

**CONTEXTUALIZING THE IDENTITY OF TRIBALS AND
ABORIGINALS IN THE SELECTED WORKS IN THE LIGHT
OF RAYMOND WILLIAMS'S CONCEPT OF DOMINANT,
RESIDUAL, AND EMERGENT**

A Thesis

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award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

English

By

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(41400172)

Supervised by

Dr. Amrik Singh



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Declaration

I, the undersigned, solemnly declare that the thesis titled **Contextualizing the Identity of Tribals and Aborigines in the Selected Works in the Light of Raymond Williams's Concept of Dominant, Residual, and Emergent** is based on my own work carried out during the course of my study under the supervision of Dr. Amrik Singh.

I assert the statements made and conclusions drawn are outcomes of my research work. I further certify that

- I. The work contained in the thesis is original and has been done by me under the general supervision of my supervisor.
- II. The work has not been submitted for any other degree/diploma/certificate in this university or any other university/institute of India or abroad.
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- IV. Whenever I have used materials (data, theoretical analysis, and text) from other sources, I have given due credit to them in the text of the thesis and giving their details in the references.

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Certificate

The thesis titled **Contextualizing the Identity of Tribals and Aborigines in the Selected Works in the Light of Raymond Williams's Concept of Dominant, Residual, and Emergent** submitted to the department of English, Lovely Professional University, Phagwara for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy was carried out by Parvanshi Sharma at the department of English, Lovely Professional University, under my supervision. This is an original work and has not been submitted in part or full for any other degree/diploma at this or any other university/ institute. This thesis is fit to be considered for the award of degree of Ph.D.

Dated: *Sept. 22, 2022*



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Abstract

In the thesis titled ‘Contextualizing the Identity of Tribals and Aboriginals in the Selected Works in the Light of Raymond Williams’s Concept of Dominant, Residual, and Emergent’ an attempt has been made to understand the identity dynamics that is operational in any social formation at a cultural level by analyzing its annexation in the literary fiction. The study minutely observes the representation of tribals and aboriginals in terms of their identity in the selected works of Mahasweta Devi, David Malouf, Mario Vargas Llosa, and Abdulrazak Gurnah. The presence of the study of tribals, aboriginals, or indigenous people has been felt at literary front under different rubrics like Subaltern Studies, Fourth-World Literature, Aboriginal Studies, and Dalit Literature. But how far our present knowledge of existence, in the age of globalization and multiculturalism, does entail the recognition of the tribals and aboriginals? How do the variables of identity discourse like economy, politics, literature, lifestyle, institutes and beliefs, define the tribals and aboriginals? Such questions regarding the predicament of the tribals and aboriginals are much in vogue in the present literary studies. The current study is also an endeavor to explore the ‘representation’ of the cultural formations and structures as depicted in the twentieth century fiction through which the indigenous tribes and aborigines get meaning to their identity.

The selected works namely *The Book of the Hunter* by Mahasweta Devi, *Remembering Babylon* by David Malouf, *The Storyteller* by Mario Vargas Llosa, and *Paradise* by Abdulrazak Gurnah are skillfully discussed by using Marxist prism suggested by Raymond Williams’s concept of “dominant, residual and emergent” structures which play at the core in the construction of any culture and thus, in the construction of any individual/group belonging to that culture.

The selected authors have put in conscious as well as unconscious efforts in their writings representing the politics of identity making and to say more clearly, the politics of making of tribals and aboriginals as the 'other.' Such binary formation of identity, i.e., self / other is central to the study of the selected works by identifying the dominant, residual and emergent cultural elements represented in the works. The study looks for the socio-cultural factors which make the tribals and aboriginals fall in the category of 'other' in the mainstream. The point is to bring to the front the common identity crisis of the indigenes irrespective of their regional diversity. An attempt has been carried out to see the homogeneity in the working of the cultural formations that bring the common identity crisis among indigenes. The thesis tends to: explore the history and culture of tribals and aboriginals highlighted in the selected texts; develop a theoretical framework of Raymond Williams's concept titled "Dominant, Residual and Emergent;" critically analyze the cultural elements, ideologies, and social formations and processes which have actively participated in enforcing the politicized identity on the tribals and aboriginals; trace the reasons of downgrading of tribals and aboriginals; and investigate the corollaries of dominance on the tribals and aboriginals.

The contextual analysis of the selected works underscores: (1) the motifs and social referents prevalent in the works representing identity dynamics using concepts like discourse, ideology, hegemony, repressive state apparatus, ideological state apparatus, and acculturation; (2) the cultural identity markers like myth, oral tradition, social norms, beliefs, language, social mannerism, color, dress and food through pragmatic approach; and (3) the contextualization of the history of tribes and aborigines abounded in the cultural phenomenon of dominant, residual, and emergent structures as suggested by Raymond Williams. The origin of the native tribes and aborigines has been traced to pick out the fault lines ubiquitous in the representation of their 'identity'. In the process of analysis, the entanglement of politics and identity as represented in the selected literary fiction has been highlighted.

The analysis of the selected works surfaces the similarities and dissimilarities of the cultural processes involve in shaping the identity of the tribals and aboriginals as a subordinate and dominated class in relation to the dominant class comprising non-tribals and non-aboriginals. There is a resonance of homogeneity in the motifs like identity loss, storytelling, myth and legends, oral traditions, and ecology (flora fauna) in all these texts. The themes like displacement, separation, assimilation, banishment, marginalization, subjectivity, and economic exploitation are prominent in the selected writings. The representation of the socio-cultural factors responsible for the plight of the native tribes and aborigines brings the selected works justly under analysis. The research is also encircled by the context of the intersection of pre-colonialism, colonialism, and nationalism.

The findings in the study help to understand the concept of identity as a social construct. This social construct feeds on different socio-cultural elements, political aspects, and economic aspects— all are at play incessantly at any given period of time and place. As a consequence, the concept of identity turns out to be the product of ‘subjectivity’. There is always an ‘other’ as binary to the self. The dominant structure functions at any point of time in a society only by creating an illusion of the ‘other’ subservient structure. This subservient section is understood in terms of ‘residual’ as suggested by Raymond Williams which is in fact none other than once dominant structure at other given period of time. The dominant structure keeps on developing itself by exploiting, manipulating, and entrapping the residual. Not only this, the dominant also creates space for alternative or counter structure known as ‘emergent’. The new cultural tendencies, beliefs, and values keep on emerging sometimes as subversion to the dominant but incorporate the dominant through the process of exclusion or inclusion at the sweet will of the dominant only. This entrapment model keeps the dominant in existence and the process of the

entrapment involve inevitable cultural loss. The determiners and markers of identity of individuals/groups- their traditions, rituals, norms, beliefs, values, language, and social behavior and mannerism- are lost in this cultural phenomenon. Thus, the 'other' is formed and lost, and the cultural phenomenon of the dominant, residual, and emergent formations continue. This cultural phenomenon is identified and thus used as a tool to analyze the representation of the identity of the tribals and aboriginals in the selected texts.

The implementation of the Raymond Williams's trio- 'Dominant, Residual, and Emergent' serves to expound the identity crisis bore by the tribals and aboriginals at the hands of the dominant social formations. The critical study of each text highlights that the serene and contented lives of the indigenous tribals and aboriginals are disturbed with the steady arrival of the settlers on their lands. These settlers emerge as invaders, colonizers, capitalists, traders, religious missionaries, linguist missionaries, intellectual scholars, government surveyors and subsequently, the class categorization under the dominant socio-political formation goes on. Though there are slight variations in the ways and ideologies that the settlers have adopted to affect the tranquil lives, they share a lot of commonalities. For instance, both Mahasweta Devi and Mario Vargas Llosa have tried to reinforce indigenous pride in identity dynamics and criticize social ills within the tribal communities. They underline in their texts the sufferings of the tribes and the reasons of their exploitation and oppression. However, the text of David Malouf fails to give an appropriate identity to the aboriginals. His text does voice the exploitation and suffering of 'a black' named Gemmy, but he becomes 'a black' only after coming in touch with the 'black' aboriginals being born as 'a white'. At last, Abdulrazak Gurnah has dealt with the local African tribes with no glorious past. The study shows that Gurnah focuses more on the internal loopholes of the residual tribal culture which are responsible for their sad fate. There is dislocation and displacement of the tribes from pre-colonial setting to emerging colonial setting. The internal

social sub-structure of the tribes is not free from evil of slavery which is being exploited further to dislocate tribal identity.

All the selected texts are polemical ranging from overt political commitments to celebration of nature expressing and reinforcing a distinctive tribal and aboriginal world view. The study of these texts intends to emphasize the pride, dignity, and survival of the indigene tribes and aboriginals in the face of unpredictable future, rather than robbing them off of their identity by stamping them as subordinate marginalized section.

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Introduction

The present study titled 'Contextualizing the Identity of Tribals and Aboriginals in the Selected Works in the Light of Raymond Williams's Concept of Dominant, Residual, and Emergent' explores the representation of the tribals and aboriginals in terms of their identity in the selected fictional works. Indigenous people who are interchangeably called tribals or aboriginals do not need much introduction. One often comes across references to these groups and communities while reading fictions, newspapers, blogs, headlines, and varied modes of mass communication. But how far our present knowledge of existence, in the age of globalisation and multiculturalism, does entail the recognition of the tribals and aboriginals? The question of the identity, recognition, and predicament of the tribals and aboriginals has been a fascinating and intriguing area of exploration in cultural studies for a decade. Identity dynamics has grabbed the attention of literary and cultural critics and the question of identity construction and production is much in vogue in the present literary studies. The current study is an endeavour to acknowledge the discourse of identity through the literary prism. An attempt is made to scrutinize the 'representation' of the socio-cultural variables, processes, and institutions in the twentieth century fiction which are involved in determining the identity of the tribals and aboriginals and give meaning to their existence.

The study critically analyses the works written in twentieth century by four contemporary authors namely Mahasweta Devi from India, David Malouf from Australia, Abdulrazak Gurnah from Tanzania, and Mario Vargas Llosa from Peru, who have depicted the predicament of the indigenes in their fictions. The foremost reason to select these authors for the study is that all these authors have depicted the lives of the indigenes of their respective countries in their respective literary works. It is inspiring to venture into the selected writings of Mahasweta Devi, David Malouf, Mario Vargas Llosa, and Abdulrazak

Gurnah to comprehend the tribal and aboriginal world in terms of their culture in general and identity in particular. The first author under study is Mahasweta Devi. Devi herself is not a tribal but has worked tirelessly as an activist to safeguard the interests of the tribals in India. She has put all her sincere efforts to represent a realistic picture of the *adivasis* of India in her prose and fiction. She has penned down more than hundred stories that have delved deep in to the beliefs, traditions, and values of the tribals. She has made a fascinating venture into the tribal culture herself by reaching out to their dwellings. Her idea is not to romanticise them rather to voice them as an integral part of the mainstream society. She has been revered with awards of national repute like Indira Gandhi Award for National Integration in 2005, Padma Vibhushan in 2006 and Sahitya Akademi Award in 1979 for her social activities as well as for plethora of writings. The second author under study, Mario Vargas Llosa, himself is a denizen of the mainstream Peru, having roots of his family in the tribal world. He has adapted himself to the mainstream's ways becoming a live example of a fusion. His writings are a clear-cut illustration of his own social dilemmas and his own split between being a tribal and a member of the mainstream. His personal experiences and familiarity with the native culture has provided a remarkable authenticity to his works. As a participant in the political system of his own country and also being a journalist, Mario Vargas Llosa is equipped with a socio-political perspective to stage the issues related to nativity in Peruvian society in his writings. He has bagged the most prestigious Nobel Prize in 2010, the Carlos Fuentes International Prize in 2012, and recently the Pablo Neruda Order of Artistic and Cultural Merit 2018. Unlike Mahashweta Devi, he has not exclusively dealt with the tribes of his birthplace. He has addressed varied factors prevalent in Peru like colonial tendencies, political loopholes, moral corruption, and wars in his writings. The next author under study, David Malouf, has added a different perspective to look at the aboriginal world surrounding Queensland. He is not an aboriginal himself and thus represents aboriginals from the perspective of a white

settler. He is curious about aboriginals' world and romanticise them as 'strange' people. His 1993 novel, *Remembering Babylon* won him great reputation. It was shortlisted for Booker Prize and marked its position in International Dublin Literary Award in 1996 and Commonwealth Writers' Prize. He bagged Neustadt International Prize for Literature and Lannan Literary Award for fiction, both in 2000. Most of his literary writings are bordered by World Wars and military expeditions, but the selected novel *Remembering Babylon* under the current study is the picture of 'the indigenous world invaded with white eyes'. The last author under study is Abdulrazak Gurnah, a native of Zanzibar Island. Owing to his academic interest, and acquaintance with local tribal background, he has negotiated with the local tribes in representing his signature topic, migration. While drawing the corollaries of migration and displacement in his works, he has cleverly touched the underlying world of tribes in East Coast of Africa paving its way with the mainstream, i.e. the West. His *Paradise* was shortlisted for the Booker Prize in 1996 and the Whitbread Award. *Desertion* was also shortlisted for the Commonwealth Writers' Prize in 2006.

The analysis in the thesis is focused on the representation of the identity of the tribals and aboriginals and it surfaces the similarities and dissimilarities in the cultural phenomena grounding the identity of the tribals and aboriginals as a subordinate and dominated class in relation to the dominant class comprising non-tribals and non-aboriginals. Descriptive and historical analysis is conducted to locate the real identity and origin of the represented native tribes and aborigines in the selected texts:

- *Shabar* tribes of West Bengal in *The Book of the Hunter*
- Aboriginals of Queensland, Australia in *Remembering Babylon*
- *Machiguenga* tribes of Amazon, Peru in *The Storyteller*
- Native tribes of East Africa, Tanzania in *Paradise*

There is a resonance of homogeneity in the motifs like identity loss, storytelling, myth and legends, oral tradition, and ecology (flora fauna) in these texts. The themes like displacement, alienation, banishment, identity crisis, and loss of tradition and beliefs are prominent in the selected writings. The depiction of the socio-cultural factors responsible for the plight of the native tribes and aborigines in the literary texts brings these texts justly under analysis. All the selected texts belong to the twentieth century fiction covering a chronological context of pre-colonialism, colonialism, and nationalism. In fact, the research is surrounded by the context of intersection of pre-colonialism, imperialism, colonialism, nationalism, and diaspora. The significance of the study relies not merely on the study of the predicament of the tribal and aboriginals; rather on the study of the cultural phenomena as represented in the literary texts which determines the place of the each and every individual/social group in a society. Representation of society, individuals, groups, and their predicament in the literary texts is often located in actual social, political, and material contexts. In Marxist literary criticism, literature is always considered to be written in relation to society. Social reality is not an indistinct background out of which literature emerges or into which it blends. Lee Patterson says, “Man is a creature who is constituted by his own constitution of the symbolic activity that is culture” (60) and literary works of a specific period are best representatives of the time and the culture in which they are produced. Cultural artefacts (art, music, and literature) cannot be studied independent of the social and material contexts. Raymond Williams while establishing the relationship between culture and its representation in the arts, (including literary art) says, “Our description of our experience comes to compose a network of relationships, and all our communication systems, including the arts, are literally parts of our social organization” (*Long* 55). In similar terms, Vincet Leitch while providing a commentary on the relationship of Marxist theory with literature says, “Culture and the arts in the Marxist view are neither innocent entertainment nor

independent of social forces; they play a significant role in transmitting ideology and shoring up the hegemonic order” (14). This means texts are seen as socio-political signs which carry, reinforce, and also subvert certain ideologies through which we generate meanings and thus become part of the discourse. This constructedness of culture, the determination of identities in that culture, its annexation by literary texts with regard to the identity of the tribal and aboriginals are central to the analysis.

The selected works of the Mahasweta Devi, David Malouf, Mario Vargas Llosa, and Abdulrazak Gurnah are skilfully discussed by using Marxist prism of dominant, residual and emergent structures elucidated by Raymond Williams. These structures are at play in the construction of any culture and thus, further responsible for the construction of any individual/group belonging to that culture. The selected authors have put in their conscious and unconscious efforts in their writings representing the politics of making of identity and to say more clearly, the politics of making the tribals and aboriginals as the ‘other’. Such binary formation of identity (self/other) is central to the study of the selected works by identifying the dominant, residual, and emergent elements working in the represented culture. The study elaborately explores the socio-cultural factors which make the tribals and aboriginals fall in the category of the ‘other’ for the mainstream’s ‘self’. The point is to bring to the front the common identity crisis of the indigenes irrespective of their regional diversity. The thesis tends to:

- explore the history and culture of tribals and aboriginals highlighted in the selected texts in terms of identity;
- develop a theoretical framework of Raymond Williams’s concept of Dominant, Residual and Emergent;

- critically analyse the cultural elements, ideologies, and social processes which have actively participated in enforcing the politicised identity on the tribals and aboriginals;
- trace the reasons of downgrading of tribals and aboriginals; and
- investigate the corollaries of dominance on the tribals and aboriginals.

For the present research, the selected works *The Book of the Hunter (BH)*, *Storyteller*, *Remembering Babylon (RB)*, and *Paradise* are surveyed as primary sources. The critical concepts that have been used for the study of the selected texts are based on the postulates of renowned postcolonial critics like Spivak, Homi K. Bhabha, Edward Said, and cultural critics like Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams. The argument to scrutinize the identity politics is built on Raymond Williams's concept of dominant, residual, and emergent structures in a culture. The critical and descriptive literature like essays and articles in books, research papers in journals, news, blogs, companions to authors, cultural and literary theories etc. are surveyed as secondary texts to support the developed arguments. The entire research is conducted as per the academic research format of MLA 8th edition. The review of the literature of the selected fiction detailed in the forthcoming chapter has its roots and implications in the postcolonial studies. A few researchers have put the focus on eco-critical studies by underlining the deep respect of tribals and aboriginals for nature and forest. A little response has been granted to the folklores, myths and legends. To review, the level of research that has already been done in the present area of study can be assessed at three different parameters: the first parameter is of thematic analysis tending to recurrent postcolonial themes of racism, displacement, economic exploitation, marginalization, exile, etc. The second parameter is analysis of dissent voices and the elements of resistance which are hidden or suppressed by the intricacies of colonial discourse. The third parameter is writing or stylistic analysis where the process of writing about the tribals and aboriginals

itself becomes the symbol of power and knowledge to name or tag the marginalized section. Thus, the research gap considering the selected fiction can be summarized in the following points:

Thematic concerns like racism, marginalization, subalternity, hybridity, and ambivalence in the postcolonial context are generalized without seeking an enquiry into the detailed social structure of hierarchies responsible for the origin of such themes.

The re-historicising of the oral traditions and myths of the tribes and aborigines has been attempted under ecological studies.

The politics of 'representation' within the texts has been neglected to a large extent. The representation of the tribals and aboriginals is questioned only at surface level, not to generate answers to the politicization of that representation either at the local level or at the global.

Narrative techniques are explored for the stylistic readings, but social referents are not looked for by making sign or semantic studies in relation to the context.

The cross-cultural perspective in the homogenous lifestyle of the tribals, aboriginals and other indigenous titles has been largely ignored.

The study of tribals and aboriginals so far, has been restricted to regional/national scenarios by doing comparisons of writings by different authors within one nation.

Marxist and feminist studies intersecting the postcolonial context have not been entitled appropriately except in the works of Mahasweta Devi and Abdulrazak Gurnah.

The intention of the investigation of the selected texts is to bring into focus a neglected side while doing textual analysis that is, the cross-cultural predicament of the natives and aboriginals in accordance with the review of literature detailed in the forthcoming chapter. None of the researchers reviewed in the thesis has earlier paid attention to see the homogeneity in the predicament of the indigenous tribals and aboriginals irrespective of their geographical locations in different continents. Few of them have taken a due interest in bringing the study of tribals and aboriginals through relating and contrasting literary fiction from different countries under one parameter of analysis. So, the present research is an attempt to look for the homogeneous suffering and identity crisis at the part of the tribals and aboriginals. In the attempted research, social, economic, political and cultural parameters have been used to discover the homogenous issues among indigenes. The social identity markers have been brought under inspection which are operational in every culture determining the identity of the individuals and groups. The study dissects the representation of such social formations which have annexed identity discourse at any point of time and space. The model of structures in a society titled 'Dominant, Residual and Emergent' by Raymond Williams has been applied on the selected fiction to understand how does the identity get constructed and find its representation in literary texts with emphasis on the identity of tribals and aboriginals. The contextual analysis of the selected works underscores: (1) the motifs and social referents available in the works using concepts like discourse, ideology, hegemony, repressive state apparatus, ideological state apparatus, and acculturation; (2) the identity markers like myth, oral tradition, social norms, beliefs, language, social mannerism, color, dress and food through pragmatic approach; and (3) the

contextualization of the history of tribes, and aborigines abounded in the cultural phenomenon of dominant, residual and emergent structures suggested by Raymond Williams. The origin of the native tribes and aborigines has been traced to pick out the fault lines prevalent in the representation of their 'identity'. In the process, the question of politics of identity as represented in the selected literary fiction is dealt with.

The 'Introduction' to the thesis is designed to address the justification of the title and to address the politics of identity which plays a significant role in determining the existence of any individual or group or community. It mirrors the objectives of the thesis and provides a glimpse of the methods used in the study. The research gap along with the chapter division are briefed in the current part of the thesis.

Chapter 1 'Critiquing the Selected Works and Understanding Raymond Williams's Concept of Dominant, Residual, and Emergent,' serves the conceptual description of the literary theory which has been used as a critical tool to analyse and interpret the primary sources. There is an effort to make an intervention into the discourse of identity as represented in the selected fiction from the point of view of fundamental Marxist notions in general, and the epochal notion of dominant, residual and emergent cultures in particular suggested by Raymond Williams. For making such intervention, it is important to form certain dispositions regarding Marxism as a theory and its intersection with the art forms, specifically literature. This chapter is dedicated to give a detailed description of fundamental terms of the theory of Marxism in general, and the theory of dominant, residual and emergent tendencies in a culture in particular. In other words, the chapter is an endeavour for making a theoretical framework to comprehend the method of analysis. The chapter concludes successfully by drawing dispositions for the intersection of selected fiction and methodology.

Also, the chapter includes a survey of secondary sources which gives an overview of already conducted research in the similar or related areas addressing the research gap.

In chapter 2 ‘Inspecting the Selfdom of Shabars in Mahasweta Devi’s *The Book of The Hunter*’ an attempt has been made to survey the different motifs and themes in the selected work like storytelling, displacement, caste and class society, and political and economic segregations by placing all these in a pre-colonial context. An intervention is made to re-historicise the origin of the First People and natives which are depicted in the selected work by analysing the myths and oral traditions. The objective is to investigate the representation of the cultural forces in the novel that dictate the identity of the tribals. The text is assessed on the basis of its rootedness in the sociological, anthropological, and historical context and such methodology has provided contextual authenticity to the research.

In chapter 3, ‘Analysing the Identity of Aboriginals in David Malouf’s *Remembering Babylon*,’ the politics of incorporation, inclusion and exclusion of the aboriginals has been voiced through the critical model of dominant, residual and emergent identities. The processes of acculturation, deculturation, alienation, and exile are sorted to address the continuous effacement of the true identity of the aboriginals. The significant determiners of identity- language, myth, and orality are highlighted which are snubbed or misinterpreted in the act of ‘representation’ in the text. The objective is to scrutinize the book through the prism of identity politics at play in colonial context at the heart of the narrative, equipped with Raymond Williams’s theoretical base examining identity on three dimensions namely, dominant, residual, and emergent.

Further in chapter 4, ‘Examining the Individuality of Machiguengas in Mario Vargas Llosa’s *The Storyteller*,’ the dilemma of the Hispanic tribe- the *Machiguengas*, has been explored which gradually robbed them of their national as well as tribal identity. The

objective is to analyse the multifaceted identity of Peruvian society, in which primitive and modern lifestyles are forced to coexist in conflict and contradiction using Raymond Williams's trio- the dominant, the residual and the emergent. The chapter traces the oral traditions and mythological lores as important social norms of the tribal sub-society. The homogenising and civilizing mission of the dominant National Peruvian society has been challenged analysing the effects of the same on the tribes and indigenes.

Furthermore, chapter 5, 'Evaluating the Selfhood of African Tribes in Abdulrazak Gurnah's *Paradise*,' deconstructs the colonial problematics of South African, particularly Tanzanian life from postcolonial view point, weighing the magnitude collectively formed by colonial yoke and pre-colonial ill-practices within the region. The project seeks to examine the transformation of identity in relation to Raymond Williams's discourse categorizing it into three realms- dominant, residual, and emergent. The chapter condemns the institution of slavery that has been predominantly responsible for marking the identity of the characters either tribal or non-tribal in pre-colonial, colonial as well as postcolonial context. The analysis of the narrative itself acts as a bridge among the pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial perspectives of dominance.

Towards the end, an attempt is made to conclude the reasons of the exploitation and downgrading of the tribes and indigenous groups as represented in the selected works in terms of identity. The conclusive discussion on socio-cultural formations and ideologies which are responsible for ratifying the position of the tribes and aborigines as the 'other' are charted down. The social formations, institutions, and ideologies are understood by keeping the origin of the indigenes in check. The historical and mythological perspectives are consulted to bring out the real 'self' of the tribals and aborigines. The play of the dominant, residual, and emergent tendencies has been marked in the process of making of a culture

where identity has been replaced with subjectivity by politicising the cultural identity markers. 'Conclusion' is a dedicated attempt to deliver findings of the study by synthesizing all the four discussed texts in accordance with objectives. The analysis of the selected texts conveys a powerful play of identity politics by establishing and defining cultural expectations concerning indigenous attributes and behaviours. The identity of a person/group is dependent on the roles played by that person/group and also on the social signs that designate that person/group. The study interrogates the representation of those roles and signs which are assigned to the tribals and aboriginals eventually constituting their identity. Thus, the evaluation of representation is the key to the entire thesis. It follows that the tribals and aboriginals have assimilated the quality of being the 'other', 'strange', and 'exotic', because they are designated so by the discourse of the mainstream who are non-tribals and non-aboriginals. Individual indigenous identity, which is relatively apolitical and distant, is slowly subsumed under the concept of 'the other' group turning the identity discourse into a politicised one.

