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CHILDREN AND THE PARTITION
HISTORY FOR CITIZENSHIP

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Children and the Partition

For those born after 1980, the partition of our country into many nations is not an earth-shaking event. It is a distant event with which they have at best tenuous relationships. To investigate these relationships is to raise questions about the way history and histories are created and how the arts of memory are exercised. At the very least there is an official history to which all historians hold a certain relationship. Set besides these official histories are other ways of grouping the events of the past and we experience or observe their presence as alternative or competing histories.

The children of modern India may be (i) aware of their official history which they integrate into other aspects of their being; or (ii) aware of their national history but separate from and uninvolved in it. 'Alternatively', they may be (iii) unaware of their official national history but aware of other histories; or (iii) unaware of their official history and of any history.

This essay is chiefly about children in the first three categories, and indeed these may be the only three that are socially possible. In the first and longer section, we look at children of category (iii), children who clearly have other histories. How are the arts of memory exercised in their case? This section, prefaced by a set of two interviews, concerns the children of Muslim weavers in Banaras. I have chosen weavers because this community has been historically regarded as "communal", "bigoted", and "backward", and today are regarded as much of the same, but more eloquently as resistant to the secularizing and modernizing efforts of the nation.

In the second section we look at children of categories (i) and (ii). The community and class background of these children, as befits a 'mainstream' group, has not been discussed at any length. They are from the class that forms the backbone of the nation, that wants liberal education and secure 'service' jobs for its sons, marriages into proper service families for their daughters and maybe, careers, if in proper establishments, now, as well. It reads and comments on national politics and takes issues of inflation, corruption, production, distribution, etc., very much to heart. The children confidently regard the lessons of history and society, culture, etc., which they learn in school to be gospel truth, nor in any case is there any contradiction to them at home.

Of the many patterns that may be discerned within this discussion only some are relevant for the present argument. We see how weavers' children fall between the inadequate arts of memory of a pre-modern and a modern epoch. Secularization and disciplining into a nationalist identity occurs through suppression of a minority or local or deviant culture. Given this, it is the weavers who are losing out on their legitimate place in the nation, but it is the middle class children who are losing out on the memories and cultural funds that should also be theirs.

Interview 1: the son of a weaver in Banaras, about 13 years old.

[Who are you?]

My name is Shahzad Akhtar. I am in class IV, in Jamia Hamidia Rizvia.

[What do you like to do?]

I like to play marbles in my free time. I play bat and ball in the field (maidan) occasionally. I don't like to stay at home.

[What do you know about 1947?]

1947? I can't remember. I don't know.

[You must have studied it in your History?]

History? We don't do much.... Nothing much is taught in our school. We will have our exams soon. Yes, I know, the Slave Dynasty...the Slave Dynasty....

[Yes?]

I don't remember. The Slave Dynasty....blast! Many of our periods go free (khali jaten hain). Let me tell you what happens. The teachers get together in groups, talk, eat and drink. They eat in the classroom and don't let the children eat anything. No, we don't have tiffin time. If we try anything, they beat us.

[You do have a History book don't you? Maybe Hamari Duniya Hamara Samaj? (Our World and Our Society--the U.P. Board textbook in Social Studies)]

Yes, but we--er--we haven't begun it yet.

{Shahzad is then asked many random questions in History but cannot answer a single one of them. He keeps explaining that he has forgotten or that they haven't done it yet. Then he volunteers certain answers he remembers, in a subject called "Malumat-e-Amma" (General Knowledge). He repeats the answers in a monotone, accompanied by a swaying of his body, as habitually done by those reciting what is learnt purely by rote.}

What is haj?.... What is namaz?.... What is roza?.... Who invented the needle?.... Who invented soap?....

{The speed of his answers precludes getting them down exactly, and he is unable to repeat them slower. His mother enters at this point and interrupts occasionally}

[How will you do your exams?]

{doubtfully} Yes, they are in May, no, in June...

{mother}: We want him to change schools. He is not learning

anything.

[Is he fond of learning?]

{mother}: No, his father is very fond of having him learn (bahut shauk hai).

[Are there any activities or functions in the school? Do they celebrate 15 August? 26 January?]

Nothing. Nothing at all.

{mother}: There were when I was small. I studied in the same madrasa you know. On 15 August we were all taken to Jai Narain {the oldest 'modern' school in Banaras} to participate in a parade. The management of this madrasa eats up all the money. They do not bother about studies at all.

[Can you not complain about this as a guardian? And about their not getting time for a snack?]

{mother}: No, because we are "low". {Mother leaves the room}

{Shahzad has a little sister of 6 or 7, whose doll has recently had a wedding with a doll in her paternal aunt's house. Shahzad recounts it with enthusiasm. The two children, with two other siblings, show all the store of things now owned by the doll: fridge and kitchen items, clothes, jewellery, furniture....Shahzad is very interested in every part of the proceedings and exhibits a necklace that he has made, one of many other such little pieces of the doll's apparel that he has made.}

[Do you have any teachers at all who teach?]

Mansoor master is a good teacher. He even jokes a little.

Interview 2: Teacher in Jamia Hamidia Rizvia

[Who are you?]

Mohammad Mansoor Alam Khan, from Bihar, here for ten years. I teach Maths in VI and VII, Urdu in IX and X, History

in Vi and VII, Geography in V, VI, VII.

[What is special or different about the teaching in the school?]

For a long time, this school was till class V-VI only. Those who are in the sari business do not want their children to get ahead. Then it was till VIII for a long time. For the last four years we have IX and X. There are obstacles from guardians.

[What kind of obstacles?]

Greed for money (*paise ka lobh*). Also, the economic condition is not too good.

[Regarding that--if the children need to sit at the loom--why not adjust the school timings?]

We have. The timings are 7.30 to 12. About 40% work at the loom plus studying.

[How are the studies here?]

Good. Which subjects are good? Hindi and Urdu are good. Sociology [sic] is okay. Science is not. Why? It is tough for them. They cannot work hard enough.

[What is the advantage of learning these things if they will only weave in the future?]

Oh, there has been some improvement in the condition of the people.

[Is there any direct teaching on the subject of citizenship, social interaction, behaviour, etc.?)

There is Diniyat (Religion), a subject from class II onwards. There is Civics, part of the U.P. Board syllabus from VI onwards.

[Is there any indirect teaching? Do you have any functions or programmes?]

On Republic and Independence Days we have flag hoisting, sweets. On 23 December, 10 days before Ramazan, we had our annual function. We gave awards and a farewell to class X.

There were 7 this year. Their guardians came. No, we have no play, music, recitation, satire, etc.

[What are the main problems you encounter as a teacher?]

There are many. Guardians don't take enough responsibility. There is poor attendance at parents meetings, or the guardians simply never come. We tried monthly meetings, class-wise. There is great illiteracy among them. In my own class, V, out of some 28, 20 do come. They listen, but they cannot do what they are told.

