:

"The popular singer could have, in fact, a mediocre voice in the vocal register, but always had to know how to sing a song neatly. The recurrence to messages of hinted pornography, as in examples from the British Music-Hall, that sought to evade censorship playing with double meanings, with the speech that emphasized this or that word, or gestures, to create a whole erotic metalanguage there, where apparently there was an insignificant and morally anodyne text".²⁹

The Género Chico was responsible for the rise of singers to media stars. The couplet and variety shows

also emphasized the image of woman-star as a means to promote a commercial product.³⁰

The physical beauty of some singers was also used for some daring scenes. The sicalipsis, which until the late nineteenth century had been moderate, increased its boldness in the beginnings of the twentieth century. The woman dressed in men's attire was a constant in the representations of zarzuela, especially the chorus, being an attractive hook for the male audience.³¹

The profile of the popular singer was also changing as First World War approached. Plump singers were gradually supplanted by another more stylish and elegant class of popular singers. Also, this type of singer had greater academic instruction and incorporated their new "likes" in the couplet which became more subtle and refined. With the evolution of the couplet the singers also varied their relationship with the public and long ago open structures, in which the audience participated by singing and playing the chorus couplet in a hot environment, adapting to the moral universe of the popular classes- were modified by a closed model structure in which the public could no longer take action and where excitement was achieved by emphasizing the passivity of the spectator with the couplet-show, with more exaggerated gestures and staging.³² An example of this second type was the couplet *Flor de Té* that premiered in 1914 and popularized the famous popular singer Raquel Meller putting it on stage at the Olympia theater in Paris and in New York, where the performance ran for eight months, earning two hundred thousand dollars for that tour.³³

In the early twentieth century the first sicaliptic magazines appeared in Madrid and Barcelona. In Madrid the magazine *La Pulgabegan* its publication in August 1901. In 1903, the *Rojo y Verde* and *Piripitipi* weeklies emerged in Barcelona, while the weekly *Chicharito* appeared in 1904.

One of the first most successful erotic magazines appeared in Barcelona in January 1904 with the title *Sicalíptico*. It is necessary to add that sicaliptic and political journals had already appeared in the nineteenth century, such as *La Tracain Valencia* which for more than forty years kept its satirical and grumble vein, suffering intermittent suspensions due to its critical aggressiveness.

Between 1920 and 1930 this literature proliferated, especially in Madrid and Barcelona. For example, during the twenties titles like *Flirt Guasa Viva*,

³⁰ HERREROS, ISABELO.: *La conquista del cuerpo*, Ed. Planeta, Barcelona, 2012, p. 24.

³¹ SWISLOCKI, M Y VALLADARES, M.: *Estrenado con gran aplauso. Teatro español 1844-1936*, Ed. Iberoamericana, 2008, p. 220.

³² VERDÚ MACIÀ, V et al: *Fiesta, juego y ocio en la historia*, Op. Cit., p. 370.

³³ SLIDE, A.: *The encyclopedia of vaudeville*, University Press of Mississippi, 2012, p. 344.

²⁸ MONTIJANO RUIZ, J, J.: *Historia del teatro olvidado: la revista (1864-2009)*, Op. Cit., p. 131.

²⁹ VERDÚ MACIÀ, V et al: *Fiesta, juego y ocio en la historia*, Op. Cit., p. 370.

La Vida, Muchas Gracias, Cosquillas and Varieté emerge in the capital of Spain. In Barcelona, meanwhile, Color magazine is born. In the thirties the number of publications in this genre increased in Madrid with titles like La Guindilla, El Gorro Frigio, Ba-ta-klan and Miss, all of them in 1931 or Gaceta Galante and Chicin 1932. Whereas in Catalonia sicaliptic magazines were direct, critical, sarcastic and sharp, in Madrid existed a more casual and less satirical elegant press.