Chapter 1

Critiquing the Selected Works and Understanding Raymond Williams's Concept of Dominant, Residual, and Emergent

In the last fifteen years, an increasing number of investigators, especially postcolonial and cultural critics, have begun to investigate the literary writings which represent indigenous people- their existence, their culture, their exploitation and oppression, and their resistance towards imperialism, colonialism, and now nationalism. Research about the predicament and recognition of the tribals and aboriginals in the literary field has been conducted under different rubrics like aboriginal studies, subaltern studies, tribal literature, 'Third Space' in postcolonial studies, and 'Fourth World' literature. All such research confirms one significant point that the distinguished presence of the tribes and aborigines is noticed not only at regional or national level, but also at the global level. In spite of the wide variety of cultures in the world across nations, the presence of sub-culture of native tribes and aborigines within the mainstream cannot go unnoticed. The explorations of these sub-cultures tentatively bring to light what is known about the identity of the tribal and aboriginals. However, such an exploration also tends to address the discourse of identity.

'Who am I?' 'What is my identity?' These are the questions which have been thought of and pondered over for at least at once in a lifetime. In a layman's view, at an individual level, it may include one's name, one's caste or religion, one's financial status, and one's profession. It may include, at social level, one's nationality, community, region, behaviour, personality, and character-traits. The discourse on identity has been broadly comprehended by dividing it into two categories -personal and social. In any case, identity is explained on the dictation of authority figure(s) or institutions - parents, country, employer, community, and religion. Lawrence M. Friedman, a legal theorist and social historian, has explained the

mode of existence in defining human relationships with each other by using the concept of ‘vertical’ identity (hierarchical, personal) and ‘horizontal’ (negotiable, agency-driven, social). In *Horizontal Society*, Friedman argues about the “forms and traditions that trapped the individual in a cage of ascription; that fixed human beings in definite social roles, pinned them to a given position in the world, no matter how they might wriggle and fight” (vii-viii). He has further elaborated the inevitability of the responsibility of humans for making something of them while stating:

Choice is often an illusion. People are firm believers in free will. But they choose their politics, their dress, their manners, their very identity, from a menu they had no hand in writing. They are constrained by forces they do not understand and are not even conscious of. But even the illusion of choice is of enormous social significance. (240)

Friedman’s above argument leads us to understand this concept of identity in terms of ‘subjectivity’ as identity becomes subject to “menu they had no hand in writing.” Regenia Gagnier, too, in her incisive study of Victorian era, has argued about self-representation in similar terms. Gagnier states:

First, the subject is a subject to itself, an “I,” however difficult or even impossible it may be for others to understand this “I” from its own viewpoint, within its own experience. Simultaneously, the subject is a subject to, and of, others; in fact, it is often an “other” to others, which also affects its sense of its own subjectivity. . . . Third, the subject is also a subject of knowledge, most familiarly perhaps of the discourse of social institutions that circumscribe its terms of being. Fourth, the subject is a body that is separate from other human bodies; and the body, and therefore the subject, is closely dependent upon its physical environment. (8)

The discourse on identity exists since mankind exists. The Greeks were the first in the history of philosophy to concern themselves with the question of personal identity under the aspect of becoming, of passing away, and of renewal. Plato in his ground breaking work *Republic* resonates the pre-ordained truths and patterns among which man through his reason selects his/her social position. He says, “To be ruled by reason means to have one’s life shaped by a pre-existent rational order which one knows and loves” (124). In the pre-modern society, the dynamics of caste, race, gender, and similar dimensions are often united to form the concept of identity. Rene Descartes in his revolutionary work *Discourse on Method and The Meditations* declares, “I think, therefore I am” (53) and thus, he denies the compliance to social and religious institutions. To avenge his revolutionary views, the Catholic Church put a ban on the works of Descartes in 1663 by divine law. Charles Taylor, while relating Descartes philosophy in the identity politics, notes that Descartes’s reliability on “I think” underlines man’s own responsibility for his construction. In Descartes’s case, intervention of Church reaffirms the dependency of human on institutions mandatory:

What one finds running through all the aspects of this constellation – the new philosophy, methods of administration, military organisation, spirit of government, and methods of discipline – is growing ideal of a human agent who is able to remake himself by methodological and disciplined actions. (*Sources of the Self* 159-60)

Social forces have fixed the hierarchical structure and thus, begins the modern interpretation that identity is fabricated by the social and psychological factors which overlap and influence one another. George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel in his *Phenomenology of Spirit* makes a revolutionary claim that an individual’s self-consciousness never exists in isolation. An individual always needs an ‘other’ individual. In other words, the the self consciousness of an individual always exists in relationship to an ‘other’ or ‘others’ who attend to

authenticate its existence. This relationship is not of an inherent equality rather it is always a struggle for domination. Hegel argues, “This has two-fold significance: first, it has lost itself, for it finds itself as an ‘other’ being; secondly, in doing so it has superseded the other, for it does not see the other as an essential being, but in the other sees its own self” (111). This relationship of uneasy dependence on the other makes one of the two beings (or, groups of beings) as a winner and establishes master/slave relationship with the loser, the dominated other. More clearly, discourse of identity has been largely a social construct rather than a personal and innate manifestation. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the concept of identity became politicised which has been questioned and considered a simulation. This simulation is attempted through the process of writing, reading, studying, and critically engaging with a wide variety of cultural texts. Many critical methodologies have been framed and applied to significantly answer the questions surrounding ‘who’ and ‘what’ we are; ‘how’ and ‘why’ we become what we are; and to what extent we have control and ability to become what we are. The Marxist discourse of identity is based on theory of Karl Marx and Engels provided in terms of class struggle and capitalism. In “Manifesto of the Communist Party,” they make a “distinct polarization of society into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat” (474) on the basis of relation of production (base/superstructure). The psychoanalysts suggest that the identity is culminated under the influence of unconscious on conscious. In *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* and other works, Freud suggests that adult human consciousness and identity are the culmination of a complex childhood development process which consists of varied experiences and crises along with unsteady resolutions (120-25). In “Beyond the Pleasure Principle,” Freud implies that humans are always at the mercy of forces, drives, desires and over these, we have no control. These lie within the great unconscious which is the great storehouse of memories and forgotten experiences. Freud’s notion of identity does not rely on

political agency but does indicate some agency which would interpret the unconscious. This agency is again the authority figure which works through consultation or direction (141-68). Another important theorist is Michael Foucault who has dealt with the production of discourse, be it any. Discourse for Foucault is what base and superstructure for Marx, and the unconscious for Freud. Foucault summarises his study of the identity in terms of subjectivity. He asserts in *Aesthetics and Epistemology* that an individual tends to address those formations and procedures which turns him into a subject and by doing so he constitutes himself as an object to be studied, observed, analysed, interpreted, and recognised. Only then, he as a 'subject' recognizes himself as a realm of conceivable knowledge. His categorization and classification of social groups are based on the power structures of society circulating knowledge to create subjects to be controlled. The feminists come up with the identity discourse of gender and sexuality, and then the postcolonial critics have their interpretation of identity politics in terms of race, imperialism, and Orientalism. Henry Louis Gates argues and concludes in his epoch-making study "*Race*", *Writing and Difference* that "the remarkable capacity of European philosophers to conceive of 'humanity' in ideal terms (white, male) yet despise, abhor, colonize, or exploit human beings who are not 'ideal'" (408). W.E.B. Du Bois has also been engaged with the history of philosophical discussion of identity and agency in his ground-breaking work *The Souls of Black Folk*. He tries to explain the predicament of a member of a group who has been long oppressed and is still bearing that oppression as he is constantly being judged and defined by the external factors which are ironically causing that oppression. He speaks about the identity of a man:

Born in a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only let him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused

contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness --- an American, a Negro, two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (3)

Developing this argument further, individual identity is not seen as exclusive of group identity. Identity has been an integral part of a social group to which one belongs. Young argues in *Justice and Politics of Difference*:

Social groups are not entities that exist apart from individuals, but neither are they merely arbitrary classification of individuals. . . . group meanings partially constitute people's identity in terms of cultural forms, social situation, and history that group members know as theirs, because these meanings have been either forced upon them or forged by them or both. (44)

Social groups constitute identity in terms of shared cultural forms, social situation, and history that all individuals constituting the group know as theirs. All the above-mentioned critical insights into the discourse of identity affirm that the discourse of identity is a socio-political arrangement, a cultural phenomenon. The politicised identity identifies some groups as superior to other groups in terms of class, skin, colour, gender, knowledge and customs which then extends to include the individuals constituting that group. The issue of identity formation is, hence, termed as a complex cultural process and as Madan Swarup in his *Identity, Culture and the Postmodern World* states the debates around identity “. . . assume that identity is not an inherent quality of a person but that it arises in interaction with others and the focus is on the processes by which identity is constructed” (14).

Drawing on the above-mentioned cartography of identity politics (subjectivity), and outlining the critical methodologies, let's come back to the previous question regarding the identity of the tribals and aboriginals. If identity is a social construct, then it will be a critical

endeavour to understand how the literary texts play a part in that social construction through representation. In other words, the ‘representation’ is the key word in the analysis of identity dynamics. Stuart Hall in *Questions of Cultural Identity* explains “representation” as an important category to look at the phenomena of identity and identification drawing on the insights of Michael Foucault, Sigmund Freud, Homi Bhabha and Judith Butler.

Actually, identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being: not 'who we are' or 'where we came from', so much as what we might become, how we have been represented and how that bears on how we might represent ourselves. Identities are therefore constituted within, not outside representation. (4)

Stuart Hall goes on to say that discursivity and identity go hand -in-hand:

Precisely because identities are constructed within not outside discourse. We need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies. (4)

Therefore, the present thesis is a descriptive analysis of representation of the socio-cultural processes in the selected texts of the authors which are instrumental in the construction of identity of the tribals and aboriginals by using the Marxist model titled “Dominant, Residual, and Emergent” suggested by Raymond Williams in his *Marxism and Literature (ML)*. Such a study tries to answer:

Do the selected literary works representing the lives of tribals and aboriginals depict the dehumanisation of the mainstream towards them?

Do these selected literary works just endorse the ‘subaltern’ and meak image of the tribals and aboriginals?

Do these works represent the sufferings of the tribals and aboriginals? Or intentionally make them sufferers by representing them so?

Do these works play a part in empowering the tribals and aboriginals or they just contribute to the politics of making them the 'other'?

The research is oriented towards the understanding of the annexation of the identity of the tribals and aboriginals in the selected works. According to *Etymology Dictionary*, the word 'aborigines' is usually used to refer to "the original native people of an area before the arrival of invading or colonizing people from elsewhere. It is derived from the Latin stem words ab+origine meaning 'from the beginning' which was used by the Romans to refer to the people who lived in Italy before they took over the area." The first known English usage of the word aborigines was in the mid-1500s. Interestingly, the plural form 'aborigines' appearing before the singular form 'aborigine'. By the 1800s these words were firmly established as descriptions for the original native people of Australia. It was only in the 19th century that the singular form of the word, aborigine, first appeared. In Australia the words are usually capitalized as Aborigine, Aborigines, and Aboriginal. *Collins English Dictionary* describes an 'aboriginal' as "a member of the indigenous people who were living in Australia." The *Oxford Dictionary* (and most other dictionaries) defines 'aboriginal' as "relating to the original people, animals, etc. of a place and to a period of time before Europeans arrived." *Merriam Webster Dictionary* defines 'aborigine' as "an aboriginal inhabitant especially as contrasted with an invading or colonizing people and defines Aborigine (with Capitalised A) as a member of any of the indigenous peoples of Australia." On the other hand, *Oxford Dictionary* defines 'tribal' as "someone characterized by or reflecting strong group loyalty; member of a tribe and defines tribe as social division in traditional society linked to social, economic, religious and blood ties." *Collins Dictionary*

defines 'tribal' as "a member of a tribe, and further defines tribe as a social division of a people, esp. of a preliterate people, defined in terms of common descent, territory, culture, etc.; an ethnic or ancestral division of ancient cultures." *Merriam Webster Dictionary* defines 'tribal' as "a member of an aboriginal people of India —usually used in plural." The declaration of UN (United Nations) defines the tribals and aborigines as "indigenous" in its *Indigenous Peoples, Indigenous Voices: Factsheet* in the following words:

The term "indigenous" has prevailed as a generic term for many years. In some countries, there may be preference for other terms including tribes, first peoples/nations, aboriginals, ethnic groups, adivasi, janajati. Occupational and geographical terms like hunter-gatherers, nomads, peasants, hill people, etc., also exist and for all practical purposes can be used interchangeably with "indigenous peoples." ("Who are Indigenous Peoples?")

Perhaps the most widely cited definition is given by José Martínez Cobo, an Ecuadorian diplomat, who has worked for a United Nations subcommittee on the rights of indigenous peoples in the early 1970s. The definition provided by Cobo reads as follows in "The Concept of Indigenous People" :

Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing in those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems. (2)

In the UN definition the term ‘indigenous’ is used in order to use non-offensive language and to give special rights and protection under international law. The UN definition of indigenous is almost identical to the original definition of aborigines. Indigenous or aborigines are those communities, peoples, and nations who have a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their lands and territories. These communities consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies which are now prevailing in those territories or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society. They are determined to preserve, develop, and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and their ethnic identity as the basis of their continued existence as peoples in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions, and legal systems. Such categorization and distinction of indigenes point out the historical context in which lies the roots of their marginalisation. It becomes important to re-historicise the identity of these aborigines and tribals in pre-colonial and postcolonial times in their respective locations.

Besides this overview of political, socio-cultural, and geographical categorization and definition of the tribals and aboriginals, the below section of the chapter attempts to overview the assessments and commentaries of academicians, critics, and writers to understand how far the above-mentioned tribes (*adivasis*) and aboriginals have found their place in the World Literature.

In the literary field, ‘Fourth World’ is a popular rubric used to identify the tribals, *adivasis*, natives, aboriginals, and indigenous people. In fact, ‘Fourth World’ is an inevitable by-product of post-world war upheavals. After the world wars, the centre of the power system at global level got divided into two large geo-political blocs. These two primary powers had identical interests. One was a Euro-American ‘First World’ comprising countries on political and economic knots. On the opposite side was, the ‘Second World’ constituting the socialist

and communist countries including China, the Soviet Union, North Vietnam, North Korea, and Eastern Europe. However, few newly decolonized states were named the 'Third World'. These were those nations who were economically dependent and burdened with loans and chose not to align with either the 'First World' or the 'Second World'. Last, the people of ancient nations that lived beyond these geopolitical powers sans modernisation and industrialization, and thus thrived being hunter gatherers, nomads, pastoral and farmers, constitute the 'Fourth World'. The inhabitants of the Fourth World are considered structurally irrelevant in the societal set up because of their absence in the relations of production and consumption in a technically globalised world. Yet they reside both in urban and rural areas. The term 'Fourth World' first came into wide use in 1974 with the publication of George Manuel's *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality*. Manuel thinks of the Fourth World constituting indigenous people who have descended from a country's aboriginal population and who today are completely or partly deprived of their right to their own territories and its riches. The Fourth World includes a whole range of the tribal and peasant societies that share a number of attributes including a low level of political and economic integration in the state system, an inferior political status, and an underprivileged economic position. The dwellers of the Fourth World may virtually stay in the first world but cannot afford the access to the first world's standards of living. The term 'Natives' is preferred in US, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. However, 'Indigene' is employed most often in representing these groups. On an average, all these groups have a lot in common in terms of political, economic, social and cultural conditions: (1) generally poor and live in relatively poor social conditions; (2) denied political participation outside the reservations in their respective countries; (3) experience of colonialism; and (4) the legislations, irrespective of countries, passed to subordinate and to liberate are similar in nature.

In this sense, 'Fourth World' literature is a space for understanding the shared cultural experiences of the people who were once the majority of the population and who have, through colonial occupation, been the victims of genocide, both cultural and physical that reduced their numbers so that they are now in the minority in colonially occupied land. Aboriginals of Australia, Dalits and Tribes of India, First Nations of Canada, Native people of America, Maoris of New Zealand, are considered as people of Fourth World. The term 'Fourth world' has acquired political significance in Noel Dyck's *Indigenous Peoples and the Nation State*. Adam Shoemaker in *Black Words White Page* has presented Aboriginal literature as Australia's Fourth World literature. In the same spirit, Gordon Brotherston identified the American continent of our planet as the fourth world in his book titled *Book of the Fourth World*. Now, the term is perceived as the circumscription of Tribes of India, Maoris of New Zealand, Native Americans, Native Canadians, and Aboriginals of Australia.

Another rubric to be mentioned tending to the study of indigenous people and aboriginals is 'Aboriginal Literature'. Anita Heiss discusses in detail the existence of the Aboriginal or Indigenous Literature in "Indigenous Discourse" remarking the views of many cultural and social activists, literary critics, writers and scholars like Lisa Bellear, Cathy Craigie, Herb Whartonn, Melissa Lucashenko, and Kateryna Olijnyk Longley who have contributed to the discourse of indignity in their works, especially autobiographies and interviews. Anita discusses that how once a poet Lisa Bellear has questioned whether or not there is actually something that can be defined as Aboriginal literature. If Aboriginal literature does exist, is it being primarily judged by non-Aboriginal people? Many such contemporary questions are being asked like: Is it Aboriginal literature because it's written about an aboriginal person? Or is it Aboriginal because it's written by an Indigenous person about aboriginal characters? Or is it Aboriginal just because it's written by an aboriginal person, even if it's about someone surfing down Byron Bay (24-46). Anita Heiss also points

out “Bellefleur as an adamant critic who would not describe anything written by a non-aboriginal person writing about aboriginal culture as ‘aboriginal literature’” (26). Heiss, however, seems to agree with Cathy Craigie that “it is hard to define Aboriginal writing, but says that at the very least it should be by Aboriginal writer reflecting aboriginal culture which relate in turn to how one defines ‘aboriginality’.” The intention is to:

Bring focus on the aboriginal content rather than asserting aboriginal literature as a genre. There are people who are biologically white, but culturally Black and people who have lived in the communities for many years and see the world through Black eyes. But they’re not the people who are likely to write books which again complicates the issue. (26)

Thus, aboriginal writing is “a protest literature” she supposes and it’s centred on land and social justice and legal stuff as its content. In this sense, the thing that binds people as aboriginal people, though they have different languages and cultures, is a general essence of what is aboriginal. In order to define aboriginal literature, she needs to consider the definition of aboriginality. The same arguments apply to the ‘tribal literature’. Such enquiries lead to the question what is an ‘aboriginal’ or ‘tribal’. It is not easy to sum up the body of aboriginal and tribal writings which are prominent in Western Australia, Newzealand, India, and Latin America. The “writings of Glenyse Ward, Jack Davis, Jimmy Chi and Sally Morgan,” Heiss says, “accommodate(s) many distinct cultural groups and literary (or anti-literary) approaches,” and that, “aboriginal literature has done more than any other writing to change the direction of literary history in Western Australia over the last few years” (27). While aboriginal and tribal writers do not complaint themselves for being categorized into aboriginal or tribal, they are usually writing on issues and experiences related to them. Heiss summarizes her commentary pointing out:

We, as Aboriginal people involved in writing and publishing, want people to recognise the connections between our work and the common basis of Aboriginal writing or writing by Indigenous people. We want that recognition. At the same time we want recognition of our difference; so we want it both ways and we need to be able to articulate why we can be believed in both ways. . . . So it's Aboriginal from here but it's also in terms of its non-Indigenous characters from here. (27-28)

Opposing the previous definitions of Aboriginal literature, Anita Heiss wishes to answer the question What is Aboriginal literature, drawing on an analogy, "It's a bit like defining Evonne Goolagong-Cawley, she's an Aboriginal tennis player. Does she play Aboriginal tennis? She's a great tennis player, full-stop" (28).

Many critics like Anand Menon, Gayatri Spivak, Edward Said, Homi K. Bhabha, and Chinua Ache, have also argued about the truthful representation in the literary writings especially when the writers are themselves belonging to the mainstream and elite group writing about the 'subaltern' group of tribes and aborigines. The arguments about the truthful representation of the identity are deeply rooted in subaltern and postcolonial studies. For instance, as given by Menon in his study of *African Trilogy*, the history of the subaltern classes is just as complex as the history of the dominant classes, although the history of the latter is usually that which is accepted as 'official' history. Menon here enquires the validity of the description of Africans by Europeans. For him, the history of the subaltern groups is necessarily fragmented and episodic, and thus constructed. It is always dependent on the discourse dictated by the ruling or dominating groups. Even the protests and rebellions mentioned in the history are subject to the desire of the ruling groups. Clearly, subalterns have no access to the tools using which they might control their own representation. They have no accessibility to the dominant cultural and social institutions. Gayatri Spivak in her

essay “Can the Subaltern Speak?” makes a point that dissent and resistance are not possible at the part of the ‘essential subaltern’ because only those can resist who are not essentially separated from the dominant discourse. This implies that dominant discourse provides to the subaltern the very ambience, language, terminology, and concepts and thus, the voice to speak. Spivak interrogates that how someone from the first world could represent the third world. Though she has deliberated on the double subjection of colonised woman, her discussion of the subdued native subject in the form of the ‘subaltern’ woman has provided an instance to point out that there is no space from where the subaltern, be it of any sex, can speak. The metaphor of silence extends to the entire colonised world eventually muting all natives (271-313). Homi Bhabha viewed that Edward Said in his concept of orientalism too promoted a static model of colonial relations in which there is no scope for negotiation, change, and reclamation of the past, for the colonial discourse is controlled by the coloniser (occident) wholly. But unlike Said and Spivak, Bhabha has asserted that the subaltern can speak and a native voice can be recovered through the processes called mimicry and hybridity in his *Location on Culture*. Stuart Hall too, while talking about the popular masses, presents the view that the cultural practices are never authored by the popular sector in its entirety yet the presence of ‘popular’ as a kind of passive historical-cultural force like passivity of the subaltern has constantly been interrupted, limited, and disrupted everything else (131-50). Such interpretations can be seen in the postcolonial readings of canonical texts. Ania Loomba remarks about the re-reading of William Shakespeare’s plays:

We can differ about whether they do so in order to endorse dominant attitudes to ‘race’ and culture or to question them. Does *Othello* serve as a warning against inter racial love or an indictment of the society which does not allow it? Does *The Tempest* endorse Prospero’s view of Caliban as a bestial savage, or does it depict dehumanization of colonial rule? (7)

Another example is evident in Coetzee's *Foe*, a postmodern rewriting of the Robinson Crusoe's story. It gives neat symbolic shorthand for the process of self-articulation by the colonised. In the novel, the character Friday, who is dumb, mutely represents the colonized problem of making meaning. Though he is deprived of the media of cultural authority namely the voice, the pen, the book; Friday begins to enact his own exclusion. The muted man takes the initiative in representing himself by using his master's tools.

Thus, when writers whether tribal and aboriginal, or not, begin to represent themselves or 'the silent other' in literary forms, the aboriginals and tribals effectively sidestepped the position of silent 'object' in literary representation. Re-interpretation of such 'objects' in postcolonial literary studies involves paying attention to the contexts in which these literary texts are produced and also to challenge the colonial ideologies through these texts. For instance, Chinua Achebe's famous reading of Joseph Conrad's novel, *Heart of Darkness*, in *An Image of Africa* argues that Conrad had absolutely no interest in Africans, and reduced them, in his novel, to animal and dehumanised images. Edward Said reading Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* in "Jane Austen and Empire" argues that the Caribbean plantation in Antigua is linked inextricably to the family's fortunes and life in England and thereby showing how the colony is inseparable from the European country. Sara Suleri reading Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* in "The Adolescence of Kim," Homi Bhabha reading Forster's *A Passage to India* in "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse", Peter Hulme reading Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* in *Colonial Encounters*, and Nigel Leask's work on the English Romantic poets in *British Romantic Writers and the East: Anxieties of Empire* are some of the key texts that illustrate this process of postcolonial readings who are dedicated to at least analyse the 'silent' side of 'the other' in colonial texts.