They drop out after class V because they've finished the Quran Sharif. This place has no society, no culture. Since this madrasa is free, only the poor send their children to it. They are also indifferent to other schools because there is no Urdu there.

[What do the children learn at home?]

How to weave. The traditional work (*gharelu karobar*). Things related to weaving.

[Anything else? What about from T.V.?)

That influence is restricted to clothes.

[No, what about cricket?]

Yes, now cricket is such a thing that you can get carried away during a game. But it only lasts as long as the game. They cheer for the Pakistani team. Then they forget. It is a temporary phenomenon. One of my friends currently supports the South African team.

[So it is not an indication of communalism?]

No, it is only cricket.

The ideally balanced recollections demanded of memory perhaps exceed the capacities of the untrained human mind. The victims of history, the bodies of the humans on whose backs achievements are carried out in the name of progress are not

automatically given a space in human memory. They need a constant battle waged against forgetfulness. If we believe that the feel of people's experiences must be transmitted, that the ethical value of that experience must be respected, then there are many tasks that remain for many kinds of history.¹ But before we discuss that further, let us explore the arts of memory as they are exercised by the weavers.

Weavers' children, like Shahzad, have the following experience. A son, for a weaver, is an extension of himself. As an infant he is only semi-human, the other half of him divine, toy-like, prince-like (*bachche to badshah hote hain*).² Fathers give sufficient indication of this by enthusiastically playing with their infant children in their free time, cuddling them, commenting on their abilities, indulging their whims. From as early as four or five years onwards, a weaver's son becomes street-wise. He is sent to the shops for tea and pan, for small purchases, to send and bring messages. He is not disciplined regarding his use of space or time, and is expected to be mobile. In this respect he is a miniature version of his father and other males in the family and begins to resemble them more and more. Let us remind ourselves of the male popular culture of Banaras.

Of the many leisure activities of the weavers, such as fairs, festivals, processions, annual celebrations at shrines, gatherings for music and poetry, and wrestling and body building, the most important for them is *ghumna phirna* (wandering around), including both wandering around the city and going "outside" for *sail-sapata* (pleasure trips). In the case of all the activities, and especially the last, there is a structure of signification with certain key relationships: between the body and freedom, the outdoors and freedom, season and mood. "Freedom" is a concept idealised by weavers and all other artisans. It reflects partly the

actual freedom inherent in the piece work that characterises artisan production, and is partly an ideological reflex to the insecurity and inflexibility of such labour. That the idealization of "freedom" reaches the heights it does is a testimony to the self-conscious ethic of the city, based on its corporate character, its patronage of the arts and letters, its pride in more mundane pleasures associated with open air, mud, and water; and a refinement of "tradition" as expressing the excellent in many areas of cultural life.³

While Muslim weavers hold this view of the city, of freedom, and of themselves as inheritors of this tradition in conjunction with other artisans, their view of "history" and "geography" is parallel but separate. Certainly, if we reflect upon it, they could not be expected to share in the familiar, dominant Hindu view of the city as the centre of civilisation and the bestower of release after death, or in its fecundity with regard to temples and icons and holy bathing places.

For the Muslim weavers history dawns with the coming of Islam to the region, approximately around 1000 A.D., when Salar Masaud Ghazi was martyred nearby and the remnant of his force settled down in the region. They became the kernel of the present population of Muslims. As evidence of this history are scores of graves, shrines, and mosques to the *shahids* (martyrs) who sacrificed their lives to the spread of Islam. This history is kept alive in everyday existence by the weekly worship and annual celebrations that mark the most popular of these shrines, as well as in their quieter role as places of rest and mediation at any given time.⁴

While women, children, and whole families go together to shrines on special days, the places are cultural centres for males typically, as are mosques and *chabutaras* (open cemented

platforms) in every neighbourhood. A little boy may accompany his male relatives and experience to progressively increasing degrees the openness and benignity of the city. Like them, he wanders around anywhere in his free time, may be traced to one or two favourite haunts, like an outdoor space, at friends', playing or watching cricket, or simply "in the lane" (*gali men hai*). He does not get embroiled in domestic activities, unless, like shopping, they involve the outdoors. Teenage boys, when interviewed, provide reports of the joys of the outdoors, of free time, and open space that are identical with those provided by adults.

Shahzad Akhtar stands at a bridge between infancy-childhood and teenage. He was "caught" by me on the street, engaged in nothing in particular, accompanied by a few friends who hastened to blend into the background. Rather than surround me with curiosity, they preferred to remain "free". To shake me off, Shahzad first reported that he was on his way to weave. But when my insistence made him surrender and we were sitting and chatting in his home, two of his friends looked in to find out where he had disappeared. At the same time, he showed evidence of enjoying quieter pastimes at home, including sewing and threading necklaces for his little sister's doll, although he did not mention any such interest when reporting on his pleasures.

His weaving began at least two years ago. The vocation of the weavers lies with the pit loom and the training of all of them starts with their sitting at the loom from about the age of eight onwards. This may be with the father or with a master weaver in exchange for a small apprenticeship. He starts with the simplest processes and is made to "embroider" the narrow borders at each end of the sari under the adult's guidance. He is simply inadequate physically to use the loom fully until he

matures.⁵

Shahzad Akhtar lives in Madanpura, the centre of the silk weaving industry. If asked who he is, he is more likely to say "I am a resident of Madanpura," than "I am a Muslim", or "I am from Banaras", or "I am an Indian." This identification with a mohalla or neighbourhood is a correlate of poverty, illiteracy, and backwardness. It plays itself out in self-identification at a daily level, such as in the common question to strangers, "Where are you from?"⁶ and in all cultural activity. Wrestling matches, poetry competitions, Baqr Id sacrifices, Moharram tazias, and Barwafat decorations all take the form of competitions between mohallas.

To be from a weaver's family is to "be" an Ansari, a nomenclature adopted by weavers in preference to the derogatory "julaha" in the 1930s. The process of upward mobility through a change in name and the composition of a valedictory history is one that characterizes every caste and caste-like group in 20th century India, and is old enough for the weavers to retain no oral memory of it. Ansaris consider themselves a lineage and an endogamous group. They cite as their specific personality traits pacificity, kind-heartedness, and a love for freedom. The last is expressed and re-confirmed in lifestyle and leisure activities. Pacificity and the more untranslatable *narmdil* or *dilraham* ("kindheartedness") are perhaps demonstrated in their relations with middlemen and agents. Weavers are consensually accepted as being easy to deal with in matters of buying and selling. Their love of freedom does pose a danger in that they miss deadlines and shut up work at any small pretext, but in the process of transaction, they display no acerbity or aggressiveness.⁷

It is difficult to state precisely where a weaver's son like Shahzad would pick up these preferred qualities of Ansaris except to say that he does spend hours with male relatives, first while sitting at the loom in the dusky workshop marked only by the clatter of eight looms, then in occasional trips with his father to Chauk, the central wholesale and retail market of Banaras, carrying finished saris. Otherwise he hangs around in his mohalla and rarely goes outside, if ever at all.