As for the cinema, it is necessary to add that the existence of a rich Spanish pornographic production during the twenties has been confirmed. Three old porn movie tapes, - El confesor, Consultorio de señoras and El ministro-, were discovered by producer José Luis Pado and critic Sigfrid Monleón and restored by the "Filmoteca de la Generalitat Valenciana". These three films shot in Barcelona by Royal Films between 1920 and 1926, were exhibited in private sessions at the court of King Alfonso XIII.³⁴

14. SWISLOCKI, M Y VALLADARES, M.: Estrenado con gran aplauso. Teatro español 1844-1936, Editorial Iberoamericana, 2008.
15. THATCHER, D.: El teatro en la España del siglo XIX, Cambridge University Press, 1996.
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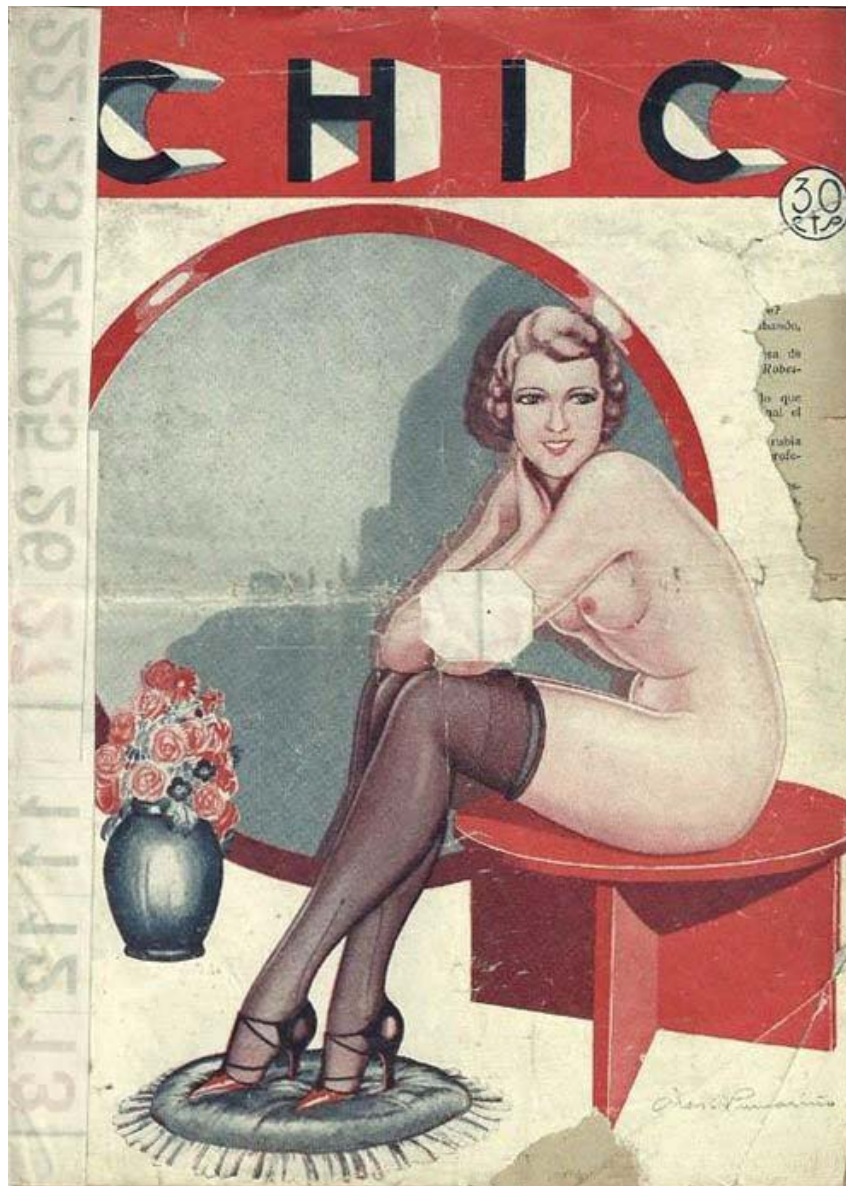
Press:

1. El Heraldo de Madrid, December 24, 1910.
2. El Heraldo de Madrid, May 27, 1909.
3. El Heraldo de Madrid, September 18, 1912.
4. El Heraldo de Madrid, November 17, 1906.
5. El Liberal, April 25, 1902.
6. El País, July 1, 1909.
7. La Gaceta del Norte, January 31, 1920.