Expanding the horizons of postcolonial readings by drawing the attention to nationalist readings and subaltern studies in contemporary fiction and writings, many authors are committed to the issues related to the status of the aboriginals and tribal in their respective society and culture. The writers have drawn upon their oral traditions, native versions of spirituality, religious myths, and their land ethics while representing their marginal existence among the dominating elements of the culture. These writings are shaped by perspectives of authors forming a rich discourse who, may or may not, have intimate first-hand experience of the tribals' and aboriginals' lives. Their texts can be read as fanciful flights or prosaic portraits or grim depictions of trials and tribulations of the indigenes. There is contribution of Robert Warrior, Craig S. Womack, Jace Weaver and Chadwick Allen in establishing Native Canadian Literature. Magnus opus novel of Margaret Laurence *Stone Angel* represents the lives of native Canadians. The novels of D'Arcy Mcnickle, N. Scott Momaday, James Welch and Sherman Alexie are representing the orality and tradition of Native Americans. Displeased by the unlikely and quixotic representations of Kiowa people, N. Scotty Momaday has also bagged critical acclaim for representing the contribution of Kiowa traditions, values, customs, and beliefs, in the contemporary culture. His *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (1969), also idolises Kiowa history, its legends and rich tradition blending two genres fiction and non-fiction. Although highly regarded for the novel *House Made of Dawn* (1968), Momaday considers himself primarily a poet and notes that his writings are greatly influenced by the oral tradition and are concerned with the nature and origins of native American myths. Leslie Marmon Silko's *Almanac of the Dead* contains the identity and traditional history of native Americans. Leslie Silko's works artistically in forwarding her indigenous perspectives and epistemologies exemplified in *Ceremony* and later in *Storyteller*. She makes her texts politically charged in the context of Euro centrism. *Ceremony* emphasizes the importance of storytelling within the tribal Pueblo culture. It also

exactly summarizes the repeated efforts of white groups to demolish the Pueblo culture by destroying its ceremonies. Bruce Pascoe's *Ruby-eyed Coucal* deals with the Papua culture and its survival before the onslaught genocide executed by Indonesia. In the twenty-first century the dalit/ tribal discourse on human rights has been gathering momentum in the literary works of Indian writers. The period witnesses literary works exposing atrocities on schedule castes and tribes. Indian English writers like R.K. Narayan and Mulk Raj Anand had set the trend. Writers like Arundhati Roy, Mahasweta Devi in their regional languages especially in leftist states of West Bengal and Kerala have been in forefront of expressing concern for the human rights violations to the oppressed especially, dalits and tribals. Mahasweta Devi, Badal Sircar, Hansda Sowendra Shekher are a few acclaimed writers delineating the lives of *adivasis* (tribals) and indigenous people in the regions of Jharkhand, West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. Narayan, recently, became the first author belonging to Malaarayar tribes who has written an authentic novel on his own *adivasi* community in South India. Narayan says, "The misrepresentations were marginalising a marginalised community. I wondered what I could write about and that is when I decided to stick to what I knew best. So I chose to describe my life, upbringing and culture," ("First Novel"). His *Kocharethi* paints the lives of Malayarayar tribe in Kerala with all their troubles of displacement, and their challenges to preserve tribal myths, rituals, social customs, and belief systems. Indigenous authors such as Sally Morgan with *My Place*, Ruby Langford Ginibi with *Don't Take your Love to town*, and Doris Pilkington with *Follow the Rabbit-Proof Fence* have made attempts to look into the official history of indigenous culture by adapting the genre of autobiographies. Mainstream authors such as Kate Grenville with *The Secret River*, Richard Flanagan with *Wanting* and Gail Jones with *Sorry* have resorted to imaginative fiction to give voice to the indigenous experiences. David Malouf's treatment of indigeneity in *Remembering Babylon* is another example of how fiction may engage with the

discursive complexities around Australianness. There are also a few writers who painted a rather dark, pessimistic picture of natives and tribals. Rudyard Kipling's "Lispeth" and Arjun Joshi's *The Strange Case of Billy Biswas* have represented the tribals of India as foreign, alien, and primitive. In *Heart of Darkness*, Joseph Conrad too presented a dark picture of the tribals and natives of Congo region at the beginning of European colonization. An identical depiction of Africa and its people can also be read in Naipaul's novel *A Bend in the River*. The novels depict the gradual darkening of African society and its natives as they return to its age-old condition of scrubland. Salman Rushdie in *Midnight's Children* exposing what does independence mean for the fisher women of Koli, the tribals in the hills, and the bonded labourers in the fields writes, ". . . the nearly-thirty-one-year-old myth of freedom is no longer what it was" (454). However, in Gordimer's *July's People* there is a wise conceit of reversal: whites forced to shelter with blacks, the served become dependent upon the servant. Achebe's African Trilogy: *Things fall Apart*, *Arrow of the God*, *No Longer at Ease*, maps the history of colonisation of Nigeria. It traces Nigeria from the pre-colonial era to the colonial missions of Europeans and then to the rise of independence. He does not draw only the trajectory. Rather he informs the natives and tribes about their own culture and tries to educate his kins about the real history of how they fell apart. Achebe resists to be an idealistic author of his tribe's past and embraces a realistic approach defying the stereotypical portrayal of tribes. He chooses not to be sentimental in his critical evaluation of representations of Nigerian tribes in the novels of Western writers like John Cary, Graham Green, and Joseph Conrad. All these literary texts attempt not only to bring back the traditions but also reveal colonial modernity, the dominant ideologies, and hegemonic power discourses as exploitative mechanisms eliminating some cultures. Pramod Nayar, while explaining the contemporary literary and cultural theories, declares such writings about the indigenous people as "aboriginal writings" and "writings of the First People." He says:

Aboriginal and First People's cultures must be read as one more instance of the literature of the exploited, the culture of the resistance and the cultures of revival. Aboriginal writing has been claimed as postcolonial along with other cultures from Asia, Africa and South America because they have been conquered and oppressed and their cultures marginalised. Aboriginal writing gestures at cultures of oppression (settlers) and their binary opposite, 'cultures of survival' (aboriginals) and recent critical theories emerging from within such a writing foregrounds survival, nature, spirituality, home/lands as concerns informing First Peoples cultures. (227)

Furthermore, the concept of multiculturalism has fuelled the recent debates around 'minority histories' in democratic nations especially in West. After the world wars, a question has arisen in all democratic nations whether to include the histories of previously excluded groups in the re-writing of history. In the 1960's, this list usually contained names of subaltern social groups such as women, former slaves, convicts, working classes, labourers, peasants, and tribals. In 1970s, this mode of writing history became famous as history from margins and below. The re-writing of the minority histories has brought those literary texts into limelight that have voiced the people at margins. The twentieth century stories and novels have made remarkable attempts to expose the untold stories of the unexplored people: the tribes and the aborigines. The writings peep into the houses or localities or societies of the indigenes who were not paid heed until the Second World War to observe their conditions, read their minds, notice their locale, languages, customs, religion, and most significantly sufferings and exploitation which have been directed upon them by the upper class that has weaved the whole affair and pervaded it through hidden power politics. Therefore, an effort has been made to explore the identity dynamics involved in the depiction and representation of this section of the society through the selected texts.

The first selected novel under the study in the present thesis is Mahasweta Devi's *The Book of Hunter*. Mahasweta Devi is one of the few Bengali writers who have been extensively celebrated and translated into English. Her writings have popularised regional literature in India and have inspired a number of other writers, activists, journalists, and even Indian cinema. Devi has been a tireless activist combating on behalf of the tribals of India. Devi's oeuvre largely comprises stories around contemporary realities which enjoy popularity that is not time-bound, and are located in real settings. Devi's predominant concerns in her stories include the predicament of the "tribal backwaters" (Sen and Yadav 13), the exploitation of the *adivasis* by the urban administrative machinery, bonded labourers who are forced to live at the fringes, and the plight of women who are illtreated victims of patriarchal violence, sexual violence, and are sole bread-earners of their houses. Her writings are a treasure trove of information. Her works are not mere tales of exploitation as grand spectacles in themselves rather talk about the cultural phenomena where power relations determine every individual's existence. Her stories reflect the mechanizations of the post-colonial, patriarchal, and caste-class- race conscious society in which a strong ideological nexus between the powerful section of the society and state administration works to exploit the weaker sections. She seems to question the state authority about what the nation has made of its people in postcolonial era. Her stories describe the lives of the tribals, the dalits, the low castes, the peasants, the bonded slaves and in the process, they question mainstream history by representing "the people's version of history" (Collu, "Adivasi" 44). Her stories expose to scrutiny the freedom and equality promised with political independence. According to Devi:

I find my people still groaning under hunger, landlessness, indebtedness and bonded labour. Anger luminous, burning and passionate, directed against a system that has failed to liberate my people from these terrible constraints, is the only source of inspiration for all my writing. (*Five Plays* ix)

All these Devi's concerns are adequately represented through the translations of her Bengali Writings in English by Gayatri Spivak, Samik Bandyopadhyay, Kalpana Bardhan, Ipsita Chandra, Sagaree Sengupta and many others. Some translated anthologies and works are *The Glory of Sri Sri Ganesh*, *Old Women*, *Wrong Number and Other Stories*, *Bedanabala*, *Romtha*, *Diwana*, *Khoimala and the Holy Banyan Tree*, *Queen of Jhansi*, *Our Non-Veg Cow and Other Stories*, *Ek Kori's Dream*, *Etoa Munda Won the Battle*, *The Armenian Champa Tree* etc. In particular, her creative and critical corpus evolves from the socio-political, economic and existential plight of people at the margins– the *adivasis*, the tribals. In a conversation she tells, “Each tribe is like a continent. But we never tried to know them. Never tried to respect them. . . . and we destroyed them” (Sen and Yadav 171).

In the present thesis, Devi's *The Book of Hunter* has been selected for critical analysis. *The Book of The Hunter* deals with the predicament of the tribals in a precolonial era and the story is set in Bengal. *The Book of The Hunter* also marks the earliest point in historical time that Mahasweta returns to in order to recover tribal history from its silent and marginalized presence in the discourses of Indian history and literature. In an interview with Gabrielle Collu, Mahasweta Devi said in her own words:

I respect the tribals too much. I respect Indian tribals because they are much more civilized and sophisticated than we are. Their own social codes say widows can remarry, divorce is allowed, men and women can divorce, a woman's place is of honour, there is no one who becomes an orphan because he or she has lost their parents. The community rears them. There are many such laws prove that they were most civilized most sophisticated and they are the people all India has exploited like anything because they are black, because they don't speak the language. (Collu, “Speaking” 227)

In the novel, *The Book of the Hunter*, Mahasweta Devi turns to the co-existing world of the tribe: the *Shabars* and the non-tribals. The work captures in detail the contrast that ultimately leads to the loss of one world to the other. The *Shabars* are pictured as a hunter tribe who are strict to their rules regarding nature. They have their own selfdom: their constitution, their own jungle laws, and their own chief Danko. They have their mother goddess *Abhya*. Devi recognises that they are all creatures of *Abhya* and their glorious culture needs to be preserved and protected from the contamination of the mainstream's greed. In Preface, Devi asserts in "1871" during the colonial rule, "the Lodhas Shbars were branded as criminals and that stigma remained attached to them especially to those in Medinipur" (xi) even to the present day. The Britishers played their own part but the residents of the same region who were non-tribals also showed no mercy in exploiting the rich ancient tribal culture. After independence many steps were taken to re-establish the identity of the Lodha tribe and to restore their dignity by the nationalists of the country but that became more a part of the politics of identity, stamping the tribals as 'the other'. Mahasweta Devi declares in Preface to the novel:

Such is my goal. . . . The encroachment of towns and non-advasis upon their territory, advasis abandoning their lands and going away, the heartless destruction of forests, the search of the forest children for a forest home, and the profound ignorance of mainstream people about advasi society-these are all truths about our own time.

(xi)

In the act of evoking traditional folklores, forest- laws, myths, and ancient wisdom in *The Book of the Hunter*, Mahshweta Devi has drawn the attention towards the full joy of tribal life with the slightest romanticism. Oral tradition of narrating stories having roots in mythology and legendary figures are represented in the text. These tales champion an organic

interface with the nature which provides each member of the tribe an ecological grounding; his/her true identity. In India, there were many highly revered pre-colonial literary texts like Manuscript, Vedas, Puranas, and Urdu Literature which flourished as guiding forces and 'high culture' for the mainstream. But there were also sub- cultures and folk literature based on oral traditions and storytelling that lingered as a vital part of the culture while interacting with later emerging literary genres. Mahasweta Devi's *Book of Hunter* is an exclusive exemplification of the same. The oral performance of myths and tales is transformed into a genre: a written narrative.

Many research scholars and academicians from around the country have given due importance to the regional fiction of Mahasweta Devi and taken the readership beyond regional boundaries. T. Deivasigaman, G. Venkata Madhavi, Mukesh Kumar, Ruchi Vadhva and S. Krishna are those who have made descriptive study of *The Book of Hunter* in their papers by relating it to the contemporary times. There is detailed description of lifestyle, culture, and relationships of primitive *Shabars*: a tribal community in the background of sixteenth century Bengal. There is a close appreciation of the values which *Shabars* connect to the forest and there is also a concern related to the decline of these values in the process of development and colonization. B. Sangavi with S. Seetha and S. Senthilkumar highlight in "Socio-Cultural Identity of *Shabars* in the novel *The Book of the Hunter*," the importance of preserving the forest, its resources as well as culture of the tribals. They have made a detailed study of each character of the novel to give voice to the *Shabar* community. G. Loganayaki in the same line, investigates the ecological values of *Shabars* in "Mahasweta Devi *The Book of the Hunter*: An Eco Critical Study." Mukesh Kumar in "A Search of Honour" and Ruchi Vadhva in "Finding the Lost Honour: *The Book of the Hunter*," study the depiction of tribals in the text by making parallel reading of their existence in the religious-historical texts like *Vedas*, *Mahabhartha* and *Ramayna* on one side and in the political structure of India as a

modern nation on the other. Jogamaya Bayer in “Contested Space: The Dispossession of Forests and Rights of Tribals as Depicted in Mahasweta Devi’s Texts,” reconstructs the history of the *adivasis* in the context of intersection of colonialism, capitalism and globalization. The paper states, “The text conforms to the historical facts that attest to the displacement of tribals through Hindu civilization” (54). While elaborating the two extreme groups ‘elitism’ and ‘populism’ between which the environment movement in India is swinging, S.J. Kala analyses *The Book of Hunter* as a part of ‘populism’ in accordance with Vijayaraghavan’s views in “Eco-Concerns”. ‘Populism’ surrounds itself with those who not only give voice to the effects of the rampant growth of urbanization on the forest but also strive to safeguard its existence as activists. Kumar Priti attempts to read the text as a part of the Fourth World Literature, a term which has recently surfaced in the critical studies. Her paper, “Fourth World and its Reflections in Mahasweta Devi’s Folkloric Fiction *The Book of the Hunter*,” is an articulation of rich cultural heritage of the original dwellers of the place who once existed in majority and later have reduced to minority. They are compelled to have marginal existence on the account of their cultural annihilation. The paper also explains the political implications of the term *adivasi* with significant reference to language in the contemporary nation. Besides these research papers, Vandana Gupta’s *Critical Reading* seeks to study Mahasweta Devi as an activist and as a creative writer by doing textual analysis of her selected novels and stories. Her selected fiction includes *Imaginary Maps*, *Bashai Tudu*, *Breast Stories*, *Titu Mir*, *Bitter Soil*, *In the Name of the Mother*, *Titu Mir*, *Outcast*, *Chotti Munda and His Arrow*, *Rudali*, and *After Kurukshetra*.

The second selected writer is David George Joseph Malouf. He is a poet and a novelist of Lebanese-English descent whose works reflect his nativity submerged in Queensland spending his childhood and youth. Malouf was born in Brisbane, Australia, to a Christian Lebanese father and an English-born mother of Portuguese Sephardi

Jewish descent. He has written a play *Blood Relations* and three collections of short stories. He has several volumes of poetry to his merit. His first novel *Johnno*, is a semi-autobiographical tale of a young man growing up in Brisbane during the Second World War. It includes Malouf's own experiences which he carried forward in his memoir *12 Edmondstone Street*. His second novel *An Imaginary Life* is based on imaginary life of the poet Ovid who was exiled from Rome by the Emperor Augustus in 8 A.D. It includes experiences of Ovid among the Scythians on the Black Sea. A white man, leaving his whiteness to survive among the blacks, often dominates the plot of his novels. His *Fly Away Peter* contrasts the idyllic setting of a bird sanctuary on the Queensland coast with the horrors of the First World War. *Child's Play with Eustace & The Prowler* comprises of a novel with terrorism as its theme and two short narratives. Though the novel depicts the atrocities that a war can bring to the individuals and communities, Malouf never settles his narratives beyond the 'civilizing project'. His later novels include *Harland's Half Acre* and *The Great World* which won the Commonwealth Writers' Prize and the Prix Fémina Etranger. The novels tell the story of two Australians imprisoned by the Japanese during the Second World War. Imperialism and colonialism are the dominating aspects of his novels, but the narration has always been gambled with the eyes of a 'settler' himself. There is an urge to segregate Australian identity from England's colonial cultural model as Malouf himself has a close humiliating contiguity to that place. *Remembering Babylon* won the first International IMPAC Dublin Literary Award in 1996 as well as the Commonwealth Writers Prize. It was shortlisted for the Booker Prize for Fiction having Northern Australia of 1850s as its setting. It tells the tale of an isolated existence of a community of Scottish immigrant farmers which gets imperilled by the arrival of a stranger. The entire novel revolves around this stranger who has arrived from a dark, unknown tribal/native world. The trauma of the 'settlers' (Scots) arising from their own exile and trying to survive in an unknown land, neglects the

plausible existence of the rich native culture at the outskirts of Queensland. His *The Conversations at Curlow Creek* centres on the relationship between an illiterate Irish convict and the police officer who was sent to hang the convict. The story is set in New South Wales of 1827.

David Malouf has always been passionately interested in the affairs of Australia in his writings and interviews. Each of his novels has dealt with the experiences and explorations involved in the making of present-day Australia. This determination can be analysed as nationalistic circumscribing Australian identity at core. Probably, his obsession with Australian identity confirms his own desire to inscribe distance, or to affirm cultural independence from England.

In the present thesis, Malouf's *Remembering Babylon* has been selected to analyse the depiction of tribals and aborigines. Australian identity at national level has always been a primary concern for Malouf. But how far does he include or exclude the native tribes and aborigines within this discourse of Australian identity, is a dangling question that needs attention. *Remembering Babylon*, arguably Malouf's best-known novel is set in 19th-century Australia, and tells the story of a young boy (Gemmy Fairley), a castaway who is rescued and taken in by aborigines. In the story, British settlers, struggling to make a life for themselves in Australia, meet up with a young man, Gemmy Fairley, who has been living with the Aborigines for sixteen years. Gemmy was shipwrecked off the coast of the region named by the British settlers as Queensland. The haunting description of Gemmy washed ashore into the world of the aborigines at the age of thirteen is both raw and beautiful – the aborigines encounter him as a mystery. Now when Gemmy returns to reclaim his White identity, the settlers are not sure what to make of this strange person.

The novel recognises Australia as a potential utopia for the industrious European settlers and immigrants. There is an attempt at the reconciliation of the mainstream and indigenous Australia in the portrayal of “in-between creature” Gemmy, a hybrid but that ends in white settlers’ reactions, the final rejection of Gemmy’s “black whiteness” and his return to the aboriginal as “black white-feller” (39) who fails to recover his whiteness. Malouf’s choice of protagonist can also be understood in terms of political correctness. If he has dealt with the predicament of Indigenous people directly, then his mainstream versions of history would have been questioned. Also, Malouf is careful to point out that he believes none other than Aborigines have the knowledge to do so. Thus, the indirect venture has been made through a white character Gemmy (Papastergiadis 87). Nevertheless, this creates a tension between his effort to maintain a deferential distance towards the domain of native novelists and accepting the undeniable existence of Aborigines in Australia. As a result, the plot of the novel is cast in problematic ways. On one side it proposes a conciliatory gesture in the form of Gemmy who is a white hybrid imbued with indigenous culture and proffers indigenous knowledge to his European peers so that they can adjust to the strangeness of the country. On the other side, the same gesture advocates this integration of white settlers and indigenous peoples a failed unsuccessful effort to mediate the cultural differences.

Nazan Yildiz in his article “David Malouf’s *Remembering Babylon*, and White Australian’s Search For Identity Through a Black White Child,” studies the character of Gemmy as a hybrid figure in colonial setting, who represents indigenous culture as well as white origin and thus, questions the identity of white settlers. The novel has been analyzed in terms of identity crisis faced by the white settlers. The character of Gemmy is seen as a parody of white man by using Homi Bhabha’s concept of mimicry and hybridity. It is more a study of reconciliation with Aboriginal people to heal white Australia’s own identity. In the same line, Sabir Abdus Samee in his article “A Postcolonial View of David Malouf’s

Remembering Babylon,” has made an attempt to read the novel as one of the ‘empire writes back’ novels as defined by Bill Aschcroft in his book, *Empire Writes Back*. He studies Gemmy as a character standing on the border line of two cultures and tries to give an aboriginal voice. The paper is an attempt to analyze the anxieties and intentions of white settlers who urge to go back to their own homelands: Scotland and Britain. In Gemmy, they want to explore the aboriginal world from a racist perspective. Maria Jesus Cabarcos in her dissertation *Some Post-Colonial Versions of the Pastoral* emphasized the subject position of the white settlers, a minority among the natives. She studies the instability of identity within the British colonials. She describes the processes of identity reconsideration of characters who are dissatisfied with their positions assigned to them in a colonial society. The white settlers move towards the pastorals and thus, hybridity in the form of Gemmy to save their own identities. Ingram Penelope in “Racializing Babylon: Settler Whiteness and the New Racism,” made an intervention to analyze the novel from the perspective of white settlers: how they represent whiteness in general and in literature in particular. He identified that in *Remembering Babylon*, the representation of racial and cultural difference conform not only respect for whiteness among indigenes but also conform to the ideologies of what Pierre-Andre Tauguieff and Etienne Balibar have called the ‘new racism’. Another researcher, Askeland Devaney Karin, through his reading of the novel in article “David Malouf’s *Remembering Babylon* and *An Imaginary Life*: Identity Processes in the Postcolonial Borderland,” hints at a reconciliation of the ambiguity between white settlers and indigenes that exists in the borderland by “overcoming the boundaries” metaphorically “between self and the other” (10). He finds the solution in the process of hybridization as represented in the case of Gemmy by using “the reflections of the religious philosopher Martin Buber in his work *It and Thou*” (10). Victoria Burrows has worked on the underlying theme of shame in her article titled “The Ghostly Haunting of White Shame in David Malouf’s *Remembering*

Babylon” in the historical context of Australian Reconciliation Convention in 1997 and completion of the “Bringing Them Home” report. She identifies Gemmy as a symbolic figure of shame in two senses: a subject of shame and a source of shame too. All the white settlers are overlaid by a sense of deep personal shame which is further connected to class insecurity and thus, add a defect to the dominant perceptions of whiteness in racial terms. The settlers are tormented by traumatic memories of the white world that has rejected them. The white settlers’ treatment to Gemmy as a white who has gone native is the marker of their own defense mechanism against their own shame of being rejected by the mainstream: Britain and Scotland. In her article titled “Naming and Memory Places: *Remembering Babylon*,” Melloy emphasized the use of language as one of the strategies by early British settlers to reside in Australia. In their efforts to adapt themselves to the new home and create a familiar world in an alien and hostile landscape, the white settlers marginalize those who are outside the dominant Anglophone group. She has further analyzed how language is inextricably linked to form cultural memory and thus challenges the official narratives of early Australian history written from the perspective of white settlers. Lamia Tayeb studies the thematic concerns like memory, place, displacement, and exile by questioning settlers’ perceptions of place and otherness, and settlers’ alternative way of inhabiting the land based on the principle of communion projected in their treatment to Gemmy. Adding to the validity of hybridization as a way of living, Genevieve Laigle in “National Identities in the New Literatures in English” reads Gemmy as a character who has touched his self by staying close to Nature and thus inspires all the white settlers to co-exist understanding each other as natural beings in touch with the Nature; to become hybrids. However, Pradeep Debata in his research article “The Elements of Postcolonial and Cultural Hybridity in David Malouf’s *Remembering Babylon: A Study*,” deciphers the ‘hybrid’ identity of Gemmy as a failed project to attain and establish new identity, Australianness. Gemmy was neither accepted by the settlers nor by the

Aboriginals. So, the novel becomes a howling for the missed opportunity of a meeting point between divergent cultures seeking cultural integration. Cornelis Martin Renes also discusses in “Reconciling Historical Friction: Exploring the Uncanny Edges of Australianness in Davod Malouf’s *Remembering Babylon*” how this novel engages with the discursive complexities of reconciliation around a new identity, Australianness. The article brings forward the process of cultural encounter and reconciliation in the novel in which the Aboriginal world becomes ‘uncanny,’ as explained by Sigmund Freud accompanied by the issues of race and gender. Gemmy’s unwelcome likeness to the white settlers is an exemplary manifestation of inner turmoil of white settlers. In “Allegory, Space, Colonialism: *Remembering Babylon* and the Production of Colonial History,” Lee Spink asserts that the process of writing about the colonial history in *Remembering Babylon* itself is a marker of power over illiterate indigenous world. Through writing, the non-indigenous integrate themselves into a political system, and grade themselves castes/classes. Rather than enlightening, the aim of writing become separation as suggested by Claude Levi Strauss. Writing becomes a mean of exploitation, slavery, and demarcation of literate and illiterate. In the same line, Helga Ramsey Kurz, in “Lives Without Letters: The Illiterate Other in *An Imaginary Life*, *Remembering Babylon* and *The Conversations at Curlow Creek*,” discusses the theme of literacy in *Remembering Babylon* and establishing it as an indicator of character as well as sign of cultural identity. The speech of Malouf’s illiterate character in combination with his physical appearance as unidentified shapes like “a scare crow” and “not even, maybe, human” are markers of subalternity as suggested by Spivak in “Can subaltern Speak?” (119). Beyond the Postcolonial implications, Archer Lean in “Tracing Practice-Led Research to Locate a Nature in *Remembering Babylon*,” attempts to see the novel in the light of eco-criticism and calls it an excellent work imitating the natural world which is transcending the language. The characters in the novel are either collapsing into nature or synthesizing with it.

But the paper also studies the historical references used by Malouf in the novel with postcolonial implications.

The third writer under study Jorge Mario Pedro Vargas Llosa alias Mario Vargas Llosa who is a Peruvian writer, and renowned politician in Peru. He has worked as a journalist, essayist, college professor, and his effective factual writings make him a well-deserved recipient of the 2010 Nobel Prize in Literature. He is one of the leading writers of Latin America inspiring a generation of novelists and essayists. He has annexed the power structures prevalent in his own nation with condemnation. Also, he has drawn severe images of the individual's rebellion, resistance, and gradual defeat. Many of Vargas Llosa's works are influenced by his subjective perception of Peruvian society and his own experiences as a native. Llosa has also dealt with political themes arising in other countries and thus, expanded his horizon of writing. He says:

I carry Peru deep inside me because that is where I was born, grew up, was formed, and lived those experiences of childhood and youth that shaped my personality and forged my calling, and there I loved, hated, enjoyed, suffered, and dreamed. . . . It is regrettable that democratic governments, instead of setting an example by making common cause with those, like the Damas de Blanco in Cuba, the Venezuelan opposition, or Aung San Suu Kyi and Liu Xiaobo, who courageously confront the dictatorships they endure, often show themselves complaisant not with them but with their tormenters. Those valiant people, struggling for their freedom, are also struggling for ours. (*In Praise of Reading and Fiction* 5-6)

Vargas Llosa's style encompasses historical material as well as his own personal experiences. For instance, in his first novel, *The Time of the Hero*, he captured the incidents and events from his life at Leoncio Prado Military School. He mocks the corruption of the

moral standards at the institution which it needed to advocate. In fact, the school's corruption serves as a metaphor for corruption of the contemporary society. Vargas Llosa uses his writing as a weapon against those who hold political power and misuse that power for the oppression of the weaker section. To him, the inequality in power structures of society has remained a prominent theme. In *Conversation in the Cathedral*, he has challenged the inadequacies of dictatorship of Peruvian President Manuel A. Odría. The protagonist, Santiago, in two volumes of the novel resists the tyrannical reign by joining the left political group and by indulging in dissident activities. In *The Green House*, he has touched a sensitive issue of sexual violence to brothel workers by militarymen.