Shahzad studies in Jamia Hamidia Rizvia which means that he is a Barelwi, as opposed to being a Deobandi or Ahl-e-hadis if a Sunni, and a Shia if not. His school was founded in 1897 by an association called Anjuman Taraqqi Ahl-e-Sunnat.⁸ In opposition to the reformist groups, they represented a continuity with the past, while "in their very self-consciousness, representing a departure from it".⁹ To some extent Ahmad Riza Khan participated in defence of Sunni Islam against the Arya Samaj brand of militant Hinduism, but he opposed even more militantly the Shias and the reformist Deobandis and Ahl-e-hadis.

The founding of Hamidia Rizvia and other major madrasas in Banaras are part and result of the educational history of colonialism. After Wood's Despatch in 1854, local Muslims failed to "take advantage" of the new government scheme of grants-in-aid for both vocational and ethical reasons. The new schools were favoured by some because they trained boys for an official or professional career, but, as the government was told by assorted members of the public, "the Ansaris already have a profession."¹⁰ Nor could the weavers resign themselves to sending their children to schools where no character formation would take place. Together with other castes and communities, Ansaris came to found their own institutions, in which, they believed, a synthesis between the spiritual (dini) and the worldly

(*dunivavi*) could be effected.¹¹ In the process of doing this, they worked along denominational lines: the Deobandis and Ahl-e-hadis set up separate madrasas, as did the Barelwis. Their teachers were hired accordingly and their textbooks chosen or even written according to sectarian loyalties.

Shahzad Akhtar's fate is affected in ironic ways by this. He is totally part of Banaras' popular culture, shared whole-heartedly by all weavers and all artisans (along with some other occupational groups), and his primary identity is that of "Banarasi". As a schoolgoer he is also subject to a teaching that defines him as a "Muslim" and as a "Barelwi". He is constantly made aware of his own sectarian identity and that of his school, his friends (at least in school) are all Barelwis, and he adopts an unquestioned sense of righteousness regarding other sects--attributes shared by all my informants.

Jamia Hamidia Rizvia, like other madrasas, had to develop its own curriculum once the accepted classical Islamic syllabus, the *dars-e-nizamiya*, was substituted by a government board syllabus.¹² Histories and Geographies had to be written, since such subjects did not traditionally form part of the Islamic syllabus.¹³ The text used at present by Hamidia Rizvia is "Geography District Varanasi" for "the fourth grade of Islamic maktabas" written by Maulana Abdus Salam, author of two larger works on the subject, *Tarikh Asar-e-Banaras* (The History of Banaras) and *Tazkara Mushayakh Banaras* (Narrative of the Great men (Sheikhs) of Banaras).¹⁴ Let us look at only one issue as it is treated by the maktab's social studies book.

On the subject of the Gyanvapi mosque in the heart of Banaras (next to the Vishwanath temple), the Jama Masjid of the city, one of signal interest to historians in the threat it poses today as a

target for the wrath of fundamentalist Hindus who consider it symbolic of Islamic iconoclasm, the book discusses the name and location. Then: "This Jama Masjid was built approximately 315 years ago in 1070 hijri (c.1664 A.D.) by the renowned badshah of Hindustan, Alamgir. Hindus claim that it was built by destroying a temple on this site. This is wrong. The foundations of this mosque were laid by the great grandfather of Badshah Alamgir, Akbar, and Alamgir's father, Shah Jahan. had started a madrasa in the mosque in 1048 hijri which was named Imam-e-Sharifat."¹⁵

Of course the status of the iconoclastic activities of Alamgir, better known as Aurangzeb, as well as the origins of the Gyanvapi mosque are far from resolved. While Indian textbooks have unreflectively presented, and continue to present, Aurangzeb as among the most fanatic of Muslim rulers (and for them there are many to choose from) and the destruction of any temple by him as a most credible, unquestionable fact, contemporary research has also shown that complex political motives lie behind seemingly simple religious ones. The Hamidia Rizvia textbook is therefore "right" in its denial of guilt to Aurangzeb but "wrong" in the reasons it gives for this.

What is of immediate relevance here is that textbooks of this kind create a history and consciousness on questionable premises. In this case a community is being set up which includes Alamgir, an Emperor whose sway extended over the whole of Hindustan, and weavers in Banaras, mostly poor and illiterate. The dividing line is between this community, which worships at and therefore builds up mosques, and those who worship at temples and therefore mourn their destruction. Such divisions and constructions do not have to be anything more than suggestive and associative to make an impression on minds of every age.

The most powerful kinds of evidence used in these constructions seem to be that from the most fantastic and dramatic epochs of the past, those in stark contrast to the humdrum existence of poverty-ridden everyday life.

Madrasas, depending on their sectarian affiliations, stress their separate identity constructions, however. Jamia Sallia (Ahl-e-hadis) or Jamia Islamiya (Deobandi) would never accept the definitions, the reasoning, or the sheer form and layout of a textbook published by Jamia Rizvia. The community remains therefore a burgeoning "Muslim" one, but one qualified by a sectarian identity.

Does all this, however, match what we hear from Shahzad Akhtar about his own experiences? We can discount his mother's testimony that things were much "better" in her student days as the romantic nostalgia of a parent frustrated by a child's failure. But while in conversation Shahzad and I were surrounded by four other children from the same madrasa who assented to everything he was saying, qualifying it for their own teachers and classes. Shahzad is an attractive, cheerful, intelligent, sociable boy, who is articulate on all subjects, but specially effective on certain chosen ones (his teachers' injustices, his sister's doll).

Shahzad does not know what happened in 1947. Shahzad cannot remember any episode or personality from Indian history. More than that, he cannot make up, improvise or just invent anything, as one might imagine a child to be able to do who has some elementary training in answering questions of a "textbook" character, and experience plus an active imagination in dealing with questioning adults.

His responses constitute a damning indictment of his school. First, that no History has apparently been taught him even within this rote-learning system. Second, that no overall pattern has

been revealed to him regarding how to field questions or spin tales, that is, to construct narratives . Third, and where the madrasa shares the fault with most other schools in our country, no connections have been suggested between his own life and larger historical developments.

If we turn to the second interview, with the teacher that Shahzad admires, we find part of the key to the puzzle. If Master Mansoor may be taken as spokesman for the madrasa, as he and I both consider him to be, his answer to the poor learning of students like Shahzad is that Ansaris in general are apathetic to learning. They should support the schools and the students. In "other" schools (i.e., where guardians are more active), schools do 25% of the teaching, guardians the rest, and here the school has to do 95% of the teaching.¹⁶ The Ansari guardians are not only lacking in "society" and "culture" (i.e., they do not share in middle class ideals of progress), towards education they are particularly udasin (indifferent, because interested only in the child's learning the Quran).