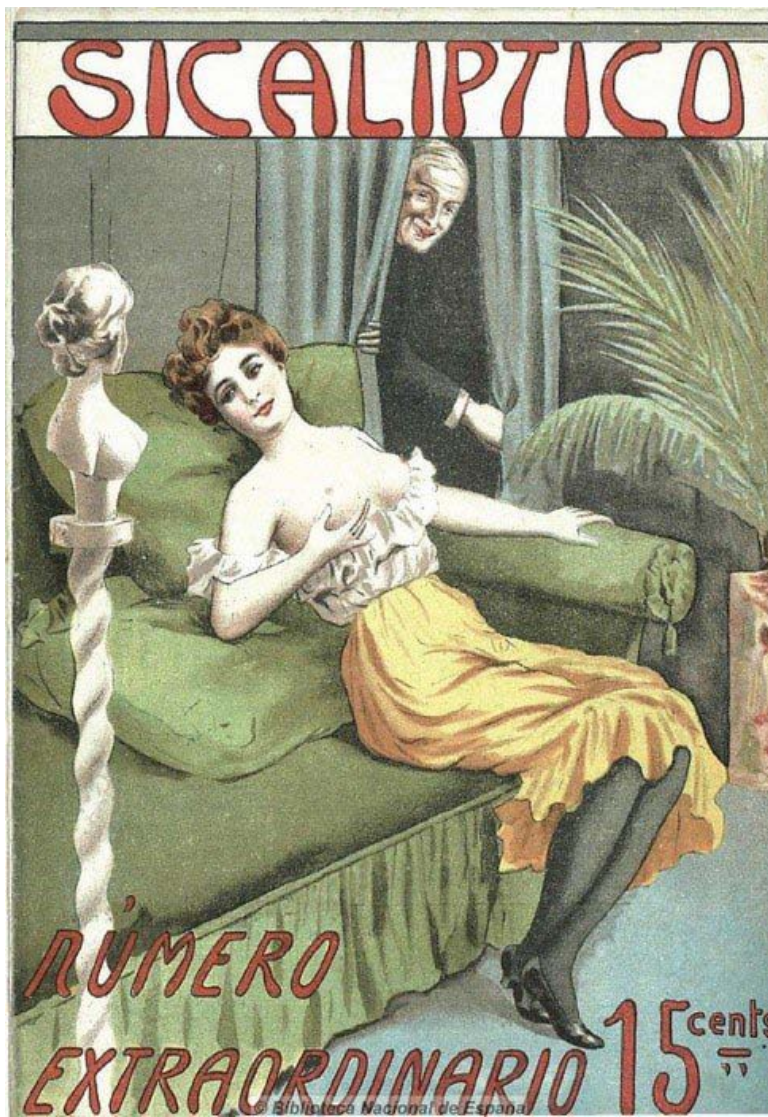
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³⁴ FELIPE LEAL, J. F.: *El cine y la pornografía*, Op. Cit., p. 62.