Most of the novels of Vargas Llosa have Peru as setting though he has expanded its range to other regions of Latin America such as Dominican Republic and Brazil. *The War of the End of the World* was his first major work set outside Peru. The plot deals with historical events of the Canudos revolt against the Brazilian government. His *The Feast of the Goat* is set in Dominican Republic and is built on the dictatorship of Rafael Trujillo. Llosa has revisited the history of Dominican Republic with extreme realism. He emphasises that he has "respected the basic facts . . . have not exaggerated," afterall, "It's a novel, not a history book, so I took many, many liberties." He says:

I am proud to feel myself the heir to the pre-Hispanic cultures. . . . If we investigate only a little we discover that Peru, like the Aleph of Borges, is a small format of the entire world. What an extraordinary privilege for a country not to have an identity because it has all of them! (*In Praise of Reading and Fiction* 6)

In this thesis, Llosa's *Storyteller* has been put under study. The novel has first-hand details of the natives of Peru by Llosa and he draws largely on the efforts of the natives to reclaim their tribal culture by using the motif of storytelling. A perfect balance has been

achieved in depicting: 1) the extinction of the tribes due to exploitation; and 2) reclamation of the native land cultural values by giving voice to the detailed mythological roots of the tribals' existence though the novel does not directly suggest any solution to the extinction of tribes. Through alternative narration by the two narrators, the novel presents the story of Saul Zuratas who first leaves his Jewish descent and then his urban Christian identity and adapts a tribal one among the *Machiguenga* of Amazon Forest. The first narrator belongs to the mainstream modern Peru who goes to Florence researching about Dante and Machiavelli. During his visit to Florence, he stares at Renaissance paintings tripping on the 'Amazon Forest Exhibition' and gets stuck at a photo of *Machiguenga* storyteller. The second narrator is the second protagonist, Saul, who delves deep into the culture of the tribes and their mythological beliefs and values. The plot is built upon alternative arguments stating the identity crisis faced by Amazonian natives of Peru.

One side establishes the point that tribes should be left alone to live the way they want and the way they have always lived flourishing among flora and fauna of their ancient lands. They have their own social structure and norms that should not be contaminated. However, the other side states that the primitive mannerism, values, beliefs, and traditions should give way to new beliefs endorsed by industrialization, modernisation, and urbanization. The ancient ways of living cannot bear the exceeding economic goals, and thus have to be incorporated. In the novel, the *Viracochas* and *Maschos* represent the class hierarchy using the natives to harvest rubber promising them food, shelter, and goods to come and work for them. Once there is lack of labourers to work in factories and industries, *Viracochas* kidnap or lure the innocent tribals and treat them callously. The tribals are taken to the camps forcibly by *Viracochas* and *Maschos* as "they wanted to Bleed us like they bled the trees" (Llosa, *Storyteller* 50). The natives are also rescued from such exploitation by the religious missionaries, linguist missionaries, and government organisations. But these rescues come

under scrutiny once the missionaries make their civilizing missions and disturbs the pure tribal natural ways. The linguists learn the tribal language just to teach the tribals modern ways, new religion, and thus, affirming imperialist ideology in the guise of scientific research. This neo-colonial ideology disrupts the age-old cultures which are the identity bearers of Amazonian Indians.

The novel further registers the issue of identity crisis faced by the natives in many other countries of Latin America in the wake of Peruvian natives. The problem is the coexistence of the contrary worlds: one is the world of the tribes and indigenes which is christened primitive and archaic by the modern society; and the second is world of modern progressive nationals which is competing at all levels with other nations at global front.

In “A Fascination for Stories: The Call to Community and Conversion in Mario Vargas Llosa’s *The Storyteller*,” Jennifer L. Geddes has explored the art of telling tales and the fascination for stories of three characters: the author himself; the first narrator; and Saul Zuratas which ultimately bring storytellers and readers together in terms of masking and unmasking: “to read behind the mask and to read the mask itself” (370). In other words, she attempts to analyse the process of writing tales from different perspectives in the context of historical, political and personal context, and thus, relates the narrator with the author considering biographical elements. However, Julianne Newmark comes up with different approach to analyse the intention of writing this novel. In her paper, “Language, Absence, and Narrative Impossibility in Mario Vargas Llosa’s *El Hablador*,” she weighs the ability of Llosa in reconciling the binary oppositions, i.e., oral and written narratives. The paper figures out how a romantic narrator with modernist tendencies in the beginning of the novel assigns himself a task of reconstituting the story of another narrator (Saul), a *Machiguenga* Indian storyteller. There is study of narrative contrivance of Llosa’s narrator. Besides the study of

assimilation of narrative techniques, an attempt has been made to study the assimilation of primitive Indian cultures under the model of modernity. A paper written by Jose Castro “Mario Vargas Llosa’s *El Hablador* as a Discourse of Conquest” assesses the novel “as a discourse of conquest” and “an allegory of modern nation” in which “the construction of self is in contradiction with nation” and elaborated through “civilization-barbarism dichotomy” (241).

Last but not the least, the work of fiction that has been taken under consideration is *Paradise* by Abdulrazak Gurnah. Gurnah is a critically acclaimed Tanzanian author who was born on the island of Zanzibar off the coast of East Africa. Gurnah has worked as an Emeritus Professor of English and Postcolonial Literatures at the University of Kent. He has been awarded prestigious Nobel Prize for literature in 2021 for his uncompromising and compassionate penetration of the effects of colonialism and the fate of the refugee in the gulf between cultures and continents. He has gained eminence as an editor of *A Companion to Salman Rushdie*. His essays on African Writings and African writers have contributed to the plethora of critical commentaries. Postcolonial writers like Wicomb, Rushdie, and Naipaul have lured his attention that became the subject of his several articles. Himself a migrant entity, his fiction repletes with the motif of memory and harrowing evils of immigration, alienation, displacement, and identity splits. In one of his extra-literary writings, he says, “I realize now that it is this condition of being from one place and living in another that has been my subject over the years, not as a unique experience that I have undergone, but as one of the stories of our times” (“Writing and Place” 27). The politics of difference in fixing identities has remained a dominating theme in almost all his works: *The Last Gift* (2011), *Desertion* (2005), *By the Sea* (2001), *Admiring Silence* (1996), *Paradise* (1994), *Pilgrim's Way* (1988), and *Memory of Departure* (1987). Gurnah’s fiction depicts the complicated meshwork of human relationships underlining the social codes, emotions, and experiences

that shape subjectivity in an ever-changing cosmopolitan social reality. In an interview Gurnah says, “I just want to write as trustfully as I can, without trying to say ‘something noble’. However, there are certain things I’m worried about and then I want to explore them and write about them” (Interview 3). In *Admiring Silence*, experiencing coronary illness and achiness to visit the family, the 40-year-old anonymous storyteller chooses to make his first re-visitation of the island of Zanzibar since escaping it as a young person when its new rulers, in the wake of getting autonomy from Britain, started a rule of fear. As an individual from the Arab people group comprised of the relatives of dealers and slave merchants who have settled in Zanzibar hundreds of years prior, he had felt particularly defenceless. Home appears to be not home. His family, infuriated about his relationship with his beloved Emma, turns on him, and he returns. Even his return does not provide any solace. Emma, has found another man in his absence. The urge of belongingness leaves the protagonist in silence. The need of belongingness and home fabricate the plot of Gurnah’s novels that often leave his audience disillusioned and awestruck. Ethnicity, religion, moral, and social differences which are the markers of being different or being an outsider are powerfully carved at the core of Abdularazak Gurnah’s fiction. There is more than one focus in his writings like “belonging, rupture, dislocation . . . , and within those three, there are already many other issues to do with loss and pain and recovery” (Mohan and Datta 4). Gurnah’s *By the Sea* extends a meditation on history, on a lost world of inter-oceanic cosmopolitanism including the furies that colonialism has unleashed. It is a poignant tale truthful in its venture that establishes Gurnah as one of the important voices in contemporary times. In *Afterlives*, Gurnah excels at depicting the lives of those who seem ordinary but survive extraordinary events. There is a realistic depiction of cruel world of bittersweet encounters and pockets of compassion. The entire novel structured around memories, often painful, and shaped by traumatic experiences of violence in the context of German colonialism. In *Paradise*, the German colonial rulers’

callousness and cruelty is relayed as rumour and hearsay. But in *Afterlives*, it is firmly brought into focus. On the basis of such a corpus, Gurnah can rightfully be signified as postcolonial writer however, he himself denies to be put in any such category. He says, “I would not use any of those words. I wouldn’t call myself a something writer of any kind. In fact, I am not sure that I would call myself anything apart from my name” (Interview 1). To him, “the role of literature in the world is to progress the community, but it might vary dependent on the specific community” (3).

In the study, Gurnah’s *Paradise* has been selected to scrutinize the strategies adopted for the portrayal of the native tribes of Tanzania. It is a tale of a young boy coming towards maturity, in bildungsroman sense against the backdrop of an Africa increasingly becoming corrupt and violent under the influence of urbanization and colonialism. In fact, it turns the readers back to precolonial times with a rich tapestry of myth, dreams, and Biblical and Quranic traditions. Yusuf, the protagonist at the age of twelve was sold by his father as an unpaid servant to uncle Aziz, a merchant in a repayment of a debt. Yusuf in his journey into the unknown world comes across the varied aspects of social hierarchies coexisting in urban precolonial East Africa: the black Muslims, Christian missionaries, trading safaris, and the local tribes. The novel can be read in a historical context with its reference to World War I. The German forces sweep into Tanzania and turned the innocent adolescents into violent soldiers forcibly. The depiction of pre-existing loopholes in the native tribes and its culture, corollaries of European colonialism, the politics involved in trade, trauma of identity crisis, lack of belongingness, and desire for home- all these themes make *Paradise* a heart rendering saga of exploitation, loss, and suffering at the part of the natives of Congo Basin. The novel also dialogues the intricacies involved in maintaining human relationships amidst such an unstable social structure. There is a huge loss of the basic human element ‘love’. Assessing the value of Gurnah’s fiction in global literary market, Erik Falk says,

Gurnah's literary geography is at once local and cosmopolitan. He consistently places his stories in 'that little space' of Zanzibar, as he has called it, at the same time as he lets his stories unfold transnationally and transculturally, with the 'larger space' characteristic of cosmopolitanism in history. (157)

A few academicians have been approached online to reach at the review of Gurnah's *Paradise*. The most former is the study by David Callahan in his paper, "Exchange, Bullies and Abuse in Abdulrazak's Paradise" (2000). He has tried to comprehend the precolonial and postcolonial interactions underlining the role of trade and economy in determining the individual lives and society. The paper reads the novel as a failed venture of hope and escape. Susheila Nasta, (2005) a renowned British critic, examines the literary value of *Paradise* as a popular or canonical text to be nominated for literary prizes like Booker. She analysed the inter-relationship between the popular culture and high culture by visiting Gurnah's *Paradise* on the basis of historical contextualization of the production and reception of this text. She contemplates on the politics involved in the judgment of literary prizes. Kearney in 2006 comments on the theory of naturalization of corollaries of colonialism, especially slavery in *Paradise* in an article, "Abdulrazak Gurnah and the 'disabling complexities of parochial realities'." The article delves deep into the lives of the local tribes in East Africa citing the loopholes in the golden pre-colonial tribal culture. The study compares this novel with Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* but the darkness has been drawn not towards the East but from East to the West. J. U. Jacobs in "Trading Places in Abdulrazak Gurnah's Paradise" sets a colonial gaze from a postcolonial position while studying Gurnah's work and concludes the importance of trade routes in exposing the corruption and manipulation in trade which ultimately give rise to the subject position of a few tribes within their own cultures. The study affirms that the evil of slavery is an outcome of the darkness of the West on East even in a precolonial fabric. In a thesis, Macro Neil Ruberto (2009), a research scholar of Nottingham

Trent University, draws on the intertwined concepts of itinerancy and liminality to trace the usage of child narrative in the fiction of Gurnah. In his dedicated analysis of *Paradise* in the same source, he establishes the fact that child narrative accommodates the representation of displacement, alienation, homelessness, and recollection of the alternative versions of past experiences. Exile and the formation of subject position are highlighted as major themes in Gurnah's *Paradise*. Another researcher, Emad Mirmotahari (2011) interrogates the narrative in terms of depiction of precolonial African Civilization, prior to contact with Europeans, non-Africans, and other Africans. He compares the depiction of Africa and its tribes in the novel with Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* in his paper "Paradises Lost: A Portrait of the Precolony in Abdulrazak Gurnah's *Paradise*." He brings out the fact that Islam is the guiding religion of not only Indians, Persians, and Arabs but also of black Africans and it is distant from the jingoism and ideological platforms of contemporary political detractors. Ezekiel Kaigai (2014) in his Ph.D. thesis on *Encountering Strange Lands: Migrant Texture in Abdulrazak Gurnah's Fiction* works on the complete novelistic oeuvre of Zanzibari-born author to understand the complexities of marginality and migrant subjectivities of cultural exchanges within the historical and geographical context. While analysing *Paradise*, he dealt with the character of protagonist Yusuf in particular who is responsible for male emancipation through female bodies. Another critical reader Katherine Steinberg (2016) studies the dynamics of translation in the art of storytelling. She argues in "Translation in *Paradise: The Intersection of Languages and their Impact in Gurnah's East Africa*," that there are dispersed scenes of multilinguistic encounters in which the perspective of translator shapes the result of the exchange. This leads to the complexity of intercultural relations in colonial era in East Africa. She has read the novel in a non-European centred linguistic context. She concludes that the language plays an active role to determine the relations of power and vulnerability among the characters of the novel. In 2016, Anne Anjulu Okungu

also scrutinised the seven novels of Abdulrazak Gurnah in her Ph. D thesis titled *Reading Abdulrazak Gurnah: Narrating Power and Human Relationships*. The report explores narrative perspectives, vivid descriptions, imagery, symbolism, and characterization to afford an opportunity to read East Africa in everyday lives and interactions. While commenting on *Paradise*, she expounded the play of power in defining human relations: children and adults in terms of migrant entities. Eleanor Anneh Dasi (2017) develops her critique of *Paradise* on the role of gender in defining the subjectivity, identity, and space in a society in “Gender Identities and the Search for New Spaces: Abdulrazak Gurnah’s *Paradise*.” The study explores the various perspectives on gender: binary, fluid, variance, roles, and representations to arrive at new spaces in contradiction to cultural settings. She concludes that gender categories may seem absurd but are inevitable to coexist in the conception of the self. ““The Spice of Life”: Trade, Storytelling and Movement in *Paradise* and *By the Sea* by Abdulrazak Gurnah” written by Sophy Kohler in *Social Dynamics*, illuminates the theme of displacement as one of the trajectories of trade routes and networks along the Swahili Coast. The most recent critical entry in the review of Gurnah’s fiction has been done by Sennur Bakirtas (2020). She analyses the female characters in the novel and interprets Islamic sense of polygamy. He approached Gurnah in “Trapped in the Firdaws, the Garden Of Eden of Aziz in Abdulrazak Gurnah’s *Paradise*” as a writer who introduces Islamic stories related to polygamy with his Islamic background to the Western world. In a PhD thesis, *Complexities in the Novels of Abdulrazak Gurnah: a Socio Literary Study*, by Rajesh Thakur, the detailed thematic concerns in Abdulrazak’s novels are addressed using the critics like James Clifford, Edward Said, and Caren Kaplan. Homelessness as a major theme and role of memory in the process of migration are elaborated while analysing *Paradise*.

After critiquing the selected works and different rubrics under which these have been analysed, the present thesis intends to make an intervention into the discourse of identity as

represented in the selected works from the point of view of fundamental Marxist notions in general, and the epochal notion of dominant, residual, and emergent cultures in particular suggested by Raymond Williams. For making such intervention, it is important to form certain dispositions regarding Marxism as a theory and its intersection with the art forms, specifically literature. The rest of the part of this chapter is dedicated to give a description of the theory of Marxism in general, and the theory of dominant, residual and emergent tendencies in a culture in particular, and later to see its relation to the fiction which is selected to be analysed.

In Marxist theory, the proposition of the determining base and the determined superstructure is the key to understand the social relations and social constructs including existence of an individual or groups in a society. Marx asserted in “Preface to *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*,”

In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general.

(362)

In “The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon,” Marx makes reference to superstructures saying,

Upon the several forms of property, upon the social conditions of existence a whole superstructure is reared of various and peculiarly shaped feelings, illusions,

habits of thought and conceptions of life. The whole class produces and shapes these out of its material foundation and out of the corresponding social conditions. (272)

The production of life, through both labour and procreation, is both natural and social: “a given mode of production is combined with a given stage of social cooperation.” This link between production and cooperation at a given moment implies “consciousness” of men which is itself a “social product.” Therefore, the domains of production like politics, law, morality, religion, art, and literature are not independent but run parallel with people’s material behaviour: “life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life” (*German Ideology* 47-51). Marx, further, views history as motivated by class struggle. In “Manifesto,” Marx insists “the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles” (473-74). Marx alludes to the history of class conflict between slaves and freemen, patricians and plebeians, lords and serfs since beginning of mankind to the contemporary one. Thus, in Marxist tradition, social structures and relations of any culture at a particular time are explained in terms of class conflicts and class struggle which are based on economic structure of that time. Class membership is defined by the status one has in the means of production. One who owns means of production becomes dominant by purchasing the labour power of those who lack ownership of means of production. In other words, the working class is made up of those who sell their labour power and the capitalist class comprises those that purchase the labour power and thus, becomes dominant. The economic base is the ‘agency’ which legitimizes the existence of dominated oppressed class and this ‘agency’ works through the system of representation called ideology. In *The Making of the English Working Class*, Thompson discusses:

Class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests as between themselves, and as

against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed to) theirs.

(9-10)

From all these predispositions, if we interpret 'identity' of an individual or social group in a society, then, 'identity' is dictated as 'class,' which further transforms into 'subjectivity' (one class subjects to the other class) on the basis of material relationships working through ideology. Ideology is a system of beliefs and ideas that permeates social formation. The concept of ideology is neither originated in Marxism nor limited to it. As Raymond Williams says:

Ideology was coined as a term in the late eighteenth century, by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy. It was intended to be a philosophical term for the 'science of ideas' The science of ideas must be a natural science, since all ideas originate in man's experience of the world. (*ML* 56).

However, in Marxist sense, ideology justifies oppression and social inequalities by suggesting that the lower classes have always been inferior and persuades them of the validity of this belief. Plekhanov, a Marxist critic, explains the inter-relation among base, superstructure, and ideology in five sequences: "i) the state of productive forces, ii) the economic conditions, iii) the socio-political regime, iv) the psyche of social man; and v) various ideologies reflecting the properties of this psyche" (76).

Further, Marx observes that the class which is struggling for mastery (domination) tries to gain political power, for it want to represent its own interests as universal or general interests. He states that the class which is ruling material force in society is also the ruling intellectual force. Having at its disposal the means of production, it is empowered to disseminate its ideas in the realms of law, morality, religion, and art, (superstructures) as possessing universal verity. Thus, Marx's notion of ideology is that the ruling class represents

its own interests as the interests of the people as a whole (*German Ideology* 52-65). In *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels assert “the ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas” (39). Ideology is used to describe that which conceals a contradictory and inverted reality (Bottomore 248-9). Ideology is a false consciousness that prevents the recognition of oppression by the oppressed. Ideology is the writings, speeches, beliefs, and opinions- cultural practices- that assert the naturalness and necessity of economic practices. Ideology is therefore an instrument of power because it helps prop up the dominant classes by naturalizing an exploitative relationship. With social structures such as education, religion, law, and culture the oppressed classes believe that the order of inequality in society is natural and pre-ordained. They do not recognize that they are oppressed. Subsequent cultural and Marxist theorists, Antonio Gramsci, Louis Althusser and later Michael Foucault also emphasize the role of ideology in determining the social structures by expanding the theory of economic base and superstructure. Gramsci advances the concept of hegemony to demonstrate how ideology works. He underscores the institutional and cultural bases of ideology where there is less coercion and more consent. He explains that hegemony is the connexion of material and ideological instruments through which the dominant class maintains its power by endearing the ‘consent’ of the dominated. The argument follows that the ideas of the dominant class are institutionalised including concessions to the ideas and values of subordinate groups in the domains of civil society like the religion, the law courts, the institutions of education, and the bureaucracy. The ruled are made to accept things as they are because it is perceived by subordinate class as reflecting their own interests. They unintentionally give consent to oppression of their own volition. In this way, Gramsci’s notion of hegemony shows certain autonomy from the economic base through which the superstructure operates. (*Prison Notebooks* 56-58). Louis Althusser in his commentaries in

For Marx insists that ideology is not determined just by the economic base. Althusser suggests that there are three practices within society in total: the economic, the political and the ideological (252-253). The specific individual experiences and group experiences which shape beliefs, ideas, and values also play an important role in turning the individuals into subjects in the system of production relations. Ideologies present themselves as guiding truths and recruit subjects and thus interpellates individuals or group of them. Althusser also refers to ISAs (ideological state apparatuses) which determine the subject position or say, identity of the individuals or groups. Dominance, according to Althusser, is also sustained via active consent of the dominated. This consent is attained through ISAs (ideological state apparatuses) of state control: “the political groups, the media, the education system, religion, and art.” There is also RSAs (repressive state apparatuses) through which a state maintains its power and control. RSAs include “the Government, the Administration, the Army, the Police, the Courts, the Prisons, etc.” that operate through “violence” (*Lenin* 96). Thus, means of keeping the power relations in favour of the dominant category is ideology. Terry Eagleton in his studies also refer to ideology not in the first place as a set of doctrines. He asserts that ideology “signifies the way men live out their roles in class-society and also signifies the values, ideas, and images which tie them to their social functions preventing them from a true knowledge of society as a whole” (“Marxist Criticism” 250). Terry Eagleton explains ideology through six strategies: “by promoting beliefs and values congenial to it; by naturalizing these beliefs to render them self-evident; universalizing these beliefs; de-valuing ideas that might challenge it; rejecting alternative or rival forms of thought; and obscuring social reality” (“What is Ideology” 3). From all the arguments given, it can be drawn that ideology is a system of beliefs and ideas that gives way to any social formation. Ideology justifies social and economic disparities and oppression proposing that the lower classes have always been inferior and convince them of the legitimacy of this belief. It creates the illusion

of 'justified oppression' by circulating a system of representation and images in favour of a particular class, the 'dominant'.

Michael Foucault, another Marxist critic following Althusser explains the 'dominant' rule in terms of working of power and knowledge structures within a social set-up. He explains the dominance infused in the theory of production of discourse. He insists, "For a class to become a dominant class, for it to ensure its domination and for that domination to reproduce itself is certainly the effect of a number of actual pre-meditated tactics operating within the grand strategies that ensure this domination. But between the strategy which fixes, reproduces, multiplies, and accentuates existing relations of forces and the class which thereby finds itself in a ruling position, there is a reciprocal relation of production" (*Power/Knowledge* 203). Parmod Nayar while commenting on Foucault's concept of power and knowledge summarizes, "people who lack power to determine their lives and futures are said to lack agency. They are called subalterns. Every social formation has its own subalterns. The dominant group in a social structure that constructs subalterns also uses particular modes to ensure that the subalterns remain powerless" (*Cultural Studies* 53).

Later, in twentieth century, Raymond Williams appears as an influential Marxist critic, and lays the foundation of what today is called Cultural Studies. However, the present discussion will be restricted to the interpretation of 'identity' in connection to base, superstructure, ideology and hegemony forming the dominant culture as suggested by Raymond Williams.

Raymond Williams while agreeing with the importance of economic base and superstructure, argues that there is not a straightforward linkage between these two as asserted by so far. He does not abandon the material side saying, "whatever purposes cultural practice may serve, its means of production are always unarguably material" (*Culture* 87).

Rather, he argues that there are more determinants than base, superstructure and ideology, which cause the dominant tendencies to rise in a particular social structure.

Williams equates the dominant culture straight to the hegemonic control via tradition, institutions and formations. He insists,

In authentic historical analysis it is necessary at every point to recognize the complex interrelations between movements and tendencies both within and beyond a specific and effective dominance. It is necessary to examine how these relate to the whole cultural process rather than only to the selected and abstracted dominant system.

(*ML121*)

He asserts the existence of internal dynamic relations of any actual process in the following words:

We have certainly still to speak of the 'dominant' and the 'effective,' and in these senses of the hegemonic . . . we have also to speak, and indeed with further differentiation of each, of the 'residual' and the 'emergent', which in any real process, and at any moment in the process, are significant both in themselves and in what they reveal of the characteristics of the 'dominant'. (*ML121-122*)

Here, Raymond Williams prepares three dispositions of analysis of social structure:

(1) the presence of the 'dominant' system which is hegemonic; (2) then movements and tendencies which are present within this 'dominant' system in the form of loopholes and faultlines; and (3) movements and tendencies called 'residual' and 'emergent' which are active beyond this dominant system but still reveal characteristics of the 'dominant' by existing in relation to it. Let us discuss these dispositions one by one.