The guardians, on the other hand, imagine that the child's learning will naturally take place in the school (what percentage was not specified to me, but I repeatedly got the impression that it was almost 100%). Since madrasas are known to be aided institutions, which receive in addition charitable endowments, it is a common speculation that their funds are being mis-used by their managers. Why else would the kind of descriptions that Shahzad gives of classroom conditions be given? Why else would the child learn so little?

Our approach to the 'problem' is to try and see it as a condition within a certain faultline between discourses, that of the modern and that of the pre-modern. The madrasa would like to expect the guardians to behave like modern, participating citizens and

prepare their children socially and psychologically for an educated future. Such a future would be bounded by practical considerations such as health, nutrition, and family planning; and by ideological ones such as awareness of constitutional rights (distinguishing between the hierarchical values of "freedom") and participation as a full citizen of a democracy (distinguishing between "myth" and "history"). The guardians, on the other hand, are still part of a "pre-modern" world, one that has been trying for at least the whole of the 20th century to come to terms with the demands of modernisation and has striven to leave the task to schools. If indeed it was an older world where an Ansari world-view was fully legitimate and the outside world condemnable, socialization could be left to the family. If, similarly, it was a newer world where a modern nationalist world-view was hegemonic, socialization could be left to the schools.

As things stand, Shahzad learns little in the school. The school blames the parents for their ignorance of the modern educational agenda. The parents blame the school for not fulfilling the agenda, conscious that they are being treated as inferior in this old-new dichotomy.

Of course, while Shahzad does not know what happened in 1947, what is important is that he does know and is learning many other things. Together with other Ansari boys, he is learning the craft of weaving, both its technique and its ethic, or how a weaver is expected to conduct himself. He is learning the pleasures of the outdoors and established pastimes in Banaras' popular culture. He is gradually being socialized into gender role playing (even the sewing and necklace making that impressed me so much, on later consideration, has much to do with his learning to weave and embroider). Every part of his work and leisure

underlines his male-ness first. And since he does go to school and passes exams, he is learning to think of himself as "educated". An educated person is necessarily superior to an uneducated person, but inferior to others educated in more normative ways. Madrasa education is on the brink between non-education and education in the eyes of the system and its supporters, and almost everyone else as well.

There is a structural congruity here. Shahzad will never become a well-educated person, or he will never become a good weaver. Good weavers, the majority of weavers, are those who are tied to their occupation as an inevitable one, justified to themselves as the best occupation in the world. They are free and unreformed, sceptical of the values of control, discipline, citizenship, and progress. The practices of Jamia Hamidia Rizvia effortlessly guarantee Shahzad's fit for this role. And all madrasas are like that, according to educators: as erring, in the balance they try to maintain between *dini* and *duniyayi* instruction, on the side of religion.¹⁷

One conclusion that emerges effortlessly is that community-based schools such as the madrasas of Banaras must be sacrificed for national(ist) schools. The needs of a community, whether religious, occupational, or linguistic, have to be erased before the needs of the nation. This is a violent, arbitrary, colonial solution. Madrasas and such schools may be pedagogically weak, but they are not "symbolically violent"¹⁸; they do not impose the "cultural arbitrary" of the dominant group of society onto other groups. At the same time, they are repressive in that they restrict the choices of children. If we acknowledge the value of freedom, not in the weavers' sense of strolling around and spitting everywhere, but in the sense of the equality with other citizens to choose occupation and lifestyle, then it is the madrasa that

precludes such freedom totally.

Part of being a good weaver is to be rooted in local culture, protective of a particular history, ignorant of and indifferent to the nation and its history, unaware of 1947, aware of being a Muslim, a Barelwi, a Banarasi, and an Ansari, an unreflective supporter of the Pakistan cricket team, and resistant to the condemnations of ignorance and backwardness because self-sufficient in oneself. There is a close tie between history teaching and citizenship. The madrasa children reproduce their lower class identities directly through their madrasas, and not through resistance to them as do the working-class children in a modern British school.¹⁹

II

The second section of this essay is prefaced by a set of two descriptions of participant-observation situations and two interviews.

Participant observation no. 1: I teach History in class V in Qudrutullah Gulzar-e-Talim, a Muslim School for girls in Banaras.

Class V has 50 students, of which some 5 are absent. It is a spacious, well-lit, airy classroom, with bare walls, serviceable desks and benches, a large blackboard (for which a child produces the chalk from inside her desk). They are all wary of me in the beginning, and warm up slowly.

I ask them re: 1947. There is a prompt response from the same child re: both aspects of the event, independence and partition, as well as to my third question, regarding five important freedom fighters. The hesitation in answering is so extreme, with the same child attempting the next few questions

also, that I wonder aloud if she stands first or second in the class? She does not. Now the two who do shake themselves up slightly.

I ask them to attempt a map of India on the black-board. They will not. I show them the trick of making it with a triangle. With vast prodding and help from me, some two or three come up and make a hash. None of them have a picture of India in their minds, its neighbours, or its states. They cannot place any of them on the map, or any cities, or anything else. When questioned orally, they know the main mountains, rivers, and cities. They have obviously never used the blackboard, drawn anything, or attempted anything visually or tactically.

Does anyone know a story or song regarding 1947? No. With some help from me, a couple mention a song or two, such as *Sare jahan se achha*. Has anyone heard a story? No. I mention stories, songs, scenes familiar to me from television. It seems to me that their general knowledge, even regarding t.v. and film content, is very poor. Even more, their *level of interest* is very poor in what is shown or could be shown on t.v.

I try to probe into their identities. What is their father's occupation? After a long bout of tongue-tiedness, one ventures the euphemism, "loom *ka kam*". Almost all are from weavers' families. Do their mothers work? Upon their saying "no", it goes to their credit that they all look embarrassed when I wonder aloud if housework is not work. They vow to never consider their mothers non-workers again.

Their identities are securely gender based. They laugh heartily when I suggest that their fathers may supply them clean uniforms for school. They associate intimately with their mothers. All are eager to claim sharing in her work: washing and ironing clothes, washing dishes, cooking, cleaning up. They love it when I ask

a question regarding their dolls and how many were married. Hands shoot up with alacrity. Smiles flash on most faces.

Their subjects are all the same as in a madrasa, including Urdu, Diniyat, and Arabic in addition to the Board subjects. Equal numbers raise their hands for Urdu, Maths, and English as their favourite subjects. Many of them have tutors.

When I discover they have no music, dance, or drama, and that the school merely gave a holiday on Republic Day instead of celebrating it, I heave an involuntary sigh of disappointment. "One should have some music, dance, or drama" escapes me. Such is the rapport built up in the class by now that they wistfully agree with me.

Participant-observation no. 3: I interact with class XI in the same school, Qudrutullah.