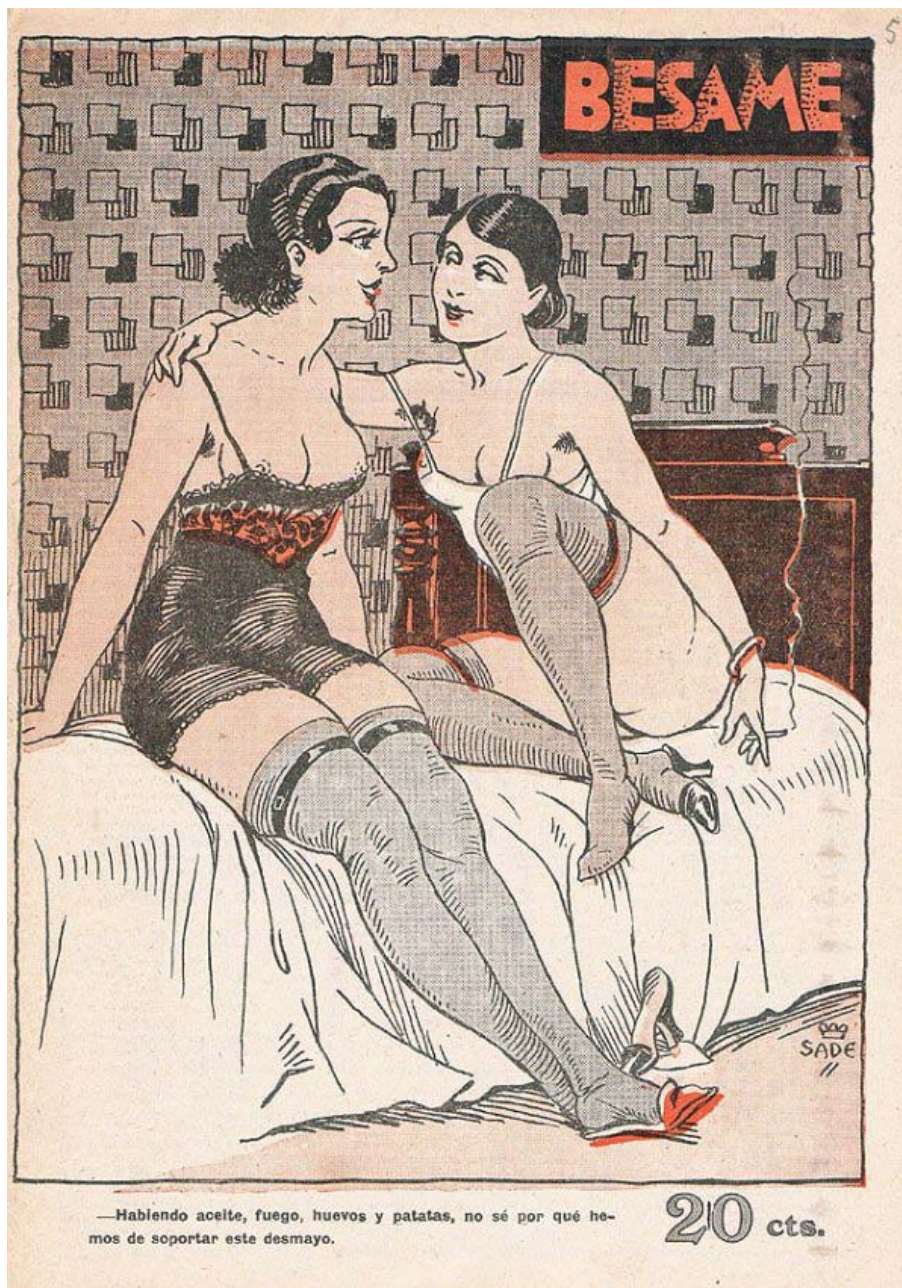


Number 6 of the CatalanChic magazine October 20, 1932.



Cover of issue 20 of the Sicalipticomagazine corresponding to May 21, 1904. It was an extraordinary number 5 cents more expensive than the usual price of the magazine.





Magazine cover corresponding to number 5 of the Valencian *Bésame* 1932 publication.

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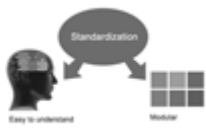
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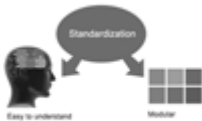


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The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Carry on to be to the point, by means of statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently. You must obviously differentiate material that would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matter should not be submitted at all except requested by the instructor.



Content

- Sum up your conclusion in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In manuscript, explain each of your consequences, point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and comprise remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or in manuscript form.

What to stay away from

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surroundings information, or try to explain anything.
- Not at all, take in raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present the similar data more than once.
- Manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate the identical information.
- Never confuse figures with tables - there is a difference.

Approach

- As forever, use past tense when you submit to your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.
- Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report
- If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results part.

Figures and tables

- If you put figures and tables at the end of the details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attach appendix materials, such as raw facts
- Despite of position, each figure must be numbered one after the other and complete with subtitle
- In spite of position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other and complete with heading
- All figure and table must be adequately complete that it could situate on its own, divide from text

Discussion:

The Discussion is expected the trickiest segment to write and describe. A lot of papers submitted for journal are discarded based on problems with the Discussion. There is no head of state for how long a argument should be. Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implication of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and hold up for all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of result should be visibly described. Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved with prospect, and let it drop at that.

- Make a decision if each premise is supported, discarded, or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."
- Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work
- You may propose future guidelines, such as how the experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
- One research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind, where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

- When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from available information
- Submit to work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.
- Submit to generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.



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<i>References</i>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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