Raymond Williams has equated the “dominant” with hegemony. Dictionary defines hegemony as dominance or leadership of one group or nation over others. In traditional definition, hegemony is understood as a political rule in relations between states. But Marxism, following Antonio Gramsci’s distinction between rule and hegemony, has extended the definition to the relations not only between states, rather between social classes. ‘Rule’ implies direct control by coercion and is expressed in direct political form. However, hegemony is not rule. It implies a rather complex interlocking of political, social, and cultural forces which are active while forming or maintaining dominance in a hierarchy of relationship structure in a society. Raymond Williams too differentiates between ideology which is imposed as “consciousness” and hegemony which is “simple experience and common sense” (*ML* 110). He explains:

Ideology, in its normal senses, is a relatively formal and articulated system of meanings, values, and beliefs, of a kind that can be abstracted as a ‘world view’ or a ‘class outlook’. . . . A dominant class has this ideology in relatively pure and simple forms. A subordinate class has, in one version, *nothing* but this ideology as its consciousness or, in another version, has this ideology imposed on its otherwise different consciousness, which it must struggle to sustain or develop against ‘ruling-class ideology’. (*ML* 109)

On the other hand, hegemony is different from ideology. Hegemony refuses to equate consciousness with ideology. It sees the relations of domination and subordination as “in effect a saturation of the whole process of living” (*ML* 110). This process is not restricted to political and economic activity, nor to the manifest social relationships but includes:

The whole substance of lived identities and relationships, to such a depth that the pressures and limits of what can ultimately be seen as a specific economic, political,

and cultural system seem to most of us the pressures and limits of simple experience and common sense.” (*ML*110)

Thus, Raymond Williams defines hegemonic dominance as a lived system of meanings and values, as naturally lived experiences which are reciprocally confirming in practice by subordinate without even being aware of this reciprocity. Raymond Williams further elaborates his notion of hegemonic dominance as a dynamic process. Raymond Williams asserts ‘dominant’ culture is never static. Hegemony, to him, does not exist passively as a form of dominance. It has to be “renewed, recreated, defended, and modified” continually. It has to be “continually resisted, limited, altered, and challenged by pressures not at all its own” (*ML* 112). Here, Williams points out “the necessity of the concept of counter hegemony or alternative hegemony which are real and persistent elements of practice”-

The reality of any hegemony in the extended political and cultural sense, is that, while by definition it is always dominant, it is never either total or exclusive. At any time, forms of alternatives or directly oppositional politics and culture exist as significant elements in the society. (112)

These “forms of alternatives” are important not only in themselves but as indicative features of what the hegemonic process would do to control these. In this sense, hegemonic process is alert as well as responsive to the alternatives and oppositions which question or threaten its dominance. Further, these alternatives and oppositions to a specific hegemony exist in two ways. There are alternative and oppositional enterprises and activities which originate within or against a particular hegemony. The other kinds of enterprises and activities are those which cannot be reduced to originate from “within” structures/hegemony and rather exist at their own. It is also to notice that both these forms of alternative and

oppositional initiatives and contributions are in practice again tied to the hegemonic that is the dominant culture. In other words, the hegemonic dominant culture at once forms and also confines its own forms of counter culture. Raymond Williams insists that these alternative and oppositional formations are significant breaks which are beyond hegemonic limits and pressure. But these breaks may again partially be neutralized, reduced, or incorporated by the hegemonic dominant, or most of the time act as active elements which are independent and original (*ML*113-14). In order to comprehend these breaks, it is important to see the working of 'residual' and 'emergent' cultures in relation to the dominant one.

By using the term "residual," Raymond Williams explains those elements in a culture which are the elements of the past, have served certain purposes in the social set up of relations among individuals and group of individuals, but are not completely dead in the contemporary times. These are those available elements of the past which have found their place in the present social set up in varied forms. He also differentiates between being 'residue' and 'archaic'. The residual should not be understood in terms of archaic, which is an element of the past, to be observed, to be examined and to be deliberately revived. He explains the working and presence of such elements by exemplifying rural communities. In the context of a Nation in the nineteenth century culture, the idea of rural community is residual, but still present subsequently in the urbanised capitalist dominant culture. Thus, "by definition", Raymond Williams asserts:

The residual has been effectively formed in the past, but it is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present. Thus certain experiences, meanings, and values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified in terms of the dominant culture, are

nevertheless lived and practised on the basis of the residue—cultural as well as social--of some previous social and cultural institution or formation. (*ML* 122)

One of the features of these residual tendencies is that these exist either as an alternative or opposition to the dominant culture. Second feature of these residual tendencies is that, though these are in opposition or alternative to the dominant, these are effectively incorporated in the dominant culture, especially when the dominant wishes to keep going with its hegemonic control. However, this incorporation can vary in positive or derogatory sense. In the context of the present analysis, we can identify these residual tendencies in the existence of communities of tribals and aboriginals subsequently with the existence of the non-tribal and non-aboriginal dominant mainstream in a colonial setting. Now how the dominant reinterprets, represents, dilute, projects and discriminates their (tribals and aboriginals) inclusion and exclusion is a matter of enquiry. Williams says,

A residual cultural element is usually at some distance from the effective dominant culture, but some part of it, some version of it—and especially if the residue is from some major area of the past—will in most cases have had to be incorporated if the effective dominant culture is to make sense in these areas. Moreover, at certain points the dominant culture cannot allow too much residual experience and practice outside itself, at least without risk. It is in the incorporation of the actively residual—by reinterpretation, dilution, projection, discriminating inclusion and exclusion—that the work of the selective traditions is especially evident. (*ML* 123)

By default, in a dominant culture, there is a phase to reach back to residues (those meanings and values which were once created in “actual societies and actual situations in the past) which still seem to have significance as they represent areas of human experience, aspiration, and achievement which the dominant culture neglects, undervalues, opposes,

represses, or even cannot recognize” (*ML* 123). In a way, this inclusion and exclusion of the residual by the dominant has its close association with the process of ‘acculturation’ too. J.W. Berry, et al. synthesises the concept of acculturation in “Acculturation Attitudes” in the fact that how great immigrants tend to maintain their traditional culture and the degree to which they long for communications with the host society. Four types of acculturation strategies are determined: “integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization” (187). The prior strategy, classified as integration, implies the maintenance of the cultural integrity of the group as well as the movement by the group to become an integral part of a larger societal framework” (188). The individuals accept both their own cultural values and those of the host culture. The second one is assimilation “relinquishing one’s cultural identity and moving into the larger society” (187) and thus, refusing native cultural values adopting the host cultural values. The third strategy is “when there are no positive relations with the larger society, and this is accompanied by a maintenance of ethnic identity and traditions” (188) called separation. There is rejection of host culture accepting own cultural values and identity. The last acculturation strategy is “characterised by striking out against the larger society and by feelings of alienation, loss of identity, and what has been termed *acculturative stress* . . . this option is marginalization” (188). It implies individuals’ rejection to the values and identities of both cultures (Berry 185-206). Though the concept of acculturation has its root in psychology, but the process has strong association with cultural studies to understand the dynamics of host culture or the dominant.

Now, the location of ‘emergent’ culture is radically different from the ‘residual’ in relation to a full sense of the dominant. In the structure of any actual society, there is always a social basis for elements of the cultural process that are either alternative or oppositional to the dominant elements which does not relate to earlier social formations, meanings and

values (residues). Such new formations fall in the category of ‘emergent’. Raymond Williams says,

By ‘emergent’ I mean, first, that new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of relationship are continually being created . . . emergent in the strict sense, rather than merely novel. (*ML* 123)

One of the features of these emergent elements is that they are either alternative or oppositional to the dominant elements. For example, the emergence of new working (proletariat) class in the context of nineteenth century England in opposition to capital class. Second, these elements vary in their degree of autonomy and in their vigorous contribution to challenge the dominant elements. Due to this unevenness, the process of incorporation significantly begins. “The emergence and incorporation of working class writing,” where the basis of incorporation is “the effective pre-dominance of received literary forms (as incorporated into popular journalism, advertising, and commercial entertainment).” Without doubt, “a new class is always a source of emergent cultural practice, but while it is still relatively subordinate to the dominant, this new formation is always likely to be uneven” (*ML* 123, 125). In case the dominant incorporates these elements then these elements are likely to remain incomplete in their function to challenge the dominant in a strict original sense. Thus, ultimately the emergent falls back in the entrapment model of the dominant. As he puts it in words:

The process of emergence, in such conditions, is then a constantly repeated, an always renewable, move beyond a phase of practical incorporation: usually made much more difficult by the fact that much incorporation looks like recognition, acknowledgement, and thus a form of acceptance. In this complex process, there is indeed regular

confusion between the locally residual (as a form of resistance to incorporation) and the generally emergent. (*ML* 125)

This whole cultural phenomenon comprising dominant, residual, and emergent structures is, thus, summed up in figure 1:

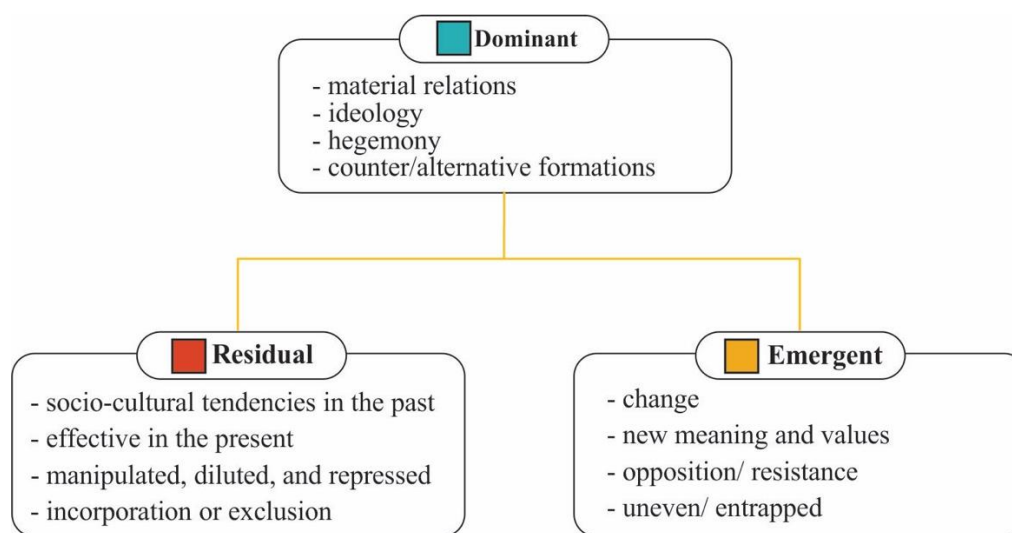


Fig. 1.

Raymond Williams's Concept of Dominant, Residual, and Emergent

Proceeding with the above discussed understanding of Marxism as a theory and the much-expanded version of class-struggle or struggle between dominant and dominated by Raymond Williams under the concept of dominant, residual, and emergent, it is time to understand what these concepts tell about the art and literature. A Marxist approach to culture and cultural artefact (works of art and literature) focuses on its material basis. Marx and Engels located the aesthetic realms such as art and literature within the context of politics, economics and history. It suggests that the concepts and representations of ideals, beauty, and truth in literature and art are in any way connected to material realities of economics, class relations, and power of its contemporary times (*German Ideology* 47-51). Pramod Nayar while commenting on the intersection of art and literature with Marxist theory says,

Any work of imagination, in other words, also offers us a view of the tensions, exploitation, within a society. A work of art--- the product of the imagination--- helps us understand our ‘real’ world. As we shall see, this Marxist insight has enormous significance. (*Cultural Theory* 125)

M.A.R. Habib while providing an overview of Marxist aesthetics, says that Marxist approach rejects the notion of ‘identity’ in favour of subjectivity (subject to material relations) and also denies that any object including literature can somehow exist independently. He says, “The aesthetic corollary of this is that literature can only be understood in the fullness of its relations with ideology, class, and economic substructure” (535). In fact, “language,” through which any literature is mediated, Marx says in *German Ideology*, “is itself not a self- sufficient system but a social practice” (51). Marxist approach seeks a ‘social referent’ within a work of art which describes the ‘representations’ referring to the actual existing social conditions, contexts, and conflicts. Now, what is this “representations”? In Cultural Studies, the term ‘representation’ has been of great value implying “the process of signifying (meaning-generation) and includes the word/sign and its concept/meaning. Representation presents the world in such a way that we can understand it” (Nayar, *Cultural Studies* 20). Thus, the objects and meanings exist in a society with their representations. Not only this, Marxist readings of art, that is, locating art in social contexts also includes the production and consumption of the art at a particular time. This Marxist approach to literature has its close affinities with other forms of critical studies like New Historicism and Cultural Materialism. But the present discussion is restricted to the Marxist approach only.

In the current study, contextual analysis is intended in the light of representation of identity formation by using the insights given by Raymond Williams. Cultural practices and

art, Raymond views, might not always reflect or be determined by the material (economics) conditions of a society. Art can be a part of process trying to negotiate with an economic condition. One should recognize the constant dynamic relation between economic 'base' and art where the 'base' might try to determine the art, and the art might try to escape the 'base'. Even Terry Eagleton recognizes, in *Marxism and Literary Criticism*, that an Althusserian criticism is productive when it "seeks to explain the literary work in terms of the ideological structure of which it is part, yet which it transforms in its art" (19). Engels too seeks in *German Ideology*, "relative autonomy" (Althusser *Lenin*) of art where it does not only represent the ideological structures rather also subverts or reflects on those ideologies. Leitch while providing a commentary on the relation of Marxist theory with literature says, "culture and the arts in the Marxist view are neither innocent entertainment nor independent of social forces; they play a significant role in transmitting ideology and shoring up the hegemonic order" (Leitch 14). This means texts are seen as socio-political signs which carry, reinforce, and also subvert, certain ideologies through which we generate meanings and thus, become part of the discourse. The present thesis is an attempt in the same direction to analyse the selected texts as socio-political signs, which represent the identity construction processes with regard to the identity of tribals and aboriginals. It seeks to comprehend how far these texts construct the identity of the tribals and aboriginals or subvert that construction within itself.

Using Raymond Williams's model of the dominant, residual and emergent, the thesis attempts to identify in the texts the dominant social formations which are primarily responsible for generating meaning and discourse including the discourse of identity. As discussed above in detail, the dominant tendencies in a culture drive their strength through 'base' and economy giving further rise to superstructures adopting certain ideologies. These ideologies are in fact discourse of the dominant spread as a 'reality' to create a subservient

culture and then to snub and suppress it as the ‘other’. This subservient culture is nonetheless residual of preceding dominant culture only. This residual is constantly active in the process of assimilation into the dominant either through partial incorporation or partial exclusion. The continuous incorporation or exclusion of the residual keeps the cycle of domination alive further giving rise to new social formations, other than the dominant and the residual. New tendencies and new social formations keep popping up as the result of the same incorporation or exclusion, which overlap the dominant again. The following figure 2 highlights this theoretical framework in visual form:

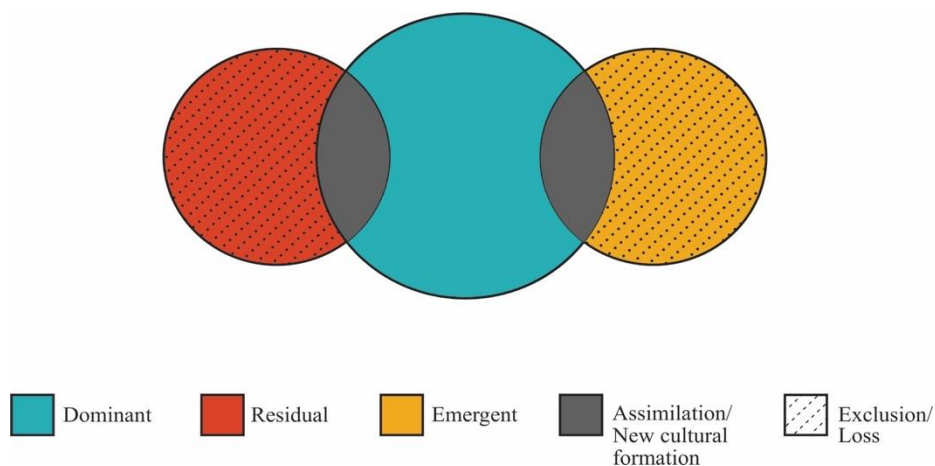


Fig. 2. Raymond Williams's Model of Incorporation and Exclusion of Residual and Emergent by the Dominant

To sum up, the never-ending phenomenon ‘culture’ with its dominant, residual, and emergent tendencies determines all discourse including the discourse of identity in every social formation. The process of incorporation and exclusion by the dominant maintains its validity and the losses occur at the end of the residual and emergent. Marginal tendencies fall in the excluded sections and ultimately lose their existence either as residual or emergent. A new dominant social formation emerges along with residual and emergent again. This theoretical framework enlivens the scrutiny of the identity dynamics presented in the selected works. Identity discourse is being produced, unproduced, and re-produced within the

play of economic dominance, hegemonic dominance, and assimilated residual and emergent socio-political formations. The application of the above-mentioned theoretical tool appropriately reports the predicament of the tribals and aboriginals and endeavours to figure out the intricacies of the signs of the identity construction subsumed in the power nexus of any culture. Moreover, parallel references are drawn to the non-literary historical and political records at a given point of time along with the readings of representative literary texts of the same time to offer a critical contextual analysis.

Chapter 2

Inspecting the Selfdom of Shabars in Mahasweta Devi's *The Book of The Hunter*

Mahasweta Devi, the Bengali activist, writer, and the recipient of Jnanapith award for the year 1999 stands unique among Indian writers in portraying the societal and governmental/ state violations of human rights to dalits, tribals, women, and children. Devi has immersed herself in the rehabilitation work of the tribals. She has spent over thirty years working with and for the tribal people of West Bengal and the South-East of Bihar as a political anthropologist, investigative journalist and editor of *People's Magazine*.

The present chapter is dedicated to study Mahasweta Devi's *The Book of the Hunter* (*BH*) exploring the identity dynamics between the tribals and the mainstream in pre-colonial India by building the argument on Raymond Williams' model. The objective of the present chapter is to analyse the representation of the identity markers in the novel dictating the identity of the tribe- *Shabars*. To scrutinize the representation, cultural and social agencies, institutions, and processes are comprehended using Raymond Williams' Marxist prism of dominant, residual, and emergent cultural elements. The *Shabars* are the hunter tribes of Jungle of Medinipur living in complete harmony with nature. They have their own culture consisting their social behaviour, Jungle norms, hunting laws, and they cherish their own selfdom. But their lives are being disturbed by the change in the monarch and the local forming administration. This change comes under scrutiny for bringing disharmony to the lives of *Shabars*. The analysis of the cultural tendencies and social processes, which are working to form dominance of the non-tribals on the tribals, has been endeavored. The mechanics of the dominant social formation i.e., an empire under a Sovereign with its feudal lords and tax collectors are underlined. The chapter explores the reasons of economic exploitation of the tribals along with their gradual loss of identity. Resistance on the part of

the tribals to preserve their selfdom has also been studied to investigate their representation as primitive beings. In her writings, Mahasweta Devi symbolizes the tribes as the pre-historic 'pterodactyl'. The *Shabars* are no less than 'pterodactyl' too as they are losing their existence to the mainstream's attempts of incorporating and excluding tribals' way from the emerging social formations. There is no way of establishing contact or communication with the pterodactyl to know the message it wishes to convey. Yet, ironically, "the tribals and the mainstream have always been parallel. There has never been a meeting point. The mainstream simply doesn't understand the parallel" (Spivak, Preface ii).

Born in 1926 to urban middle-class, Mahasweta Devi has over a hundred books to her credit including novels, plays, and collections of short-stories. She has said that in the tribal people she has found an endless source of ingredients for writing. According to Gayatri Spivak, "Mahasweta Devi is an unusual within the Bengali literary tradition as Foucault or Derrida within the philosophical or political mainstream in France" (Preface ix). She has given exposure to the plight of the tribals in her own journal *Bortika* and in the newspaper columns that she has regularly written. She has pestered the central and state administrations and fought for projects and funds. In 1986, she spearheaded the formation of Tribal Unity Forum (*Adim Jati Aikya Parishad*) to preclude "the disunity among the tribals that the system wants" (Spivak, Preface ix). She has lived and worked amongst the disenfranchised tribal and outcaste communities in India. In her stories, she does not just fictionalize tribals' history or record events from outside rather as an insider. Her *Dust on the Road: The Activist Writings of Mahasweta Devi* testimonies the same. While staying with the tribals, she has been fascinated by their oral traditions. She has made them tell their stories at their own and has successfully brought into notice the contribution of tribals: their indigenous beliefs, customs, and values enriching the treasure of incredible India that have been far forgotten by the urbanised world. In her conversation with Spivak, she says:

My involvement started long ago. In 1965, I started going to Palamu. Of course, my mental involvement was already there. I was interested in them, but did not know very much . . . when I understood that feeling for the tribals and writing about them was not enough, I started living with them. (Preface iv)

In *The Book of the Hunter*, Devi has dealt with the tribal community- *Shabars* and a threat to their existence and their identity. She writes:

In this novel, I undertook for the first time to seek out the tribal identity of the *Shabars*. Whatever I have written about byadh (hunter) are *Shabar* life, every detail will certainly be corroborated by the *Shabars* themselves- the day they are no longer driven from place to place, cruelly oppressed, and insulted. (*BH* xi)

For writing this novel, Devi draws on the life of the great medieval poet Kabikankan Mukundaram Chakrabarti, whose epic poem *Abhayamangal* better known as *Chandimangal*, records the socio-political history of the times. In the section of that epic called “Byadhakhanda”- the Book of the Hunter- he describes the lives of the hunter tribes, the *Shabars*, who lived in the forest and its environs. Mahasweta Devi explores the cultural values of the *Shabars*, their selfdom and how they cope with the slow erosion of their way of life, as more and more forest land gets cleared to make way for settlements. Devi declares, “Mukundaram’s poem was my source, but while writing about the life of *Shabars*, I have combined what I know from his book, my own modest familiarity with the subject and my life’s quest” (*BH* viii).

The setting of the novel is traced back to the village Ararha of Medinipur district in sixteenth century medieval Bengal. Ararha is not “a village but rather a town. When a King or a big land owner lived in a settlement, it became a town” (*BH* 58). The socio-political structure of the village constitutes the co-existence of the rulers who are non-tribals in the

main town and the *Shabars*, a tribal community living at the outskirts towards Jungle. The novel begins with the discomfort of Mukunda, an intellectual and scholarly *brahman* of Daminiya village (Bengal) who has been displaced from his village to Ararha due to “cycles of rule” (21). He sought the help of Giriraj, an elderly ‘three-headed’ folk as he does not know about the new rulers of the economy. Giriraj soothes him saying, “Now mind you, things go berserk for a while everytime there is a change of rulers. . . . I have long witnessed the anarchy that prevails when the chief of the land changes” (25). After all, in the hierarchy of class, Mukunda holds a position of a priest only, not a land owner. So, he has to leave Daminiya where he used to cultivate on a rented land. Land is the major determinant of the economy as suggested by the novel. The economic structure of the place consists of hierarchy of classes: the King, the tax collectors: *talukdars*, *dihidars* (the chief of group of villages), the *Brahmans* or priests cultivating on rented lands, and the peasants cultivating as labourers only. Cattle raising is also one of the vocations. In this hierarchy, the superiority and dominance of one class over the other was established on the basis of possession of land. Tirthankar Roy in his study on the economic conditions in early modern Bengal states, “The state collected taxes from intermediaries variously called zamindars, talukdars or maliks, who in turn collected rent from the peasants, retained a portion, and delivered the rest to the royal treasury” (2). In the novel, the ones who own the land which are usually feudal lords deploy labourers and farmers and control the distribution of the wealth while paying taxes to the king and his collectors. They form the mainstream or the dominant class of the social structure. The rest in the hierarchy becomes dominated who work for or on that land. In other words, the society of Ararha is a feudal society with a King, Bankur Roy. The peasants are obliged to surrender the product of their labour and are not legally termed as free. Peasants have effective possession of their small landed resources, but are not proprietors. The proprietors gain their income by obliging the peasants to transfer their surplus labour on to the lord’s

demesne lands. This feudal society has its record in historical studies too. The economic life of pre-colonial Bengal has been considered mainly based on agriculture. In an elaborate discussion on the economic history of Bengal, Kamrunnesa Islam comments, “Of the four well-known factors of production, — land, labour, capital and organisation, the importance of the first has always been recognised by economists of all ages. It is considered as the source of all wealth and in Bengal especially both ancient and modern, it has been the bedrock of the economic system” (73).

In the novel, Devi has made direct references to the King and tax collectors of the times. The references to the designations like *talukdars*, *dihidar*, and the change in the land measuring techniques under *talukdar* Mamud Sharif have captured the motif of ‘land’ and agriculture as driving force of life. Mukunda, while narrating his displacement from Daminiya, tells how his maternal uncle Ganesh scares him about the change in land measuring rules,

We can’t live in this land anymore. . . .

Measuring with diagonally laid ropes? Today they are measuring Nandi’s land.

Tomorrow it will be yours, and Josh Thakur’s land the day after. My God, are these people demons or what? Even if you put your ropes down from one corner to the other, you do not get 20 kathas for a kura. They’ll record 15 kathas as 20! (*BH* 12-13)

The class system of these invaders: moneylenders, feudals, and trading class has sucked the tribals dry and evicted them from their lands. The tribals who were once the joint masters of the whole village later have become bonded ryots of *talukdars* without any legitimate reason for successive generations. They were once the kings of the forests. But they have turned into violent dissidents. Nandini Sen in *Critical Perspectives on Mahasweta Devi* writes:

The adivasis' position as landless labourers is precarious in that they are incapable of undertaking cultivation without the land, seeds, implements, farm animals and such like the acquisitions of the landlords, in addition to being regularly cheated of their rightful share of crop and being ensnared in debts. Many such people have been forced to survive in the mainstream societies of Bihar and Bengal where they are treated as outcastes or belonging to the lowest rung of the social hierarchy. (18)

The tragic displacement from 'land' as narrated by other characters like Ramcharan, Devananda, Gopinath Nandi and Lord Chaitanya in the novel indicates the importance of land in their lives and also indicates the change in rules and policies in accordance with new rulers, the king and the feudal lords who have enforced such displacement. Ganesh exclaims, "People will have to flee from the ruler's oppression and the land will be full of sinners" (*BH* 13). Still, the farmers and peasants who cultivate land are active part of the economic structure constituting mainstream. In such economic structure serving class hierarchies, the *Shabars* of Ararha fall back almost at the edge of non-existence because they are neither farmers nor priests nor labourers, but hunters. The town life is not meant for them. They do not fit in the economic structure which is fast developing in Ararha. Kalya, a *Shabar* aptly remarks the position of the tribals in this class hierarchy, "They don't know what money is, nor do they see much of it. . . . We do not understand money. A cowrie or a dhebua or damri-copper or iron coin is as far as we go" (117).

The tribal lands were traditionally considered communal lands that belonged to a community rather than individuals. The produce and resources were used and shared by the community that had cleared and cultivated it. But in the changed social hierarch they cannot cultivate and feed their bellies without land. Ultimately, they are left with nothing but using violent means or they just walk off in search of other forest. The onslaught of this class

struggle is based on the possession of land that has reduced the tribals into a minority on their own turf and thus, created another class of displaced tribals. The system of permanent settlement has formed the bedrock of class struggle. The King has used it to hand over land rights to *Zamindars or Tulukdars*. In course of time, *Zamindars* or moneylenders and non-tribals have the tribal land in their names by hook or by crook. In depriving the tribals of land and forest, the mainstream has erased their identity. In the words of Devi, "Land is not yours by right, land belongs to the privileged (*Bitter Soil*, Introduction viii)." A tribal sans land and forest is a tribal without identity. The tribals, who were the joint masters of the whole village, eventually become bonded ryots and domestic helps like Phuli for the mainstream in the novel. They were once the kings of the forests as Kalachanda exclaims,

They don't even know they are poor. They sell meat, feathers, skins, wood, honey, incense, fruit, *kul*, roots and bark. They buy nothing except for rice, cloth, salt, pepper and oil. They are always happy. They have so many festivals and holidays - both men and women dance and play on little drums. They mind their own business and are perfectly content. The men and women both toil hard. . . .They have a fine life. (*BH* 58).