There are 18 girls, some 15-17 years old, sensible, confident, and pleasant looking. They are sitting temporarily in a classroom not theirs, so when I look around for their naqabs, I don't see them; they are hanging up in their own room. A couple of voices murmur, "We don't all wear naqabs." {The Principal had earlier told me that naqabs were compulsory}. Throughout the class the teacher of Economics, Indrani Tripathi, sits with me. They have no choice of subjects: all do Hindi, Economics, and Home Science. They are just the second or third batch to be in class XI, and the second one from whom some hope of future collegians can be held.

They answer promptly all my questions regarding 1947 and freedom fighters. They remember at least the film *Gandhi* and have heard nationalistic songs on t.v. They even have some idea of what to do for the country, especially one who is a doctor's daughter.

They are unself-conscious about Pakistan. Many have relatives there who visit often. One, who narrates the tale of an aunt who does not like it there because she does not feel at home (*apnapan*) there, is greeted with empathy by others.

All help at home. One even makes candles and pickles, presumably helping in her mother's work.

They meet each other, go out for shopping, watch t.v., read Urdu magazines and Stardust. Two respond "yes" to having Hindu friends, one the daughter of her father's friend, the other a neighbour in the mixed Hindu-Muslim mohalla of Shivala.

The girls seem relaxed about themselves and their future. Some five will do B.A. from Basanta College. One can *picture* them as promising undergraduates, in *burqa* or not.

In my view the greater "secularization" and "national identification" of these girls is due partly to their belonging to a different class of Ansaris, those who would prefer non- madrasa to madrasa schools. Within these schools, it is due further to their having some Hindu teachers, like Indrani. These are modern, secular, nationalist women who are subtly Hindu; friendly observers of the girls, but their critics and reformers as well. My most powerful impression of the teacher was that she was a trifle bemused by Muslim customs, none of which happens with Hindu children getting a Muslim teacher. The students learn in myriads of subtle ways how to conform to 'majority religion' and 'national' culture, and because they and their families have the will to do so, they conform and 'progress'.

The second part of this second section moves to a different stage of action, Calcutta. The children studied here are all sons and daughters of refugees from East Pakistan in 1947-48, who

live in the colonies of Tolleygunj like Netaji Nagar and Kudghat. The families are Hindu, but secular and liberal. They are upwardly mobile and universalist, and believe in progress. All the children go to schools overtly religious: Loreto House (Christian), Future Foundations (Hindu, based on Sri Aurobindo's philosophy), and Rama Krishna Mission Vidyalaya (Hindu). These schools are taken by me as typical of those that project a national, secular version of India's history. The families concur in this version, regardless (or some may say because) of the past that individuals have experienced.

Interview no. 3: Daughter of a refugee from East Bengal, 10 years old, student of Loreto House, a Christian Missionary school.

[Who are you?]

I am a girl. I like badminton and cycling and my favourite food is cheese. My hobby is reading. My favourite subject is Science....I'm short, I have black hair and brown eyes {there was no response to stimulus from my side for more community-oriented definitions of the self}

[What do you know about 1947?]

It was an important year but I can't remember what happened. Yes, India got independence from British rule.

[Do you know about Partition?]

There were lots of riots going around. India got divided into two. All the Hindus came to India and all the Muslims went to Pakistan.

[What are Hindus?]

It's a religion? {I encourage her} Hindus are a kind of people.

[What kind?]

Their language is Hindi and most of them live in India.

[Who are they different to?]
Sikhs.
[Anyone else?]
Muslims?
[What are Muslims?]
Muslims are just another kind of people. They go to mosques
and do a few other things differently.
[Do you know any Muslims?]
No.
[How would you know a Muslim if you saw one?]
They dress differently. The girls wear veils. The boys wear
salwar-kameez--no, kurta-pyjama--and caps.
[Do they speak Hindi?]
Yes {realizes that earlier she had said only Hindus did}
[What about Masroor? {a friend of hers who is Muslim} How
is he different to you? What is the difference?]
He is not. There is no difference.
[What is your father?]
He is the director...{gives occupation} His religion? He is a
Hindu.
[How do you know?]
I know he is.
[Does he do puja? Go to temples?]
He doesn't go to mosques. No, he doesn't go to temples. He
visits temples.
[Puja?]
{Doubtfully, then humorously} I've seen him light a wick.
[Tell me about your father's father]
He was a zamindar and used to own a lot of property and then
he sold it all. I don't know when. Was he a Hindu? I don't
know. I think he was. No, I have not seen any pictures of him

or his house {I know that such pictures hang in their family house}.

[How do you know all this?]

My father told me.

[Do you know where he lived? Anything else?]

In Bengal, but I don't know where. I don't know anything else.

[Would you like to know?]

Yes.

[Do you know any stories about Muslims?]

Id is their festival. They go to mosques and they pray. Once in my old school on Id we had a poetry competition. In one book I saw they were hugging in a special way, on both sides of the neck.

[Do you know that Hindus and Muslims fight?]

Yeah, I don't know about what. I know that one of our neighbouring countries wanted to take Kashmir...it was China or Pakistan.... Why Kashmir? It makes a lot of things. It's clean and pretty.

[Would you like to fight? For Kashmir?]

Yeah. {grins} No! I don't like fighting. I would not do it because I would like to do something else.

[For yourself? Or for India?]

I don't know. Yes, for both.

Interview no. 4: son of a refugee from East Bengal, 13 years old, student of class VIII in Ramakrishna Mission Association.

[Who are you?]

My name is Dibyarka Basu. There is not much to say about me. I am a boy. I read in RKMA Vidyalaya. My hobbies are reading story books and watching cricket.

[What do you know about 1947?]

It was a year that brought much hope to the Indian common people. But the independence of India also brought the partition of Bengal. A catastrophic {pauses, gropes for word} riot began, It gave the Indian people an opportunity to develop their country, but it gave the political leaders a way of exploiting the country.

[Who is to blame?]

Mahatma Gandhi is partially involved but I think the real...was Zinnah (sic).

[How do you know all this?]

General information...what I hear from people, what I read in books.

[Do you study about it in History?]

No, our textbooks have nothing on this. Our syllabus is not so much attached with politics.

[Do your teachers talk about it?]

Our History teacher is not so good, although he has knowledge, but my English teacher in my previous school was very good.

[Did you see anything on TV in this connection?]

Yes, two or three films...I can't remember which. "Gandhi"? Yes. Yes, I know some songs. Which ones? Bande Matram, Bharat amar janani. On 15 August we have a march or parade, and flag hoisting.

[Do your parents tell you about this?]

My father does. No, he is not like the textbook.

[Do you know anything about your grandfathers?]

Yes, he(sic) was Professor of English. I heard that he was wise. He lived nearby. The second grandfather I have forgotten. At one time, *at one time* he lived in Bangladesh. I don't know

where. His occupation? I don't know.

[Would you like to know?]

Yes. I am interested.

[Are you a Hindu?]

Yes.