Thus, the entire existence of the *Shabars* is contrary to the material and economic ways of the mainstream.

As the *Shabars* are hunters, the mainstream be it the King himself, traders, and priests, demand animal skins from the *Shabars*. The animal trade is one of the potential levels where the *Shabars* could claim their existence. But they are bound by certain rules of hunting. Kalya who is the eldest son of Tejota gets the chance to make money by trading deer skin once. However, he refuses to do such a trade. Among *Shabars*, it is considered that the biggest sin lies in killing a pregnant deer or any other animal in their season of mating. When

the king of Dhalbhum wants hundred skins of male deer for some ceremony, his traders come with a contract to pay for each skin of male deer a rupee coin of pure silver. But Kalya drives the traders away as it is “the time for the deer to mate. Any shabar who kills a deer during this period would have Abhaya's curse upon him.” (BH 81). The *Shabars* do hunt only to fill their bellies but not for unnecessary violence on living creatures. They do not always eat animals; they also eat rice and other food items. But for that, they need to earn. They get into the mainstream’s market and sell the feathers and meat. They get rice and oil in exchange. Their situation gets worse in the rainy season. The meat does not sell much and as a consequence “the people take advantage of their desperate situation by buying entire deer for some broken rice” (119). They do not cultivate nor their law of forest allows them to do so. Danko as their leader wants all the *Shabars* to make living either by hunting or by living on roots or tubers insisting “as long as . . . there is forest here, no Shabar will till the soil” (106). Kalya makes Mukunda understand that just like *Abhayachandi* goddess has given him *puja* for work and books, a granary, and a cowshed for livelihood. Similarly, she has given the tribals the *jungle* to rely on. Their earnings are restricted to hunting only. Kalar-maa comments on the *Shabars* as a wild race who would eat anything that comes out of jungle by hunting as “they won’t work on any schedule, they won’t farm, and they’ll retort, why plough when there’s a forest” (76)? When Mukunda asks Phuli to sell more items except meat like acacia berries, boch, and bothra to the goldsmiths and doctors, Phuli replies to him that it is one thing to sell meat and skin in the market but they are tribals. They cannot go selling door to door. Also, as the *Shabars* are stout hunters living a tough raw life in the lap of nature, they could have made money by recruiting themselves in King’s army or by cultivating land on rent. But again, all such ways of living are restricted according to the law of *Abhayachandi*, the forest herself. The King tells Mukunda that “Do you know what kind of tribe they are?”

They will fight to save Ararha if any enemy attacks, but no Shabar will work in my army in exchange for pay or land” (62).

With this economic ‘base’ (land) follows the superstructure which includes religion and caste system. In the novel, the tribal community is wedged between double invasions, one by the Aryans (*Brahmans*) and other by the Mughals (Muslims):

Araha was eight miles in length, and four miles in width, due to the fact that each caste had its own separate settlement. The King’s palace was located exactly in the centre. The Muslims had their own section as well, although they were only 20 households strong.

The brahmans, kayasthas and vaidyas lived in the wealthier part of town. Cowherds, potters, iron smiths, weavers, oil-pressers, and carpenters also had their own neighbourhoods. Those of low caste came into the town in order to make a living, but actually lived on its fringe. And the Shabars lived in the bosom of the forest. (*BH* 58)

The economically dominant section imposes its own ideological apparatus of caste (religion) and gradually establishes hegemonic control. However, it is important here to understand this ideology of caste distinction. The roots of this class and caste system does not evolve here in Bengal. Ramnika Gupta in her study about tribals traced back this system to the invasions of Aryans. India belonged to the tribals who were the original inhabitants long before the incursion of the Aryan-speaking people. The tribes had many groups or sub-tribes like *Oraons, Mundas, Santals, Lodhas, Kherias, Mahalis, Gonds, Nagesia, Ho, Bhuiyan* and many more (*BH* 45-46). *Ramayana*, one of India’s two ancient epics, contains the evidence of how the tribes were oppressed, evicted from their homeland, and then forced to occupy the lower reaches of mainstream culture (Sen 35). Nandini Sen writes about the origin of tribals:

The tribals or “adivasis” are the so called “first inhabitants” of the Indian subcontinent. They differ from the Indo-Aryans both racially and linguistically.

Descended from nomadic tribes, they took to agriculture but many have been rendered landless labourers by the confiscation of their land by the outsiders. (18)

Aryan imperialism deceived, cheated, looted, and suppressed the tribals and pushed them to the forests. This happened throughout India. The main factors behind that were the expansionism, authoritarianism and domination of the emerging Aryan Empires. The ideologies of class-conscious Aryans and their assumed superiority over tribals combined to drive the tribals far away from civilization into the forests, compelled them to keep mum for centuries. The tribals were ousted from the village boundaries which initially belonged to them only and were forced to live a life of humiliating subordination sans self-respect or human dignity and were branded as ‘the other’ within their own land in the emerging social order (Gupta 42). Such was the treatment which the inhabitants of the country received at the hands of the invaders. Mahasweta Devi affirms this information in her story “Douloti.” The story says:

It’s a matter of hundreds of years. When did the Rajputs Brahmans from outside come to this land of jungle and mountain? When did all the land slide into their hands?

Then cheap field-labour became necessary. That was the beginning of making slaves on hire purchase. (20)

Devi’s *Bashai Tudu* also deplores the exclusion of the tribals from the greater body of the nation, a process that has continued inexorably through time and “the Shakas, the Huns, the Mughals, the Pathans have all merged into the corpus that is India. And the tribals have remained deprived under every dispensation” (118).

Further, the caste system was imposed upon the inhabitants and the tribals by the law giver, Manu. Manu was the upholder of caste system and therefore philosophized about it. “Only Manu Smriti talks clearly about the caste system and their duties” (Sengar 31). The caste system has its roots in the *varna* system. These *varnas* are based on the theory of the *gunas*. There is mention of four *varnas* as interpreted by Swami Mukundananda in *Bhagvada Gita: The Song of God* in Chapter 4, verse 13, where lord Krishna tells Arjuna, “*Chātūr varṇyaṁ mayā sṛiṣṭaṁ guṇa-karma-vibhāgaśah, tasya kartāram api mām viddhyakartāram avyayam.*” This implies that the four *varnas* are created by God Krishna on the basis of character and occupation. The works of *Brahmins* are peace, self-harmony, austerity, purity, loving forgiveness and righteousness, vision, wisdom and faith. These are the works of a *Kashatriya (Rajanas)*: a heroic mind, inner fire, and constancy, and resourcefulness, courage in battles, generosity, and noble leadership. Trade, agriculture, and rearing of cattle are the works of a *Vaishya*. And the works of the *Shudra* is service. It is just that, at some time in the history, the *Brahmana varna* socially detached itself from the rest of the body of people and through a closed-door policy created a caste by itself. The other classes being subject to the law of social division of labour underwent differentiation, some into large and others into minute, groups. This sub-division was natural but what was unnatural that they became self-enclosed units called ‘castes’ losing the welcoming tendency of the class system based on profession. Sengar in his study on caste and class in India asserts that it is because of their office as priests or their supposed influence over the gods that the supremacy of the *Brahmanas* has been maintained. This belief is further justified as per in accordance with the *shastras*. Sengar calls it “‘infection of imitation’ that has caught all these sub-divisions on the onward march of differentiation and gradually has turned *varnas* into castes” (22). Human mind has this natural tendency to imitate which has been deep rooted in universal unconscious. Thus, the act of imitation served as an appropriate excuse for the

formation of the various castes. Sengar further explains that the law of imitation flows from elder to younger, from the higher to the lower. Also, the degree of imitation “varies inversely in proportion to distance, that is, the thing that is most imitated is the most superior one of those that are nearest. This means that the castes that are nearest to the *Brahmins* have imitated all its caste system and insisted on its strict observance thereof. Those that are less near have imitated enforced system” (30). While closing themselves in, the *Brahmins* closed ‘the others’ out (Sengar 20-30). As a result, a very determined Hindu social system was developed to destroy the low-castes as human beings.

Thus, paralleling the economic stranglehold of the *malik-mahajans* is this social oppression of a religious system which controls through fear and superstition. In such a rigid caste system, the tribals are put in the lowest of the lowest category, even lower to the *Shudras*. They are described as *varna-sanskara*, “they are outside the system, so inferior to other castes that they are the outcastes” (Sengar 25). However, they are at some places referred to as close to *harijans* and untouchables in the works of Mahasweta Devi. Under Manu’s code, the segregated people have been for centuries denied the right to read or write. This leads to the unawareness of the tribals of their exploitation. “If the tribals are deviant, the high caste are possessed with knowledge that is itself a means of exercising domination by always prescribing do’s and dont’s” (Tripathi 217). The Mughal invasions resulted in further deterioration of the conditions of the tribals. The degenerate character of feudal politics and class divisions encouraged by caste and religion welcomed the deterioration of the tribals. The same has been referred to by Devi for depicting the tribals as oppressed caste and class.

In the novel, Mukunda was a *Brahman* by caste and a priest by profession. His task in his village Daminiya is supposed to worship the local gods in the village temple. His

ancestors have glorious reputation as scholars and poets. He also wants to join the scholarly work. He has no idea who is Mahmud Sharif but “no sooner did this new ruler take over, than wrack and ruin came into the people’s lives” (*BH* 20). Mukunda has to leave his scholarly career due to a new ruler. His mother before dying regrets “the whole lineage is one of scholars. But alas, I have you tied you down with rice farming and cattle-raising” (18). Then he has to shift from his village to survive the new rules. As Mukunda belongs to an upper caste, a *Brahman* as per the caste norms of the society, the lenient attitude of the King and feudal lords towards *Brahmans* keeps him still in the mainstream. The owners allow *Brahmans* “to live free of rent on their land, but there was no rice to be had unless you grew it yourself” (15). In fact, there are many *Brahman* landowners too in the other villages adjacent to Ararha and Daminiya.

Mukunda’s lifestyle in Ararha is the representative of the mainstreams’ lifestyle being an ally of the dominant group and further testifies the working of dominant social structure of caste in Ararha. While arriving at Ararha, he is welcomed by the King, Bankura Ray himself. Ray wants Mukunda’s scholarly expertise for his own son, Prince Raghunath. Being an intellectual priest, his services are often demanded at different occasions in *Pujas* (worship) and in festivals. He knows the Hindu customs and rituals which will maintain the dignity and prosperity of a Hindu king. In return he does not need to cultivate land. His granary is always full. His 50 *kudas* of land is tax-free. He has his place in the court of the King. He assists Queen Dauna Devi in all her social undertakings from the ground breaking for a new pond to women’s brata (fast) ceremonies. It is not only Mukunda who is esteemed in the caste structure of Ararha. Other *Brahmans* like Kali Datta also get the benefits claiming life in the mainstream. Kali Datta is appointed as the new surveyor of land which actually belonged to the tribals and natives. Even the Muslims have their share in this caste structure. Although they are strangers and outsiders as per the Hindu caste system, but they too claim a high

status in the King's court. The twin brothers Shrimanta Khan and Gambhir Khan work as *Tahsildars* at the Bardhaman courthouse. They have amassed a lot of land and property. They have mansions of baked bricks. Though Muslims, they get repaired the temple of *Bhadrakali* (village goddess) and also get a lake dug in their mother's name. Other than Hindu and Muslims, there are low castes too. The people belonging to low caste are either milkmen, fishermen, housemaids, farm-hands, labourers, or minor traders of the mainstream who work under the high caste. Ganesh of Bagti caste, Kalar-maa, Kalachand and his brother, are a few to name. This whole caste structure is not God-given. It only appears to be so. It is rather a construct which is consciously forged to explain specific trends of the dominant Hindu or Muslim section of the society under caste ideology to maintain its own dominance. As Kanwar writes, "Since the ideas, norms, values, and beliefs are constructs, the privileged section in the society always keeps track of them; monitor them for the purpose of ensuring their own class security and safety in the existing social order" (25). A hegemonic order has been established to place the tribals at margins of the societal structure.

Thus, in Ararha, from an economic infrastructure emerges a class system as superstructure subsuming religion, traditions, and political system, that informs the legitimate power of one social class owning the means of production. But this superstructure contains more than class struggle. This system drives its power by circulating definite forms of 'social consciousnesses what Marx designates as 'ideology'. The ideas which are favourable to the ruling classes like caste system, class hierarchy appear as objective facts, so as to disguise their self-interest. Marx and Engels argue in *The German Ideology*:

Each class which puts itself in the place of the one ruling before it, is compelled, merely in order to carry through its aim, to represent its interests as the common interests of all members of society, that is, expressed in an ideal form: it has to give its

ideas the form of universality, and represent them as the only rational, universally valid ones. (64)

The beliefs of the ruling classes regarding caste and class may not be recognized as ideological since strategies, often characteristic of ideology itself, are deployed to disguise the partiality of these beliefs. These are presented as universal and naturalized to appear inevitable. The dominant social system enforces its control by subtly molding human subjects through ideology and thus gradually reproducing itself. The feudal ties in Ararha bound the tribals to their exploiters in terms of their ‘natural superiors’ ideologically. A number of the high characters openly, brazenly project themselves as affiliated to gods. They include Mukunda and his family, King Bankura, Devi Dauna, Mamud Sharif, twin Khan brothers, and family of Datta. This band of predators flaunts their divine pedigree by projecting the predicament of the *Shabars* as something divinely ordained right at the moment of their birth. For most non-tribals in the area, tribals are subhuman creatures whose land is to be usurped, whose possessions are to be looted, and who can with impunity be laughed at and pushed. Such is the dominant ideology. This dominant structure in Ararha imbibes the subservient structure which has otherwise its own laws, social laws, manners, beliefs, folklores, and values. The *Shabars* with their own inhibitions might have flourished and cherished their selfdom if the dominant would not have announced them as ‘the other’ sub-stratum.

Conflicting with the dominant caste structure exists the *Shabars* at the outskirts of the village Ararha near *Chandir Bon* Forest. Introducing the *Shabars* in Preface, Devi says, “Whatever I know of Shabars has to do with the Lodha Shabars of Medinipur in West Bengal, and the Kheria Shabars of Purulia. They are both tribal communities, originally forest-dwelling” (*BH* viii). The *Shabars* is a hunter tribe living in Ararha. The story tells about the *shabar* tribe, their culture which defines their selfdom: its traditions, rituals, and

values that are so closely tangled with nature and forest in which they live and roam. It tells of the forbidden and mysterious abode of the goddess of hunting and forest, *Abhaya*. The goddess has laid down laws of forest which the *Shabars* have to follow to avoid unbearable consequences. These laws are social norms to be followed while co-existing with nature as its children. At the village outskirts, they are united like a family with their leader Danko. Danko has further given all his knowledge to his daughter, Tejota because he has to leave the village to live in the forest so as to guard the *Abhayachandi's* temple. The *shabar* people respect both Danko and his daughter, the old Tejota.

Thus, the *Shabars* are innocent tribal people living in the close vicinity of nature enjoying their life in eating, drinking, and merrymaking. They are hardly interested in participating in a race for hyper culture. These innocent tribes are untouched by the evil emotions like pride, jealousy, and envy. They are happy enough with a cloth to cover their body, rice to quench their hunger, and a mate to pour their emotions on. But, these children of the forest are sensitive to changes. The changing economy and its socio-political corollaries have started shaking their small worlds. In the novel, King Bankura Ray says, “all this was theirs and my forebears snatched it away” (60). The *Shabars* sense that the forest is receding:

There was no stopping the times from changing! A Shabar understood that the more others encroached, the more his existence would be threatened. Then, that was it.

He'd pick up camp, sticks and all, and calling 'Ma, Ma!' go off into the shelter of some virgin forest (122).

For the Hindus or the Muslims of Ararha, the *Shabars* are the lowest of the low caste. In fact, they do not fall in the category of any caste. Kalya maintains his exclusion from the Hindu dominated caste-system saying, “But we're not Doms, Chandals, washermen or cobblers! We live in the lap of the Jungle” (*BH* 51-52). For them, a *Brahman* is not a figure

of high stature just because he knows how to read. They even do not believe in the King or consider him belonging to high caste that requires attention. Their myth and lores are full of such instructions that a *Brahman* should not be trusted. Kalya is well aware that:

If Mukunda had been an oil-presser, brazier, weaver or milkman, Kalya's heart would not have smouldered so. But so mushy over a brahman? One thing a Shabar child learns from birth is that a brahman youth had stolen Abhyachandi. That was the beginning of bad times for the Shabars. You can't trust brahmans. (110)

Furthermore, the dominance over the tribals in terms of dictating their identity has been maintained by exotifying their pure and natural culture. In fact, the reticence of oral histories of tribals are disturbed by the intervention of technology and the knowledge of publication of the words. There is a reliance to governmental and official records which have inherent limitations. In such a scenario, *The Book of the Hunter* effectively offers a strikingly different presentation of past history marked with historical perspectives from the point of view of the tribals.

The myth of origin of *Shabars* is narrated to Mukundaram by the community's head, Tejota who possesses the secret knowledge of the tribe that has been passed on to her by her father, Danko Shabir. The myth of 'seven pots' informs about the past and history of the shabar tribes, their goddess, and their laws responsible for their everlasting riches which has made them the rulers. But these innocent tribals become the victims of deceptive behaviour of civilized people of the mainstream. As a consequence, the tribes are entitled to live in dearth until a *shabar* succeeds in killing a golden monitor lizard. Only after hunting their lost glory can be restored. Tejota reveals to Mukunda about the extreme faith of the tribes in goddess of forest:

In ancient times there used to be a virgin forest stretching as far as you could see. Only forest creatures lived there. And the Shabars, the ones who were Akhetiyas, hunters. Abhyachandi was their goddess. She gave them *abhaya* or reassurance against all fears; she kept all her wild creatures, trees, and forest children---the Shabars---safe in her lap, covered by her sari. (67-68)

The mainstream including King know about the *Shabars* through their ancestral legends and tales. King Bankura Ray of Ararha narrates to Mukunda how his ancestors once snatched the land which originally belonged to these tribals, and thus shattered and excluded the tribals from the mainstream social, economic, and political set up. With “change in rulers and governments” (*BH* 20), Danko has seen with his own eyes the degradation and humiliation which the *Shabars* have faced in their unequal struggle with the more dominant groups in the village society and the tragic repercussions of the loss of their forest lands and their cultural traditions. As Marx and Engels argue, “Man’s ideas, views, and conceptions, in one word, man’s consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life” (“Manifesto” 489). Thus, seeing change in the dominance, Danko chief has to save the tribe from this encroachment. All *Shabars* have moved to another forest. *Abhaya* is their reference to the forest in which they live. They consider the forest itself to be their mother. They are fully aware of the fact, “We are Shabars, you hear, children of the jungle” (*BH* 52). They are forever well guarded by their deity, *Abhyachandi*, who also caters to all their needs. The *Shabars* believe that their Goddess blesses them with fearlessness. Talking about the greatness of their deity Kalya, the tribal hunter tells Mukunda, “And to everyone and everything! The forest, the animals, the birds, and the Shabars- she gives them all courage and keeps them under her wing” (53). Danko is continuously anxious about the dwindling *Shabar* tribe that value forests. The tribe leads uncomplicated lives in the vicinity of nature and thus, leaving their natural abodes and shift to

the other natural one is not a difficult task for them. But for how long and how many times shall they do so? Where would such life take them? There are fewer and fewer forests with the changing ways of the mainstream. Such queries escalate the matter of identity crisis which the Shabars would face. Danko sadly refers to the fact that “the forests keep receding and the cities keep coming forward” (130) while trying to shift his people to withstand existential pressures. There is relentless felling, burning and clearing of the the forests. The villages are absorbed in wake of townships. A tribe is being dislocated as “a town had sprung up outside the forest, and that a king had established his capital there” (68).

Tejota tells a long tale of Megha Raja, and *Banachandi*, the forest goddess who has cursed the *Brahmans* for stealing her stone slab from *Shabars* and then also cursed the *Shabars* for felling into the trap of cunning *Brahmans*. The curse follows:

The Shabars have sinned as well --- why did they trust a brahman? In time, the Shabars will be scattered in all directions, and be called by many names. But they will not grant respect to brahmans or touch their feet in reverent greeting. They will suffer hardship if they ever place their trust in anyone other than the children of the forest.
(BH 69)

The *Shabars* are *Akhetiyas*- the hunters. They exist outside the dominant culture with their social mannerism. They have their separate culture, their values, and beliefs running through ancestors and leaders who were original dwellers of forest since beginning before all invasions. They have their own festivals, their own *pujas*, their laws of hunting, their social behaviours, and minglings. This culture has been passed from generation to generation through their folklores, myths, and oral storytelling. Austin Hackney while elaborating the storytelling tradition of the tribals comments that “in traditional cultures around the world story-telling does not only entertain but conveys practical information about survival battles

along with the beliefs, taboos, rituals, and social mores of a people. The oral tradition of storytelling often describes the origins of the world lending authority and significance to its sense of unity and cohesion.” It is reasonable to describe oral tradition of storytelling as “one of the first technologies permitting retention, transformation, accumulation, and transmission of experiences through time.” Thus, ‘oral storytelling’ is the ever-recurring motif of the lives of the tribals and natives. They have always resisted the external forces which exist outside their culture and which would probably contaminate the purity of and love for their mother ‘forest’.

On the other hand, for the mainstream, this ‘pure’ culture of *Shabars*- their legends, folktales, their social traditions, beliefs, values, rituals and customs- has always been an abyss to explore. The dominant section of the society sometimes wonders, fears, and sometimes damns the mysterious social lives and conflicting laws of the *Shabars* which were once dominant before all invasions and interventions. As a consequence, the mainstream exoticises the identity of the tribals. The mainstream in Ararha considers the *Shabars* a “wild-race” (BH 76) which one should be fearful of or should control by either assimilating or eliminating. All the folklores, traditions, mythological tales, oral narration, and social behaviour which drive the force of life for the *Shabars* are the ‘residual’ tendencies comprising residual culture of the ancient and pre-existing cultures. In the story, such residual tendencies, which form the cultural independence of the *Shabars* as lived human experiences in the past having significance in the present, are visible in the form of contrast to the dominant. These tendencies are dictated in direct opposition to the mainstream culture.

The first and the foremost residual element that appears in the novel is the laws of forest laid by *Abhyachandi*, the goddess of forest herself and are transmitted since the beginning of tribals’ existence through their oral lores and traditions. The novel is woven

around the strange mythical oral tales and legends of the forest. Their oral tales and mythological stories are exoticised as strange ‘residue’ of the past to be exempted from the dominant social structure. Their “customs and rituals have been in place since the time of forefathers” (BH 62). In most cultures, as Austin Hackney asserts “traditional stories are a key part of their folkloric heritage. Folkloric beliefs and practices often embody and transmit important cultural information from one generation to the next. One of the most powerful and universal modes of cultural transmission within folklore is the act of oral storytelling.” Tribals have stories to tell through generations as “they believe what their ancient legends say” which guide them in their survival without any scripts or writing (61). They have their own myths and legends which dictate the dos and don’ts in the forest for them. Before any invasion and intervention from outside, these laws were the only known ways of living and thus, once dominant. But gradually, the town life affected these once dominant laws and push them to be interpreted as residual tendencies of the now dominant culture of the King and feudal lords. Through their stories and oral traditions, “the Shabars really act like they’re somebody too” (55)!

Moreover, the *Shabars* have their own hunting laws and rules, “when a tiger is hungry, it kills a deer; an elephant eats leaves and twigs from the bamboo and the banyan tree, but there is no needless killing, violence or destruction” (BH 100). So, they all are guided by the nature’s rule. Even while hunting an elephant, they only look for an elephant which is already going to die due to its old age. It is to be noticed that their culture is far more intellectual than the culture of the city people or the main stream. Whether knowingly or unknowingly or out of their superstitions, the religious rituals make them more nature loving than the mainstream. In the whole length and breadth of Shabar beliefs, there is no forgiving for unnecessary and untimely killing, specially killing pregnant deer. They consider that the biggest sin lies in killing a pregnant deer or any other animal in their season of mating.

A curse would descend on the lives of the Shabars. No Shabar could enter the boundaries of Abhaya's fortress with an intent to kill. Abhyachandi's forest was governed by Abhaya's unwritten laws. She had granted the Shabars the means to earn their living by hunting, and she had given them the laws and rules of hunting as well. (137)

The *Shabars* have an exemplary legend of Megha *Shabar* who wanted to become the successor of Danko. Tejota was married to him. But unfortunately, "a great, great sin, the one he had committed. Knowingly or not, he had killed a pregnant deer" (*BH* 99). This is the only reason why Danko did not transfer the knowledge to his own son-in-law. Megha had lost his right to become chief through his offence. Danko explains, "You live in Abhaya's Jungle and she is the creator, nurturer and protector of all living beings on land and water. To disobey her law is the greatest of sins" (99)! The *Shabars* maintain the balance by killing animals but not beyond a limit. When the king of Dhalbhum wanted hundred skins of male deer to hold some ceremony, his traders came with a contract to pay for each skin of male deer a rupee coin of pure silver. But Kalya refused the offer as "it is the time for the deer to mate. Any shabar who kills a deer during this period would have Abhaya's curse upon him" (94). We also find Danko, the leader of the *Shabars* announcing for limited killing of animals on the occasions of marriage. If every girl's father would demand, "Bring me this, bring me that", the forest would be exhausted. They're all *Abhaya's* creatures. "Do you want to kill them all in your desperate greed" (113)? He further says, now "I'm going to make a rule that only five deer skins may be taken. And one or two wild boars- no one will ever give more than that. You've got a daughter's wedding and she's under Abhaya's protection- what's the point of inviting Ma's curse by killing too many deer, tigers or boars" (66)? According to their traditions they do not live in concrete houses and do not make permanent settlements. For them, "a Shabar is where jungle is" (100). They can't live without a forest. When the towns

grow larger and a forest is cut down, they walk off in search of another forest. According to an ancient myth, it is forbidden to make houses with mud walls and bricks. Whenever an attempt has been made for permanent settlement in the lap of mother forest, a curse follows. Once a King, the grandfather of Bankura Ray, tried to build city walls in Ararha and so much earth had been dug out for making burnt bricks. Danko's father Bemo Shabar was the head of the community at that time. He warned the King not to torment Mother Earth with the heat as it was forbidden by the laws of jungle. But they kept building the walls. Consequently, "One Aghran day, a wild herd of elephants intoxicated with the scent of ripening paddy tore the walls down and left the bricklayers mangled and smashed underfoot" (109). In accordance with such laws of jungle, the *Shabars* do not farm and make their huts of vines and leaves. Their precious belongings include shovels, axes, and bows and arrows. In the winter, due to lack of concrete huts, the Shabars suffer a lot. They do not even have tattered quilts. They wrap themselves with burlap husks only. The novel also tells us about their religious customs, festivals and marriages.