[How is that different to others?]

There is no difference. Customs are different. That is not very important. All the gods of all the religions are the same. My father and mother are Hindu *by name*. They celebrate Durga Puja. They worship God Kali. But all the gods are the same.

[Do you know any Muslims?]

Yes. {names cricketers, at least four of them.} No, I have no friends. I have one uncle. Not a direct relation. A friend of my father's. No, there is no difference between his house and mine...yes, the construction is different. There is no attached bathroom. The kitchen is very big. There is a big roof. The house is large. They are rich.

[Why do Hindus and Muslims fight?]

It is a perfect example of stupidity. There is no reason to fight. It is due to orthodoxies. They are stubborn. No, I don't know this from my teachers, but in general...but I don't know the way of removal of this.

[Would you like to do something about it when you grow up?]

It depends on the political situation of the time. There may be no need.

[What religious books do you know or have read?]

The Veda. We have shlokas in our school. "Amader Gan" has Veda path. We have a subject, "Indian culture". We memorise shlokas and learn the meanings. No, I have not read the Quran.

[Would you like to read it?]

No. I mean I have not decided.

In the first participant-observation above, the Muslim school described sets itself apart from madrasas, and places itself in the tradition of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Together with about a score of other such institutions in Banaras, it states its intention to produce a well rounded, modern, progressive person, but one who is also a good Muslim. Those running the best endowed and respected madrasas would say that that was their intention as well. But the differences in the two kinds of schools are quite apparent to all. We could name them for our present purposes as two: one, that the principal and teachers of Qudrutullah depend far more on the guardians of their students to accomplish their purposes than the madrasas can. The Qudrutullah guardians are required to co-operate in the school's mission of having students perform daily scholastic duties and pass periodic exams, and the guardians in fact do so--or remove their wards to a madrasa. The guardians' failure to thus perform is exactly what madrasa teachers deplore but have to tolerate.

The second difference is the corollary of this greater co-operation: the undermining of the arts of memory as practised in daily life. The school, in performing its job better, co-opts the home, weakens home culture, and weakens a world of intangible traditions, rituals, practices, role playing that helped--and continues to help in the case of madrasa children--in the perpetuation of histories. The modern school's student will not have the time or inclination to learn, and her guardians will not have the will, the coherence, and sometimes the very courage, to teach in any way an identity and relationship to the past different to the officially preferred one. The project of modernisation, secularisation, and nationalisation becomes a family project, with

the child at the vanguard.

Interviews 3 and 4 demonstrate--indeed, highlight--the second process at work. The school's history teaching is imbibed by the child but with no connection to the child's own identity. Nor does the child have an alternative culture or history. The schools these two students belong to are, respectively, an old, well established Christian missionary school, a model for a kind of modern English medium institution; and a Hindu reformist school, which denominational differences aside, has an Annie Besant philosophy of producing modern, scientific Hindu citizens. In both cases the overwhelming experience of the child is one of homogenization, where no part of the home culture is acknowledged or tolerated, unless it be targetted for reform.²⁰

Since a child's experiential sensitivity is probably greater even than our imagination--only our memories of childhood sometimes give us a glimpse of this sensitivity--the child succumbs to the homogenizing influences. Children of modern public and missionary schools (of whatever denominations) assimilate the daily routines and rituals of their schools much more completely than envisioned by educationists.²¹ All of home culture becomes a trace, a mark fading with time. Guardians of these public or missionary schools co-operate with the project of homogenization even more fully than in the case of the modern Muslim school. In this case they are likely not to follow, but to lead the school in its mission, being either products of such institutions themselves, or consumed by the ambition of seeing their children 'succeed' in a frankly competitive world. Whatever they retain of an alternative history--such as in the case of the above interviewees, the parents having been refugees from East Bengal in 1947--is consigned slowly to oblivion. All linguistic, regional, sectarian, and caste identities of the child and

her family are purposefully erased.

Guardians in fact concede this readily, although with different points of emphasis. The parents of interviewee no. 3 and 4 agreed that we in India do not respect history, we keep no documents in the house, we believe little in story telling about or ritualising the past. One father regarded this as an economic problem, people in general being preoccupied with mundane worries, with no time for more "abstract" thoughts. The other parent regarded it as a cultural problem that stood out starkly when contrasted with the case of England or America. Neither would have agreed that they, the middle class, compared unfavourably in this respect with people like the poorer weavers of Banaras, who quite successfully transmit their history to their children, defying all demands of homogenisation.

In defiance of their own logic, however, but not the larger logic of their class-position, they would have maintained that they compared favourably with lower classes such as the weavers in that they had made the more rewarding choices of moulding themselves into a secular, nationalist identity--even at the expense of having their children grow up with no notion of the caste, cultural, or even existentially formed historical identities of their families. The class loyalties behind particular positions on 'history' are profoundly important-- even as the regional and sectarian are not--but are not the focus of the present essay. Here I wish to only arouse us dealers with 'history' to a greater reflexivity about our enterprise, and do not properly analyse the causes that give rise to nationalist versus alternative histories.

In order to tease out the analyses from these interviews further, we have to remind ourselves of some necessary implications of a nationalist system of education which necessarily includes a discipline of nationalist history. That the exercise that schools

are engaged in is a violence in which control of the minds of children is achieved and notions of what is true, proper, credible are imprinted on them, is too well understood to need elaboration.²² As long as we speak of the nationalist system, we are stuck with the problem of colonisation. As long as we subscribe to its values, we are acting colonially.

It is perhaps natural for us to regard the socialization effected by Qudrutullah, Loreto, and Ramakrishna Mission Vidyalaya, as more successful than that of Jamia Hamidia Rizviya. The Muslim, Christian, and Hindu reformist schools--all claiming to be secular in practice within their sectarian ideological pronouncements--teach students with more professional acumen. They are closer to the model of a modern institution, with less soul searching and conflict regarding the validity of the model. Their students are better able to answer factual questions regarding their history, and they are better trained in the art of answering questions altogether. As one student responded,

"I think Partition was the fault of some leaders who wanted to satisfy their own interests, like Jinnah; they knew they were in a minority in India, they would never become big leaders-- now I'm talking like my textbook--they aroused communal feeling among Muslims. The Congress had to agree. [Were some of the Congress leaders not at fault?] {Pause} Some of the Congress leaders might have also wanted Partition but the aim of the Congress was to keep India united so they couldn't openly support that demand."²⁴

Both the level of knowledge of the student and her self-consciousness that she sounds like her textbook are noteworthy.

Also noteworthy are, in interview 3 specially, the reflexive sense of humour as the child admits that she would "rather do something else" than fight for her country even to save the clean and pretty Kashmir,²⁵ or as another child of the same age responded, "I do not want to fight because I might die, and I prefer to be alive than to be dead."²⁶ Similarly the self-conscious dignity of interviewee number 4 is notable when he refuses to commit himself to what he would do to resolve the communal question when he grew up: "It would depend on the political situation of the time."²⁷

How far the 'History' learnt as a subject gets assimilated by the child as part of his or her identity is not possible for us to say conclusively, given our relatively simple ethnography here.²⁸ The evident indifference in response to questions related to History in general and 'Indian History' in particular points to a weak relationship between the subject as studied and the child's sense of the self. The child's world does not incorporate a sense of the nation and its birth. But then there are the occasional insights which obviously interplay between lessons and personal experiences which indicate at least the possibility of a strong relationship. For instance, a 14 year old in Future Foundation, a school based on Aurobindo's teaching, replied,

"Yes, I am a Hindu. I am first an Indian, then a Hindu. It doesn't feel good to think of oneself as a Hindu. For example, a dada (senior male student) in our school is a Muslim. One day my friend Reoti called him a "maula"....it felt very bad. My friend also called Azharuddin a "maula" because he didn't play well. Not that I am a supporter of Azharuddin, but I don't have that bad impression about Muslims. I wanted to object but my friend Rishika didn't want me to. Thak (let it

be), she said, these are matters of caste and community. Our miss says. tomara to bheto Bangali (you are all cowardly Bengalis)--you are communal and prejudiced but don't dare to show it. She said that in matches, Muslims support Pakistan, but we would not dare to. I like it that India is secular. I could be a Muslim or anything, it would be the same, but I wouldn't wear the burqa. I hate that."²⁹

Or as another child of an immigrant father from Pakistan and a non-immigrant mother explained,

"Am I sorry about Partition? My grandfather was a zamindar, he had a lot of property. They had to leave all their property. Later on, the government gave some of the money to the refugees, not all the money, that would have been too much. My grand-father had a really nice library which they had to leave behind. {pause} My father seems sorry about Partition. Since they had a big library, I'm sorry. But, {pause} if it hadn't happened, if they'd stayed there, our lives would have been different. He wouldn't have met my mother, I wouldn't have been born. It must have been very sad for them though. My father said my grandfather didn't want to leave."³⁰

This interesting philosophical point came quite unself-consciously to the child, that what happens in history, when seen from our personal vantage point, is very likely the best, since if things had happened differently, we personally wouldn't be here at all to discuss these questions.

Conclusion

The problem for us as historians arises in that we cannot any longer distance ourselves from a judgemental involvement in the process. What we say will suggest, partly by implication, whether we are personally wedded to a one-nation, a two-nation, or a multi-nation theory, whether we believe in the continuity of history and a nationalistic historiography or not, what content we prefer this nationalistic historiography to have, and whether we celebrate the efforts of communities to reproduce their local identities at the expense of a national one, or consider it a regrettable attribute of their marginalisation.³¹

The conclusion of this essay is two-fold, both related to history-writing and history-teaching. While inter-related, the first has to do with the technology of education, and the second with its politics.

The child in South Asia--both the advantaged middle class child who learn school History lessons well, and the disadvantaged working class child whose school has not yet developed a technique to teach national history--grows up without a sense of certainty about his national history, where he belongs in it, and what his 'duties' within it are.³² The home, in such a country, a postcolonial, underdeveloped country, is greatly impoverished. The modern state and its appurtenances may not have scored a total victory, but they fight a tough battle. Their voice is loud and clear, if not always comprehensible. So, many of the earlier socialization functions of the home are meddled with and written over by the state.

But the school, ostensibly part of a universalist modern system of education, fails because of the school's pedagogic poverty. While the trappings of the school are modernistic, its "hidden

curricula" falters. Also, there is little reflection or debate about the actual processes by which children may be wooed to participate in the construction of an identity. The approaches that are adopted are not informed by any impressive pedagogical expertise or respect for children's developmental levels.³³ The school's aim is to build up historically conscious nationalistic individuals, but the school fails. Its products either do not learn a national history, or they do not assimilate the history they learn as truth; in neither case do they internalize it as part of their identities. At both extremes, the one of the minimally modern institution of Jamia Rizviya, the other of the acknowledged leader-in-the-field modern institution of Loreto, educators agree with this assessment. Those of the former school put the blame on guardians; apparently these educators have yet to learn the other lesson of modernism that such obstacles must be crushed into submission. Those of the latter school accept that they probably emphasize the universal and the comparative (which should more precisely be read as the West) at the expense of the national and the local, but maintain that it is a good choice.³⁴

This 'failure' of the school--and I use the word in a restricted, contextualised sense--is for pedagogues to overcome through the particular practices in their classrooms, by taking to heart the lesson that they all know intimately from their teaching experience, that (i) a pedagogue has made a choice of strategy as soon as he begins his class; (ii) this strategy is not limited to the content of the textbook but infuses every process in the classroom space; and (iii) that even the contents of the chapters are assimilated only to the degree that they capture that part of the mind of the child we call the 'imagination'.

Secondly, as professional historians who do not quake before a questioning of the outdated scientism of our discipline, we must

ask about our history writing if we are willing to risk experimentation, to collapse, for instance, the boundaries with aesthetics, tradition, story telling, and other arts of memory. Can we confront the peculiar task before us, to be nationalists without denying other histories? Can we improvise upon the forgotten techniques by which histories were always transmitted, in the interests of making our nationalist history interact with personal and community histories? History has not come to an end anywhere. Yet the difference that marks societies where a nationalist vision of the self and one's country predominates (say, Britain or the USA), and those where many alternate histories co-exist (say, India), is not reflected in any difference in the history writing of those from these respective societies, namely the ex-metropolises and the ex-colonies. Historians of India could reflect on this for their own craft, and, together with pedagogues, for the sake of the nation's culture. How must we formulate the relationship between our official History and the senses of history created in a routine, everyday way? How could one write or teach about the nation in ways that do the least possible violence, indeed, that respect and celebrate, other higher and lower level, un-mixing and un-matching histories?

This relationship is left un-problematized, ironically, from both extremes of viewing the question of children and history. A modernizer like Myron Weimer³⁵ assumes that only a state or a bureaucratic will is needed to make all people choose to educate their children in a similar way. A critic of modernism like Dipesh Chakravarti³⁶ suggests that to propose lessons in sanitation or the germ theory, or by implication, other lessons in modern self-worth, is to outrage some 'natural' 'indigenous' dimension of thought that should rather be left free. The first steps towards a problematization should subject these

assumptions to a scrutiny.

As practising historians, and not to mince matters, brick and mortar constructors of the nation, it would defeat our purposes to claim that answers existed to be found. Answers have to be made up. But many starting points exist. For instance, the knowledge that we might be seeking approval from some unnamed god of 'science' when we set about to delineate the margins even as we define the centre. Or the knowledge that we may be so rooted in our own class prejudices that decide our gains and losses that we cannot even recognise alternative wills to action. Or the knowledge that to hear other voices is not to root for their natural-ness. If politics lies in the official historian's activity, it lies also elsewhere in the memories and identity constructions of the dominated others.