There were plenty of rules and customs for the wedding itself. The *bidhishal*, or canopy for the marriage rites, was so grand! Mothers, sisters, and sister-in-laws twirled an arrowhead in the pond and brought back auspicious water. The girls went out with arrows and brought home whatever they had killed, birds, hares, or porcupines. On the eve of the wedding, all the girls walked around a *mahua* tree seven times and every boy 'married' a mango tree. Why this 'tree wedding'? So you could become givers of life, shelter and nourishment like a tree. A tree creates new trees through its seeds, and lives on through them. The same way, you lived on through your progeny. (113)

In comparison to mainstream's ideologies, there is frankness regarding marrying, remarrying or choosing a mate.

When husband and wife leave each other, they can both remarry. A widow could remarry her late husband's younger brother, or any other man. That was what Abhaya laid down. Give them full liberty and they will honour it absolutely. (*BH* 138)

There is a remarkable distinction in the dowry system too. According to the dominant Hindu traditions, father of the bride presents dowry to the bridegroom. But Mukunda is stunned to witness the exact opposite in the primitive traditions of the Shabars. In Shabar community, "the boy's father has to give presents, and only then will the girl's father give his daughter away" (*BH* 51). It takes a lot of begging and pleading for *Shabars* to get a wife. Tejota informs how to organise a wedding in the shabar community, "you have to sell the deer skins, tiger skins, elephant tusks in the market when you have a wedding . . . only then can you provide a feast for the whole community" (74). There is drumming of *dhol* and *madol*. It is not a single day event, rather goes on for a whole month. There is tradition of conducting group marriages in which eight to ten boys and girls are aligned to get married simultaneously. Such steps help to maintain the ecological balance. Eight to ten boys are set up to be married at the same time:

In the Shabar community, both men and women toiled for their daily victuals. They married whomever they wanted. They built separate huts after marriage. When the husband and wife quarrelled, the husband thrashed the wife; she in turn, struck a blow or two. And it could even come to pass that they would leave each other. Then both the man and woman could remarry. It wasn't the sort of society in which the wife had to take it all lying down! (97)

They hold tree weddings too as a part of their rituals and customs. In the month of *Phalgun*, they marry *sal* tree to *mohul* tree with all the singing and dancing around.

In addition to the myth, traditions, and *jungle* laws, the residual contradictions with the dominant can be seen in the juxtaposed lives of Phuli and Kalya on one side as representatives of residual culture, and Mukunda and his wife on the other side as representatives of the dominant. Mukunda has always been seen troubled by the romantic flights and exhibition of love by Phuli and Kalya. To Mukunda, who is a representative of dominant ideologies and refined manners in his social and personal life, the tribals' loud and savage ways of publically exhibiting romantic affair between a husband and wife seem a matter of shame. He is disgusted by the body gestures of Phuli when he sees her around her husband, Kalya. Mukunda feels sometimes upset about the intimacy of his own wife to Phuli. He fears "such a shameless girl, laughing out loud as she walked with her husband" (*BH* 51). Phuli walks with his husband holding his hand in public and addresses him as '*tui*' which is considered a term of endearment to be used in privacy. He even compares Phuli to a wild vine wrapped around Kalya like a sal tree. Neither the tree nor the vine knows shame, similar is the case with Phuli and Kalya. But Phuli is forest's progeny with its own ancient laws and rules of social behaviour and such behaviour is not susceptible to the mainstream. There is a violent passion and also brutal beatings between Phuli and Kalya. They are "wild, unfettered and natural" (119) and this relation exists beyond any familiar rules and laws of the mainstream. Thus, the wild passion is 'a residue' of a primitive tribal culture which needs to be curtailed or corrected or modified. Such kind of primitive behaviour is not restricted to Phuli and Kalya. It is sustained among all *shabara* as Kalar-ma says,

Oh my! Chhi Chhi Chhi! These Shabars---men and women both---roam around town!

Men and women shamelessly all over each other! Where do they get such zest? No

rice in their stomachs, no oil in their hair, nothing to cover their bodies with, but still they've got the spice! (119)

Mukunda also wonders at the knowledge which the tribal world holds since ancient times residing at the outskirts of the village. Kalya says, "I never read books, do not know any of your Sanskrit gobbledygook either" (BH 95). Contrary to this, Mukunda is a literate who can read and write. He has attained knowledge about all aspects of life by reading religious scriptures. He belongs to a scholar family of *Brahmans* who lead and counsel all the other castes in almost all the matters related to social customs and rituals to be performed in marriages, during child-birth, during sowing and harvesting, and also predict climate changes with the help of position of stars. On the other hand, tribals are not literate but they too hold vast information about the same things through their folktales, myths, and legends. The knowledge travels orally since a tribal takes birth. They know about the herbs which would cure many diseases without any scientific training from books. Tejota makes many concoctions for women of the village. She knows all medicine herbs and gets the same from the jungle. She acts as "the king's doctor" (55). Even the tribals know the seasons and draw their eating and hunting patterns from nature. They know about *Ashadh's* rain, *Bhadra's* rain and *Ashvin's* rain. Although they exist in minority at the outskirts, their culture is many ages old and was once the only known way of living. Mukunda did not believe that a forest-dwelling *shabar* could know much about anything. In his arrogance which is "stemming from the prolonged study of numerous Sanskrit texts, he believes that knowledge only comes from the formal cultivation of learning" (55) and to his surprise the *Shabars* "really act like they're somebody too" (55) though not formally trained. Gradually, their extensive knowledge is looked at as 'strange' due to change in the dominant rule. The treasure of information flows orally as 'residue' from the ancient tales, myths, and legends.

Another residual tendency is visible in the distinction of the roles of man and woman in creating a livelihood. To mainstream, cultivation of land and trade are chores of a man. He is answerable to and responsible for earning a living. The woman of the mainstream can be seen only taking care of the domestic chores of cooking, cleaning, raising and tendering the children. Even the Queen has been occupied in maintaining her domestic life, offering the prayers at temples, holding *pujas* at palace, and tending to the women's issues related to child-birth. None has played any active role in the economy. Contrary to this dominant ideology stands the active participation of tribal girls and women in earning a living.

Mukunda's surprise to know about the ordeals of Phuli in the market while selling animal skin brings testimony to the fact that how opposed are the ways of the mainstream and the tribals. Mukunda's wife feels pity for Phuli that "the poor girl goes and sells meat all day under the hot sun, and then comes here to rest a bit in the outer yard" (BH 2). Mukunda becomes curious when Phuli accompanies Kalya to hunt birds in the forest. Mukunda fills with anger and calls Kalya a "godforsaken wretch" (52) who sends Phuli to sell the feathers and meat in exchange of rice and oil in the market. The tribal girls go out with their arrows and bring home whatever they have "killed, birds, hares or porcupines" (131).

One of the residual traits can be seen in the physical appearance of the tribals, be it man or woman, contrary to the sophisticated appearances maintained by the mainstream. The members of the mainstream gaze at the tribals as if they are creatures of some 'other' world. Mukunda disapproves of Phuli's physical appearance as it does not match the women of the mainstream. Phuli, however, as a tribal hardly bothers about such thoughts. Her wearing is suitable to her tribal identity as an original dweller of the forest. She "wore a coarse sari, tied up short" and combed back her hair over the centre part. Her jewels include wooden bangles and earrings made of palm-frond. To Mukunda, the physique of Kalya is also no less than an animal. To him, "Kalya looked like an Arjuna carved out of black rock, with shoulder-length

hair and a great moustache. He threw his head back and roared with laughter, revealing his gleaming white teeth” (BH 53). As a hunter, Kalya has maintained a strong stout body and considers himself a potential successor of Tejota. He is adept at hunting and dares hunt an elephant all alone in the jungle. Kalya himself remarks “a shabar has a pretty rough temperament! His words are rough too” (117). He is not just any *shabar*. He enjoys stepping on other people’s toes and picking fights. Such intimidating facts about Kalya make Mukunda to think of tribals as mysterious creatures which do not belong to the mainstream yet have significant presence and co-existence with the mainstream. Tejota, as head of the *Shabars*, is also no different. The racial and exotic description of Tejota by Mukunda when he watches her for the first time indicates the ideology of Mukunda to claim himself different from this “wild” race. Such description also immediately establishes Tejota as a strong residual character of the past existing as the daughter of the forest itself. The fact is quite evident in her looks:

Tejota was an elderly woman possessing a rock-hard, dark body with broad shoulders, broad hips, and no signs of aging around the neck or under the chin. Her salt and pepper hair was rolled up into a high bun held in place by porcupine quills. She wore wooden bangles on her wrists, a necklace of gum acacia seeds, and earrings made of young palm leaves. (BH 66)

The distinction in the old and traditional ways of the tribals and the values, beliefs and ideologies of the new settlers does not end at one aspect of physical appearance in the village of Ararha. Mukunda knows that “their ways and rules are different” (BH 56). He feels bad that the *Shabars* “do not treat the king as their king” and they “do not bow to greet a brahman” (56). Being mainstream, he does not know these children of *Abhyachandi* and wants to find out about them in the past. The modern world of Mukunda does not know the

residual world co-existing in Ararha. Mukunda tries to exempt it to maintain his own gaze as a dominant authority. All the contradictions between the tribals' way of life and the mainstream's ideology have been exoticised as strange to be exempted from the mainstream. This exemption is executed by intervening into their laws, habits, beliefs, and values stamping them mysterious and exotic.

Mukunda observes the raw ways of *Shabars* in their food habits too. Kadu, one of the male servants at farm informs Mukunda that the *Shabars* “feed on whatever they can find- wild fruits, leaves, vines, snakes and snails” (BH 119). Where most of the population of village Ararha relies on cultivation of land to get grains, rice, oil, and on rearing animals, the *Shabars* at the outskirts cater to the need of meat for themselves. Kalya exclaims “I eat rice when I can get it, and if I can't, it's Amani, or roasted rabbit, porcupine and wild boar. I roam from forest to forest. We can let our roars that frighten tigers, how can you expect sweet words from our mouths” (95)? For *Shabars*, killing birds and animals is what is required for a living. For the mainstream, hunting and eating meat is violence on living creatures. Mukunda feels terribly disgusted when Kalya tells him about the *shabar* tradition of worshipping *Jaguli Manasha* by wrapping the skin of a snake around *Manasha's* ritual *ghot*, the vessel worshipped as the goddess. Kalya tells him how the *Shabars* sells snake's skin to Mal gypsies to carry off their rituals and how they eat the flesh of the snake which tastes like fish. Such is the wildness which Mukunda is amazed of. He feels terribly disgusted. He has so many questions regarding their existence as human beings. He often wonders:

What do they eat? How do they look healthy? What do they wear? How do they manage to walk off with their heads high like royalty? People are so different in other communities. They are people selling liquor in the market, and there are prostitutes too. How does *Shabar* life remain so innocent? The women know no fear! (118)

The traditions, beliefs, and institutions revered by the primitive *Shabars* define their identities in the social structure of Ararha. They draw meaning to their lives from their traditions, folklores, and myths. The exchange and circulation of all these constitute their 'culture' and community. This Ararha is the microcosm of India and the cultural phenomena of dominant and residual tendencies discussed above determine the identity of the tribals which is quite distinct from the identity of the mainstream.

The world of the *Shabars* is in strong contradiction with the world of the mainstream. But to maintain the dominance, the mainstream has to incorporate the selective residual elements from the traditions, values, and beliefs of the *Shabars*. As Raymond Williams has asserted that there is always the presence of residual elements along with the dominant and these 'residues' need to be either modified, manipulated, and incorporated by the dominant, the same is executed by the dominant culture of Ararha. In the social structure of Ararha, the intended assimilation of the *shabar* culture by the mainstream occurs due to: internal fault lines within the mainstream's social structure and internal faultlines within the *Shabars'* values and old traditions seeking modernisation to catch up with the mainstream.

The first fault line appears in the relationship between Bamun–didi Jagdishwari (Mukunda's wife) and Phuli in the beginning of the novel. Jagdishwari has found an intimate friend in Phuli after arriving at Ararha from Daminya. Until unless Phuli takes rest and eats at her place, she does not eat herself. She feels pity for Phuli who has to work hard all day in the market to sell jungle products. The sympathy she has for Phuli makes her a superior being who has no worry to accomplish outdoor chores. Mukunda takes good care for the family. In the mainstream's way of living, she is any other regular wife with traditional stereotypical agenda of making house and raising children. But in comparison with Phuli, she enjoys a sense of superiority which she can't get otherwise in her own family structure. Also, Phuli

helps her to adapt to her changed geographical location from Daminya to Ararha by updating her with tribal way of life. At one point of the story or other, for whatever reasons, she can be seen sharing a close bond with a tribal girl. Even during her pregnancy, she misses Phuli and her medicinal herbs. She often presents Phuli clothes and rice which gives her a sense of being an 'ideal figure' in the eyes of Phuli. By enticing Phuli towards the mainstream's culture and ways, she partially incorporates Phuli in the mainstream.

A similar relationship is also shared by Ganesh of Bagti caste (a tribal) and Daibaki (Mukunda's mother). When the ancestors of Mukunda shifted to Daminya on the call of Dattas, Daibaki became close to Ganesh. By dint of his manner of address, Daibaki had become his elder sister and her husband Hridoy his brother-in-law. After Hridoy's death, Ganesh became a close companion of his nephew. Mukunda learnt much regarding cultivation of land, seasons, and tribals from Ganesh. Thus, Mukunda, his mother, and his wife form affinities with tribals because of their own interests and survival which consequently serve the process of assimilation of 'the other'.

Another fault line appears in the exploitation of the resources of nature and primitive knowledge of the *Shabars*. The mainstream displays a tendency to incorporate only those residual ideas, traditions, and rituals of the tribals which tend to benefit them (the mainstream). The rest is ignored or neglected by the mainstream or marketed as strange, primitive and savage in the mainstream's canon. On one side, the *Shabars* are 'the other' and considered 'wild race' and 'unfettered' due to their distinct ideologies, traditions, and savage ways. But when these traditions and rituals potentially resolve the issues faced by the mainstream, the process of strategic incorporation of the tribal ways into the mainstream begins. Even the King said, "I've got faith too" in certain tribal ways. He is of the opinion that the *Shabars* are the original dwellers of the land, and his ancestors have snatched their

land. But he cannot let the guilt run over him and he resides his faith in the rituals and superstitions of the tribals. He bluntly assimilates the potential land rituals of the *Shabars* into the mainstream “whenever I have a pond dug or a temple built, I always have the Shabars come to do *puja* to the earth and consecrate the cardinal directions” (BH 61). The extensive knowledge of the medicinal herbs hold by the *Shabars* is also used by the mainstream to its advantage. By giving Danko and Tejota a due importance in providing the cure and remedies at various medical conditions, the mainstream tactfully assimilates their knowledge into the mainstream. Tejota provides many herbs to the Ayurvedic doctors of the mainstream. She prepares effective concoctions for women during their pregnancy. There are numerous obligations carried out by the tribals for the mainstream. Tejota has to see that the *pujas* done by Dhan Kudra, Baghut Thakur, and Baram Thakurani are performed according to the rules. She predicts about who is going to have a baby girl or boy and who is thinking of quitting the community and settling in a town. All these negotiations of the dominant with the residual tribal culture paves way for the dominant to incorporate and assimilate the best to its own advantage. The foremost instance of advantageous incorporation is the motif of ‘writing’ (BH 63) by Mukunda symbolizing institutional ratification.

The motif of ‘writing’ in the novel attempted by the mainstreams’ Mukunda adds up into the process of incorporation and assimilation of the opposite residual tendencies. Mukunda’s urge to write about the *Shabars*: their legends, their rituals and customs, their social and economic structure, and their culture as ‘primitive’ people of the earth represents the mainstream’s version of the tribals. Tribal tales seemed to be marketed solely as strange thing to be captured in writing obscuring their origins in folk and oral culture. Thus, there is a loophole, a fault line hidden in the motif of ‘writing’ about the *Shabars*: the hunters by Mukunda as a member of the mainstream. In the beginning of the novel, Mukunda wants to write only to give vent to his scholarly background. He tells his wife time and again, “I won’t

have any peace until I begin to write” (*BH* 42). He belongs to the family of poets and he wants to continue his scholarly status in Daminya and Ararha. But later, Mukunda comes in contact with the ‘content’ tribal life “as a spectator and had never had a real taste of it” (119). Disturbed by his own displacement, he shifts his focus on the miserable, displaced, alienated, and strange life of the *Shabars*. Such an act would save him from feeling miserable himself and would give him an upper hand in the mainstream society. He would feel superior to the tribals writing about them. Even in dreams Mukunda sorts such relief when Daibaki appears and says, “These days of misery will be over, and you will write an epic. Your name will live on” (49). Even this unconscious remark indicates that the purpose behind his writing is to get fame, not to preserve the tribal culture. He wants to capture the ‘mysterious’ world of *Shabars* as an outsider, “I’ll write it all down. Is there really an Abhaya temple . . . in the jungle” (63)? Mukunda even tries to find out the association between *Abhaya* goddess of the *Shabars* and Hindu goddess *Aranyani*, mentioned in *Rig Veda* as the protector of *jungles*. All the attempts of Mukunda to comprehend the tribals and their lives and to write about them in his poetry resonate the formation of a particular discourse by the mainstream about the ‘other’, the *Shabars*. Edward Said, in his book *Orientalism*, asserts that Europe or ‘occident’ establishes its control on East by establishing a particular discourse about the East or ‘Orient’. The same controlling process resonates in the discourse of the mainstream society about the tribals. The only difference is orientalism is the discourse of one continent about the other in the colonial context, and in the novel, it is the discourse of one class about the other in the pre-colonial context.

In his book *Orientalism*, Edward Said has explored how the European colonialism of the ‘Orient’ or the East is not simply a matter of military occupation. It also involves the creation and proliferation of a peculiar kind of discourse that legitimises the colonial subjugation of the East by the West. It is this discourse which gets generated and circulated

that Edward Said refers to as orientalism. If the West considers itself to be characterized by a culture of masculinity, then the East represents femininity in contrast in this inventive geography. If the Occident likes to think of itself in terms of mature adulthood, then the Orient accepts the status of being childish and immature. If the Occident considers itself to be the apex of civilization, then the Orient is considered savage, barbaric representing moral and cultural depravity. The particular way of thinking and talking about the Orient as foreign, loathsome, and yet enticingly exotic once gained a special significance during the heydays of European colonialism. This attitude has provided a template for formulating a discourse about the subjugation of the East by the West. Said argues that European identity in the eighteenth and nineteenth century has evolved through a confrontation and engagement with non-European cultures. Europe was all that the Orient was not: developed, Christian, civilised. Europe saw the Orient as different, and treated this difference as negative. As Said puts it, the Orient is Europe's "contrasting image, idea, personality, experience" (*Orientalism* 2). In this imaginative geography represented by Orientalism as a peculiar way of thinking, the Orient is presented as the exact opposite of all the qualities which the West consciously cultivates as part of its cultural self-fashioning.

On similar terms, the discourse which Mukunda wants to validate and circulate for times to come about the tribals of Ararha through writing his poetry has been analysed. The non-tribal mainstream in Ararha also gets its identity when it confronts the tribals as the 'other'. The mainstream watches the tribals as its contrasting image and treats them as negative and "wild" (*BH* 76) people of jungle. The urge of Mukunda to write about the legends told by Kalya and Kalachand and his constant inquiries to figure out the dissimilarities between life in Daminya and life in Ararha satisfy the discourse about the other. But reading of these tales against the grain would decentre the so-called uncivilised,

unlawful, and exotic traditions and customs of the tribals and would detect the motif of 'writing' as a strategy to incorporate the residual into the dominant.

It is to be noticed through the close reading of the text that the internal fault lines are working within the mainstream's socio-economic and political structure at the level of guilt, fear, and mutual interests. The guilt has been aroused in terms of interventions by the non-tribals into the tribal land. Imperialism is often understood as part of an invasion of one nation on another to consume the resources usually economic. In Ararha, a similar kind of invasion is attempted by the non-tribals into the tribal land. The act of displacing the tribals from their own land would need a justification and that is achieved in the 'civilizing mission' of the savage tribals by the mainstream. To overcome their own guilt of snatching the primitive land, the mainstream takes relief in establishing a discourse about the tribals. More so, the feeling of fear also contributes to the exploitation of the tribals at economic and ecological level. The evident tribal culture sustaining at the outskirts of Ararha is considered "kalyug" (BH 97) by the mainstream. The stout physical appearances, physical strength, daring acts of hunting, and the equality of tribal women with tribal men- all these factors produce fear among the mainstream and rather a threat to the mainstream. When the feelings of fear and guilt are overcome and condoned for by the mainstream, the incorporation of the residual tendencies stops and the process of the elimination of the identity of the tribals begins consequently. There is no escape to the primeval forest or a "sylvan identity of long-ago Shabars, when towns didn't exist?" (122). It is this forced homogenisation of the tribals in the act of assimilation which Kancha Ilaiah refers to in *Subaltern Studies* when he speaks of the Hindu Brahminical India that has created a feeling of minoritization and marginalisation since pre-colonialism. Homogeneity cannot be achieved in such process of marginalisation. A postcolonial concept of Nation state proposes equal rights and dignity to all citizens. It entails normative concepts of justice, equality, and freedom along with the

ideals of equal citizenship. These normative steps take no notice of the internal marginalisation within a nation which has been prevalent since pre-colonial times. Thus the intricacies of Nationalism, a modern concept of postcolonial studies, finds an echo in the pre-colonial marginalisation of the First Natives (tribals) which attempts to justify forms of coercive assimilation. By incorporating the residual, the dominant guises to compliment the tribals' way of life but indeed supplement the effacement of tribal identities gradually and eternally. This process of effacement is pointed out by Ranajit Guha in *Subaltern Studies I* too. He, while pointing out the process of nationalism, argues how the traditional historiography only celebrated the freedom struggle as the actions of the elite class encompassing the selected leaders like Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Jawahar Lal Nehru, and Mahatma Gandhi. It ignored the revolts and rebellions of the peasants and tribals in favour of the dominant upper caste, upper class, and civilised metropolitans who succeeded the formation of Nation state.

In addition to the loopholes prevalent in the dominant structure of Ararha, the faultlines and loopholes also appear within the tribal culture which are responsible for the assimilation of the tribals into the mainstream non-tribals. Consequently, the assimilation on the part of the tribals into the dominant eases the loss of tribal culture and tribal lives. As Tejota says, "The town keeps advancing! New neighbourhoods everywhere! The city's influencing our community and it frightens me, Baba!" (*BH* 105). The character of Phuli represents a few instances that clarify the assimilation and influence of the non-tribal ways within the tribal traditions, values, and institutions. Kalya observes the mended ways of Phuli when she addresses him 'tumi' instead of 'tui' and waits for him to eat first, as if it is "a brahman house that you won't eat until I do" (108). Kalya thinks that the changes in Phuli are due to the refined ways which she learns from her bamun-didi. He glaringly charges on Phuli of "such formality in a Shabar home! But I knew you would do that. You've been associating

with fine folk so much” (108)! The lifestyle followed by the mainstream is fascinating to Phuli remarking, “What a neat and clean house! When you see it. . . . They’ve got oil in their hair, and wear fresh spotless clothes. And the words they speak are as sweet as the ripe *kul* growing by the pond!” (110). Kalya does not like such views of Phuli rather condemns her. In the *shabar* culture no one hankers after a fancy house because “a Shabar home should be a bird’s nest. It breaks down, you build it again” (125). But “Phuli was a woman of today” (122) dazzled by the houses of the mainstream folk. Kalya fears that Phuli would ultimately judge him by the standards of the mainstream. Phuli’s assimilation in the mainstream is evident when she takes dainty steps, stops running and fetching water in pitcher as if she was “not a born Shabar any-more” (127). Tejota too understands that

The town and its people would spread out, and the dwellers at the edge would set their eyes on the others’ houses, yards, ways of living and customs. The younger generation would be influenced. . . . This year their roof was not made of leaves, but of hay . . . Shabars suddenly smoothing mud over their house walls and painting pictures on them! Their ways were quite different from the other Shabars. . . .