These and other starting points have already been mapped and the task is not so much to belabour the difficulties before us as to appreciate the need for incorporating the problematisation into our practice.³⁸ How after all do we educate a child about her nation and yet protect that brilliant innocence which makes her admit that she would not like to fight to preserve its boundaries because she "would rather do something else"?

Endnotes

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In Banaras: Jamia Salfiya, Jamia Islamiya, Jamia Hamidia Rizvia, Qudrutullah Gulzar-e-Talim, Central Hindu Girls' School, Tulsi Vidya Niketan, Kiddy Convent.

In Calcutta: Archana Primary School, Loreto House

1. See Angelika Rauch, "The Broken Vessel of Tradition", *Representations* 53 Winter 1996: 74-96, a paper with which I only partly agree.
2. Zafar Sadiq, weaver, Madanpura; Khaliqulzamman Khan, Police Sub Inspector, observer of weavers, Adampura
3. N. Kumar, *The Artisans of Banaras: Popular Culture and Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988)
4. N. Kumar, ed., "The 'Truth' about Muslims in Banaras," in P. Werbner *Social Analysis* Special Issue no. 23

5. This is also the "traditional" way of teaching weaving for at least the whole of the 20th century; see B.P. Singh, *Banaras ke Vyavsayi* (Kashi: Gyan Mandal, 1920), pp. 4-6.
6. See N. Kumar, "'D' on venez-vous?' *Le mohalla de Benares*" ("Where are you from?' *The mohalla of Benares*"), in *Benares: un Voyage d'architecture* (Paris: eds. Creaphis, 1989)
7. See Kumar, *The Artisans*.
8. This and all other information on Hamidia Rizvia and other madrasas is obtained from the members of their managing committees, here, chiefly from Janab Moinuddin, Secretary.
9. Barbara Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India: the Madrasa at Deoband* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984)
10. File 728 GD Block 1887 (UP Archives)
11. File 7 Education A 1917 (UP Archives); File 14 Education A 1911 (UP Archives)
12. I thank the late Maulana Abdus Salam Nomani for explaining the dars-e-nizamiyya's role in Banaras education to me; see also Francis Robinson, "The Ulama of Farangi Mahall and their Adab", in B. Metcalf, ed., *Moral Conduct and Authority* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984)
13. See B. Metcalf, *Islamic Revival*; Maulana A.S. Nomani

14. Abdus Salam Nomani, *Tarikh Asar-e-Banaras* (Banaras: Maktaba Nadvatulma'arif, 1963)
15. Abdus Salam Nomani, *Geographia Zila Varanasi: A textbook for Darza IV of Islamic Maktabas*
16. Mohammad Iqbal and Mohammad Siddiqi, teachers, Jamia Islamia
17. Among many others, the following prominent educationists may be mentioned as sharing this view: Salamullah of Farogh-e-Urdu; Abdul Aziz of Mazhar-ul-uloom; Hafiz ur Rahman of National Inter College; Badruddin Ansari of National Inter College.
18. Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (1977)
19. Paul Willis, *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Children get Working Class Jobs* (Westmead: Saxon House, 1977)
20. Described eloquently as "the revolutionary vernacularizing thrust of capitalism" which peremptorily determines native intelligence by censoring unruly, demotic speech as gibberish, by Jerome Christensen in "The Romantic Movement at the End of History", *Critical Inquiry* 20, no. 3 Spring 1994: 452-76
21. I discuss this in detail in N. Kumar, *Lessons from Schools: Essays on Education in Banaras* (forthcoming)
22. It is difficult, therefore, to see how Ashis Nandy makes a thesis of this point in "Reconstructing Childhood: A

Critique of the Ideology of Adulthood", in his *Traditions, Tyranny, and Utopias: Essays in the Politics of Awareness* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987). The literature on education is replete with discussions of precisely this function of education. For references and overall discussion, see Kathleen Lynch, *The Hidden Curriculum: Reproduction in Education—An Appraisal* (London: the Falmer Press); Woods, *The Divided School* (1979)

23. Educational institutions on India have hardly been discussed in light of their distance or proximity to the modern model they are based on. For a preliminary but interesting discussion see Edward Shils, "The Academic Profession in India," in Edmund Leach and S.N. Mukherjee, ed., *Elites in South Asia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979)
24. Irfana Majumdar, student of class X, Loreto House, Calcutta
25. Saraswati Nandini, student of class V, Loreto House, Calcutta
26. Rudra Majumdar, student of class V, Future Foundation School, Calcutta
27. Dibyarka Basu, student of class VII, Ramakrishna Association Vidyalaya, Calcutta
28. Other discussions of childhood show a thinness even more deplorable, for instance, Anja Forssen, ed., *Childhood in Four Societies Part I: Tanzania and Finland* (Helsinki: The Finnish Anthropological Society, 1985), and Frederick Ellen

and Gerald Handel, *The Child and Society: The Process of Socialization* (New York: Random House, 1978)

29. Sriparna Majumdar, student of class IX, Future Foundation School, Calcutta
30. Irfana Majumdar
31. See Avril Powell, "Perceptions of the South Asian Past: Ideology, Nationalism and School History Textbooks", in Nigel Crook, ed., *The Transmission of Knowledge in South Asia* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 190-228
32. For the more interesting discussions along these lines, see E. Valentine Daniel, "Three Dispositions towards the Past: one Sinhala, two Tamil," in H.L. Seneviratne, ed., *Identity, Consciousness and the Past, Social Analysis* Special Issue Series no. 25 Sept. 1985: 22-41; Terence Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition Revisited", in Preben Kaarsholm and Jan Hultin, ed., *Inventions and Boundaries: Historical and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism* (Roskilde: Roskilde University International Development Studies, 1994). For an indigenous, non-academic view, C.G. Kolhatkar, "Bahurupi", in D.D. Karve, translated and Ellen McDonald, ed., *The New Brahmans: Five Maharashtrian Families* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 143.
33. For two opposed explanations, see Robin W. Levin, "The School and the Articulation of Values", *American Journal of Education* 96 no. 2 Feb. 1988: 143-61; and Krishna Kumar, "Origins of India's 'Textbook Culture'",

Comparative Education Review 32 no. 4 Nov. 1988: 452-64

34. Mrs Janette D'Souza, History teacher in Loreto House, Calcutta
35. Myron Weiner, *The Child and the State in India* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991)
36. Dipesh Chakravarty, "On Modernity, Garbage, and the Citizen's Gaze", *Economic and Political Weekly* 7-14 March 1992
37. Nita Kumar, "The 'Truth' about Muslims in Banaras: An Exploration into School Curricula and Popular Lore," *Social Analysis* 28 July 1990": 82-96
38. For further discussion of this very large issue, see my Introduction in *Lessons from Schools: Essays on Education in Banaras*. (forthcoming)

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