There was no stopping the times from changing! (122)

Tejota awfully remarks that the *Shabars* would have learnt much from the forest with all its wisdom to sustain a good life “but the influence of city is a foul thing” (*BH* 67). She worries no tribal girl (Phuli, Sona or Kohri) wants to learn midwifery. The *Shabars* are losing their natural ways of existing in the lap of nature. The economic dependency of the tribals to cope with changing and fast-growing town life has made them to come out of jungle and sell the treasure of jungle in the town markets. The forest is encroached by the towns and

If you’re out in town. . . . There are different shops, wares, and castes! Where else does a Shabar go but to town to sell meat, skins, bird feathers, resin, honey, fruits and

tubers? Who else would buy such things except a town-dweller? If we don't sell our wares, we can't get rice to eat. (106)

To drive at a conclusion, the process of assimilation generated out of faultlines, as discussed above, is a two-way traffic: one way is of the mainstream and second, the *Shabars*. If one invades the other, the other too invades back giving rise to the new tendencies. J.W. Berry in "Acculturation Attitudes" while defining assimilation as one of the strategies of acculturation, contends that assimilation happens when individuals refuse their own cultural values and concepts yet accept the host cultural values (Berry, et al. 185-206). Though Berry used the concept of acculturation in psychological context, it has been widely used in cultural studies to understand the complexities of dominance, marginalization, majority, and minority. Raymond Williams names these assimilating tendencies as "emergent" structure. Though, the assimilation is always triggered by the intriguing motives on both sides, the process itself produces "emergent" again to be entrapped within the dominant. Phuli's adaption of the mainstream's ways, Kalya's yearning to take over Tejota and emerge as a new tribe master by killing a grand elephant, and Mukunda's urge to write about these tribals to get the fame for his writings- all these actions are nothing but emerging deviations from the respective host-cultural values, beliefs and traditions. But, to what extent does this "emergent" structure dissolve in the dominant? This question hovers over the head once the story concludes with the floating corpses. Kalya meets a tragic end while emerging as a new Tejota for his community. He is trampled by a giant old elephant and in that moment, he realises his mistake of shedding his true identity betraying the unity of the hunters while hunting. Hunting has to be done with a group of hunters. Straying off leaving the other hunters behind, Kalya's all hopes have dashed to the ground. In addition to this, the abrupt death of Phuli towards the end of the novel, indicates the choking of another emergent by the dominant mainstream trying to pave her way into the mainstream:

Danko was the one who found Phuli. Phuli's body was floating on the water, her hands and feet were tied up in the two edges of the sari, and a corner of the cloth was clenched in her teeth. Who knows exactly how, but Phuli had managed to tie up her own hands, pulling and tugging with the sari held in her teeth. (BH 147)

The scene is clearly indicative of the vengeance on the part of the mainstream. As Kalya dies, Phuli becomes much vulnerable to be taught a lesson for adopting the dominant ways. The novel ends with loss of identities: the identity of already dying Tejota and Danko who were representatives of age-old tribal wisdom and also, the identity of the coming generations of the *Shabars* as Kalya and pregnant Phuli die. The *Shabars* of Ararha are left with no option but "to hastily abandon this far edge of the town of Ararha, as they had done time and again with other settlements" (BH 147). The motifs of 'walking of' and "moving off" (132) on the part of the *Shabars* tell the tale of the *Shabars* losing their identities as hunters. Every time their dwellings in the forest have been demolished, the tribe of hunters also being demolished subsequently. The cry to address the identity of the *Shabars* has been loudly captured in the stream of consciousness of Danko, "Abhaya must have preserved another virgin forest somewhere in Mallabhum, Dhalbhum, Barabhum or Manbhum. There must be a place where in there existed no city, no market, no king or any other caste or tribe, where there were only the forest, water and hills" (148).

Towards the end of the novel, Mukunda turns out to be the part of 'emerging' structure planning to celebrate the tribal values and beliefs in his writings. At the death of Phuli and Kalya, he understands the grave phenomena of loss of tribal identities with their traditions and social institutions:

Mukunda closed his eyes. It must have been Abhayachandi herself Ma, I have been guilty of a grave offense. I had no idea how to begin until now. You brought me

to Ararha to show me how, I met the Shabars here. You are the goddess of the grand forest who gives birth to every tree, animal and the forest-dwelling Shabar too; you nurture them and give them assurance, and that is why you are Abhayachandi. (*BH* 153)

The closing lines of the novel, Mukunda invokes the goddess of the great forests and he has “kept writing” (154).

To sum up, the novel deftly interweaves the stories of Mukundaram’s life, a *Brahmin* from the mainstream with that of the tribes of jungle, the *Shabars*, as they co-existed in a village society of rural Bengal in the sixteenth century. The scrutiny traces the roots of the *Lodha Shabars*, recognizes them as a community that is closely bonded with nature, and documents their sufferings. The analysis does not advocate a strategy of taking them back to their past or asking them to keep their separate identity alive. The objective is to decentre the dominant way of thinking about the tribals which make them lose their identity as tribes and even as ordinary human beings. Moreover, Mahasweta Devi is suggesting integration rather than assimilation or separation as one of the strategies to preserve the identities. In an interview with Gayatri Spivak, Mahasweta Devi herself denies aggressively,

No, no, no. [...] They are Indians who belong to the rest of India. Mainstream India had better recognize that. Pay them the honour that they deserve. Pay them the respect that they deserve. (*Imaginary x*)

It is to be noticed that her aim in this novel is to inculcate a sense of tribal pride and to cultivate the awareness of tribal history which includes indigenous leaders and their wisdom. Even the death has freedom. It is also observed that Devi has also suggested afforestation as one of the strategies to sustain the environment through this novel. Is it not true that it is only

in the modern world that human beings have started worrying about issues like global warming, maintenance of bio-diversity and ecological balance?

An analytical reading of *The Book of the Hunter* condemns the identity politics that has threatened the tribal culture to its distinction. The tribal characters- the *Shabars* have displayed a tremendous history of tolerance visible in their efforts to search for new lands with natural ways despite the several forms of onslaughts on them. Their governance pattern as represented by Devi is remarkable by virtue of being casteless, creedless, and having a communal ownership of forest. They are a community that give immense respect to women. They have traditional judicial system by which conflicts are being resolved. A close look into the narrative affirms that the natives strongly believe that the past, the present, and the future are all interconnected. This has helped them follow a lifestyle with a natural knowledge of their own world. This knowledge is passed on from one generation to another in the form of stories. These are revered as their rituals, traditions and institutions. Unfortunately, their traditions and institutions are wrongly exoticised by the dominant societal structure. With the interference of the mainstream which is largely non-tribal the politics of exclusion and distortion initiates a threat of erosion of these indigenous, socio-cultural, gender-friendly, ecological traditions and its institutions. The dominant socio-economic formation in pre-colonial Bengal functions by manipulating contemporary class and caste interactions supervised by King and feudal lords. The illusion of 'superiority' established by the dominant structure has been layered on socio-cultural factors like geographical surrounding, language, art of writing, myth and oral lores, social norms and behaviour, food habits, and physical appearances. Under the mechanics of such illusion, the *Shabars* have lost the key elements of their own selfhood: their hunting traditions; their ancient wisdom, herb knowledge, their institution of Jungle and its law, their tribal mannerism and thus; their identity being *Akhetiyas*. Oral traditions recognised as residual of a primitive society by the dominant

contrariness play a vital role in the lives of the natives. These oral traditions have been paid due attention in the analysis. Among *Shabars*, the stories encompassed all the knowledge that is required by one to lead a rich social, economic, political and spiritual life. A close look at their respect for their ancestors: lives and histories of their ancestors and their culture give a useful paradigm to be learnt, not to repeat the same mistakes as committed by the pre-colonial mainstream. The analysis provides an insight into the politicised venture of the exclusive rich upper caste encompassing the mainstream to dehumanise the tribals and their habitation. Devi's novel challenges all the cultural hierarchies and institutions which guise to compliment the tribals' way of life but indeed supplement the effacement of tribal identities gradually and eternally. The text can be identified as a counter-discourse to the constituted realities of the mainstream by subverting them. The *shabar* tribe has its own selfhood which needs to be recognised and articulated. No challenge can be mounted against the text as it addresses the discursive practices of identity making against the canonical texts which manipulate the same by hailing its own version of identity.

Chapter 3

Analysing the Identity of Aboriginals in David Malouf's *Remembering Babylon*

The current chapter is based on a famous Australian novel *Remembering Babylon* by one of the eminent Australian writers, David George Joseph Malouf. Born in Brisbane, Australia, Malouf has written several collections of poetry and novels, and has won many prestigious awards. His book *Fly Away Peter* won The Age Book of the Year fiction prize; *The Great World* won Commonwealth Writers' Award and French Prix Femina Etranger; *Every Move You Make*, a short story collection, won Age Book of the Year Award and Queensland Premier's Literary Award for fiction.

The present chapter scrutinizes David Malouf's *Remembering Babylon* (RB) through the prism of identity politics which is at play at the heart of the narrative, equipped with Raymond William's theoretical base- examining identity on three dimensions namely, dominant, residual, and emergent- as already explained in the chapter 1. Since, theoretical stance has been elaborated at length and breadth in the first chapter, this chapter delves deeper into textual analysis with the same theoretical tools testifying the politicised form of identity dictated to the aboriginals by the mainstream society of Brisbane. The emerging colonial rule in Queensland has been scrutinised as the settlers from Scotland starts dominating and taming the aboriginals of Queensland using residual 'racist' attitude. They dictate the identity of the aboriginals as 'ugly' and 'black' by exoticising their residual primitive mannerism without even encountering them. This leads to the problematics of 'Black-White' identity. The ideological assumptions are highlighted which are being used by the settlers to rob the aboriginals of their true identity as indigenes.

A variety of literature has been written across genres- poetry, fiction, short story, etc., vividly representing the problematics of 'Black-White' identity and 'aborigine-settler' relationship

in Australia, while fiction has been able to occupy the central place. Hem Raj Bansal in “Salvaging Troubled Space and Place: Longing for Belonging of the ‘Black White Man’ in David Malouf’s *Remembering Babylon*” cites various examples of novels that fathom into the intricacies of what he calls “complex relationship” between whites and the aborigines in Australia: Kate Grenville’s *The Secret River*, which depicts “an uneasy relation between the whites and the Aborigines by presenting a violent struggle between the two races for land ownership”; Thomas Keneally’s *The Chant of Jimmie Blacksmith*, “delineates the troubled state of identity of Jimmie, the eponymous hero who is of mixed descent, facing discrimination among the whites”; and Eleanor Dark’s *The Timeless Land* explores “black-white relations from the first contact between two races zeroing in on Bennelong, the first indigenous Australian to be taken to England, and questions the European concept of linearity of time” (Bansal 51).

Remembering Babylon deals with the life of Gemmy Fairley, a white black, who stayed amongst native Australians for about sixteen years, then returned to a European settlement where he is not welcomed at all, rather considered to be a threat to the community. It is set in mid-nineteenth century northern Australia, depicting an English community of immigrant farmers who are frightened by the unwelcome arrival of an unknown mix-race. Gemmy is taken in by the McIvor family amidst strong protests from the neighbours. Incarcerated and intimidated by the community, towards the end, Gemmy returns to his former aboriginal community and dies. The book was received with warm reception and earned plaudits. It won the Commonwealth Writers’ Prize, the first International Dublin Literary Award, and was shortlisted for the Booker Prize.

The story is partially inspired by the true story of Jimmy Morrill or James Morrill, an English sailor, who suffered a shipwreck far off the coast of North Australia around the same time the novel is set. He was taken in by an Australian aboriginal tribe and lived among them

for about seventeen years. By the latter half of nineteenth century, British colonialism like in many other continents and countries, had spread its wings in Australia as well. With the expansion of British settlement, Morril decided to return to his European community where he is received as half-race, half-caste. The character of Gemmy Fairley is based on James Morril who is believed to have uttered the first words of Gemmy as Malouf himself claims in a statement on the last page of the book. Besides, he informs us that F. T. Gregory's brief life account of Morril has been one of the major sources for the book.

While recourse to the Biblical incident of banishment of Jews forms major backcloth to the plot, there are two more major historical events that have actual and symbolic value—the massacre of aborigines by the British, and James Morril's post-shipwreck life among native tribe, then amongst English settlement. All these incidents together form Malouf's narrative attributing metaphorical significance to it.

For 'dominant', 'residual', and 'emergent' do not exist or cannot not be understood in isolation, but in relation to one another, it would be inappropriate to analyse the text by segregating it into three separate sections. As Raymond Williams in *Marxism and Literature* (ML) defines these key terms, he emphasizes on their essence in association with each other instead of individual entities. Therefore, let us briefly understand how Williams defines these terms. He defines "dominant" as "feudal culture or bourgeois culture or a transition from one to the other." The "residual" he defines in dissociation to the 'archaic' which "wholly recognized as an element of the past", residual is "effectively formed in the past, but it is still active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present." Commenting on its innate relationship with the "dominant," he asserts that "certain experiences, meanings, and values which cannot be expressed or substantially verified in term of the dominant culture, are nevertheless, lived and practised on

the basis of the residue” (122). Defining “emergent”, Williams confides that it is “new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships and kinds of relationship are continually being created” (123).

Essentially, Williams stresses on the inter-connectedness and an inseparable relationship between three of these saying that the “definitions of the emergent, as of the residual, can be made only in relation to a full sense of the dominant” (*ML* 124), furthermore, advocating- “Moreover, as a social order changes, in terms of its own developing needs, these relations are variables” (125). Thus, the chapter seeks to fathom into the discourse of identity, predominantly, by putting to use these variables in order to comprehend the complex dynamics of identity.

In the novel, *Remembering Babylon*, the very inceptive utterance by Gemmy Fairley on his debut scene on the fence, “Do not shoot . . . I am a B-b-british object!” carries within a prodigious baggage of layered identity that corresponds to his aboriginal mix-breed position within the colonial set up (Malouf, *RB* 3). His courteous submission before a white boy, way too younger to be feared, exposes naturalized white supremacy over any other race; and, primarily brings to the fore white conception of the Aborigine as ‘other’ in Australia; to an extent that they are reluctant to welcome their own people for fearing a contamination. However, Gemmy is mature enough to apprehend that the boy cannot shoot him with a stick masqueraded as gun, he submits owing to his vulnerable position within a colonial political framework, wherein it is natural to be enslaved and underplayed by superior force/race, regardless of the fact whether the power is being wielded by a kid, adolescent, adult, or an old. Once been a member of the same community, now as the ‘other’, he recognizes his susceptible position, a typical residual tendency of being colonised, and working within the colonial context inside political power play. Lachlan Beattie, on the other hand, emboldened

by his residual sense of racial superiority, within the same context, confers upon Gemmy the title of a prisoner/colonized and designates himself as a master/colonizer with a “belief in the power of the weapon he held that he knew was impossible and might not endure” (3).

Marx’s conception of ideology comes into play wherein the privilege of superiority is legitimized with the naturalization of the position of the oppressed and his manufactured consent, as happens in the case of Gemmy. He gives his consent to be a slave even before he is called one, for, he has accepted his oppression natural as ‘other’ and inferior; a process of misrecognition of his material condition what Marx termed as ‘false-consciousness’. Charles Taylor terms the same internalization of inferiority as ‘misrecognition’. He says, “The ‘misrecognition’ or ‘non- recognition’” is a false sense of oneself “which can inflict harm, can be form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted and reduced mode of being” (*Multiculturalism* 25). The black man lives the narrative of his own inferior self that is constructed by the white man.

Nevertheless, we have not been introduced to a purely aboriginal character in literal sense, we cannot at the same time deny Gemmy’s cultural and racial dislocation as less than that. Therefore, taking stock of his status as an inferior human race inside the superior race in the settlement, where he is purely considered as native Australian and treated as well as castigated with awe and antipathy. He symbolically represents native community in oppositional existence to the British settlers, a binary to substantiate racial hierarchy. Accordingly, dispossessed of power, Gemmy’s submission before Lachlan is a metaphor of acceptance of British colonialism, thus, natural acceptance of its supremacy and his own inferiority. Surprisingly, a single act of submission of Gemmy in front of Lachlan because of his association with aboriginals conforms the totality of the identity of the aboriginals as

inferiors. But the question arises how does this metaphorical acceptance come into play?

How does the First natives in Australia become the 'other' in their own land?

Exploring the beginnings of European settlement in Australia, it is necessary to understand the narratives of Australian colonisation. A renowned author and IT specialist, Senani Ponnampereuma publishes an account of Australian history, "The first human inhabitants of Australia were the Aborigines. They came here about 50,000 years ago . . . It is most likely that the Aborigines arrived in Australia unintentionally. They were probably carried across the ocean on drifting debris as a result of a major flood or even a tsunami from a land somewhere further to the north." Further the study provides information that "the Aborigines were hunt-gathers who did not farm or build cities or towns." In 1788, "the arrival of European settlers had a catastrophic effect on the Aborigines." Tracing the first contact of the aborigines especially Gwegal natives with the colonisers, Shayne T. Williams in her article, "I doubt that anyone on Cook's *Endeavour* looked upon our peoples and thought 'these people are my equal'. Being cast as 'natives', without any understanding of the complex workings of our spiritual knowledge systems, enabled the British, who were desperate to resolve a growing prisoner population crisis, to conclude that our lands were fundamentally under-used, under-populated and therefore free for the taking." In 1784 the British government was looking for a solution to unburden itself from the increasing number of prisoners. A decision was taken that the prisoners will be shifted to a new land Botany Bay in New South Wales (later called Australia) which was discovered by Captain James Cook in 1770. Early narrations of European history displayed the dialectical tension that prevailed between the colonisers and the aborigines. The very existence of Aborigines was regarded as an encumbrance in the way of white progress. During this period, while the Aborigines were embroiled in solving the existential problems, the English in the Australian colonies were seriously engaged in whitewashing the identities of every race, particularly Aborigines. As a

result, in the early versions of Australian history, Aborigines were portrayed as unfavourable and imputative.

In the novel, a white, yet not a white, Aborigine, yet not an aborigine, caught into the quagmire of in-between state, he is nothing more than a 'creature' - an antediluvian, anthropomorphic entity or identity, hung on a wall ('no-man's-land') between a 'civilized world' and the world of "everything savage and fearsome," of "superstition and all that belonged to Absolute Dark" (*RB* 3). This grotesque analogy designates one world as superior-civilized, habitable, and the other world as "savage" and uninhabitable. This binary play of identity brings to the fore conception of the Eastern world as dark, primitive, and infectious, wherein 'Godifies' the European binary as holy and saviour.

The problems of representation of the other, especially with the concepts of blackenization or less whitenization of the other, have been long maintained. Darwin's theory of evolution is another colonial discourse that affects the view of the 'other' as inferior and *vías-de-desarrollo* (in the process of developing) affecting also the development of countries, places and peoples. These are usually referred to as 'under-developed'- as if the person, place, or country were not complete, but insufficient or degenerate. Sharon Betcher argues that "the 'degenerate' is an early modern conflation of what today distinguishes as disability, race and gender . . . epitomized by the marginalization of disabled persons" (81). Betcher concludes with what she calls, "the 'metaphor of disablement' as the notion of degeneracy- with the disabled body as somatic and geographic template- invites the imperial dynamic of a superior's helping a deficient person or population. It mobilizes the imperialist to act as savior." (89). In this regard, concepts such as "the rescue work", "salvation armies", "alliance for progress", "penetrating a dark territory," and "crusader for Christ," emphasize "the issues of superiority for the colonizer, and proves the other as being in need, asking for some

assistance in what is called the humanitarian, social, and medical missions, the social gospel” (89). Another critic and writer, Winthrop D. Jordan states that, “embedded in the concept of blackness was its direct opposite- whiteness. No other colors so deeply implied opposition . . . no others were so frequently used to denote polarization” (“First Impression” 35). Henry Louis Gates in his inquiries in *“Race,” Writing and Difference* regarding identity and race points out how Kant’s *Observation on the Feelings of the Beautiful and Sublime* categorically rejected the voice of a carpenter who is a Negro for “this fellow was *quite black* from head to foot, a clear proof that what he said was stupid” (10-11). To Louis Gates, the identity of a black equivalent to a stupid was smooth as established by Kant in his canonical text. The aboriginal struggle for identity assumes significance with respect to the image of the ‘black man’. The black man has no identity of his own, but as Fanon says “black in relation to the white man”, “for the black man there is only one destiny. And it is white,” which he terms “epidermalization” (110, 12, 13).

The ‘power’ is often signified through various referents- colour of the skin, language, body texture, and mannerism. One of the referents which is used as an ideological tool to validate colonial subjugation is race. Racism is an imperialist Western conception of differentiating between human and non-human, civilized and uncivilized. ‘Race’ is a term “for the classification of human beings into physically, biologically and genetically distinct groups. The notion of race assumes, firstly, that humanity is divided into unchanging natural types, recognizable by physical features that are transmitted ‘through the blood’” (Ashcroft et al. *Key Concepts* 180). Further, “despite its allegedly scientific grounding and application, the term ‘race’ has always provided an effective means of establishing the simplest model of human variation- colour difference” (182). Also, “this view of race, more or less based on colour, was superseded by the implications of Darwin’s *The Origin of Species* (1859)” (183). In the novel, the racist ideology is infused while narrating the character and journey of

Gemmy as an aboriginal. Gemmy is castigated and deigned as ‘creature’ not a ‘human’, for he is contrary to the prescribed variables as Malouf describes him: “He had a mangy, half-starved look of a black” (*RB* 3). Consequently, Gemmy’s surrender and his request not to shoot him with a stick is symbolic of patronized representation of the colonized in the hands of the colonizers. So is the later part of his sentence wherein he refers to himself as a ‘British object’ rather than ‘subject’, metaphorically mimicking the political position of the ‘native others’ as objects in the hands of the colonizers who deem it in Rudyard Kipling’s words “The white man’s burden”, to confer upon these objects certain identity and roles that may conceive of an inferior ‘other’ to supplement superior British self.

In retrospect, as Brittan observes, “*Objects* was a word often applied to convicts, not only because of the revulsion that most freeman and penal overseers felt towards them but also, and more precisely, convicts were no longer the subjects according to the law but human property of the crown” (1158-1159). Brittan’s argument gives a historical insight to trace the objectification of the British subjects that are not actually subjects by law. Such a colonial historical instances are common wherein legalized practice replaces the one declared illegitimate to protect the honour of the crown. Certain laws are passed to showcase such a dramatization. The 1834 Slavery Abolition act is another instance which gave birth to a legalized bonded labour system to meet labour needs in British colonies. Though, the law pretended to put an end to slavery in British colonies, cunningly, legalized ways were devised to supplement the demand of labourers almost as slaves. ‘Girmitiya’ is an example of the Indian bonded labourers, transported to various countries like Fiji and South Africa to work on sugarcane plantations and to build roads and railways. However, the contract was of ten years, they were later deserted there. Thus, Gemmy’s utterance not only is an invocation to ruthless colonial laws and practices, but also the manipulation of the ‘colonized’. Therefore,

history is often a dominant base that forms residual superstructure, furthermore shaping and reshaping pulsating emergent vicissitude.

Gemmy fails in every respect to claim his space in the lost world as his prolonged stay among the natives reduced him from his superior self into an inferior one- reduced to a 'creature' or an 'object' than a human being- his old residual is replaced by the new, ushering way to formation of his dominant and the emergent self (towards the end when he is determined to take back the pages that contain the history of his life), which is at a constant play throughout the book. His 'creature self' or "maybe, human" did no way fit into the frames of either of the worlds:

The stick-like legs, all knobbed at the joints, suggested a wounded waterbird, a brolga, or a human . . . it was a scarecrow that had somehow caught the spark of life, got down from its pole, and now, in a raggedy, rough-headed way, was stumbling about over the blazing earth, its leathery face scorched black, but with hair, they saw, as it bore down upon them as sun-bleached and pale-straw coloured as their own. (*RB* 2-3)

An individual reduced to an object explains a tedious project of power politics and appropriation of native individualism being shaped and coloured by it in the garb of civilizational project- 'the white man's burden'. This project seeks to foster its agenda with sheer dint of objectification of the colonized which helps shape an ideological grand narrative by fitting into a frame the natives nurturing a perception about them as 'uncivilized others'; an attitude propounded by dominant culture as Raymond Williams puts it:

A distinct and comparative feature of any dominant social order is how far it reaches into the whole range of practices and experiences in an attempt at incorporation. There can be areas of experience it is willing to ignore or dispense with: to assign as private or to specialize as aesthetics or to generalize as natural. (*ML* 125)

Vividly apparent, the politics of incorporation, inclusion, and exclusion, and generalization rests on the sure advantage that can be reaped by the dominant with sheer dint of emasculation of the oppressed. However, the politics of inclusion and exclusion which is played latently without causing any harm to the reputation of the power wielder, sometimes turn violent in case the oppressed shows any signs of resistance. Therefore, the debate over identity remains central in *Remembering Babylon* by positing challenges of sifting out a complex mix of layered identity and ideology on the part of both settlers and aborigines.

The settlers too, do not seem to have chosen their settlement on a land strange to them. A community of convicts banished from their paradise, under a constant threat from the native tribe that they consider brutal, the community face acute pain of dislocation facing harsh weather conditions on a land they hardly know. Due to their lack of knowledge and interests in the land, they are in a constant struggle to rehabilitate themselves by trying to make it resemble England as much as possible. In the process rehabilitation, the white settlers encounter the oppositional native residual culture of the aboriginals. This encounter is nonetheless accompanied by the fear of the unknown and desire of the assimilation. As Raymond Williams asserts that residual can be oppositional, it can also be an 'alternative' to the dominant; the former may pose a brutal threat to the later in various forms and manifestations. We witness this threat terrorizing the settlement in the novel with the arrival of a 'naked' (which connotes 'uncivilized'), half-white stranger (it invokes 'exotic' and fear). The man's naked body is perceived as threat to the white civilization as it symbolizes uncivilized. His facial and body structure beside the mixed colour of his skin invokes in the settlement a sense of bewilderment, for they have never seen such a horrible mix of opposites. Important of all is his language which carries along a dusted and coated symbolism as Justyna Sempruch observes in her paper:

And the speech (language), which Gemmy had forgotten, is precisely what counts most for the settlers: it has the anxiogenic value of a fetish. With “no words in his mouth” (Malouf 3), Gemmy becomes convenient scape-goat for the community in the defense against his unwelcome strangeness. (44)

The fear and terror that are implanted in the Queensland white settlement in the wake of Gemmy’s arrival have layered connotations and meanings. The fear is born not only, as Alice Brittan puts it, from his “frightening racial ambiguity, his physical appearance . . . but also, and crucially, from the threat posed by his pidgin, stuttering speech” (Brittan 1160) that he makes right since beginning when Lachlan Beattie found him on the fence of the settlement. His speech intimidates the settlers with the fear of losing their own language with the arousal of a strangeness within that like Gemmy, could they also lose their language which forms the greater part of their identity. Could they also become half-race like him? These fears are result in their calous behaviour meted out to Gemmy. Evidently, the settlers have already lost much of their linguistic residual in the form of accent and morphed pronunciations, therefore, they fear to be put in the place of Gemmy, for his place places them in a comparatively upper echelon of power structure.

The exotification of the ‘oriental other’, the fear of unknown, ‘exotic’, rules the rooster in the narrative. Gemmy is the first reflection of white-native or native-white the English settlement has ever seen or imagined. His exotification in every possible way is a prototype of colonial dominant structure that surfaces in the wake of its encounter with ‘strange’ and ‘unknown’, therefore, exotic. The binary of western imperialist ideology is perceived to be scary, threatening, or terrifying. Likewise, Gemmy’s debut at the settlement is seen as potent threat; the portend of catastrophe, haunting imagination of the settlers as

they perceive Gemmy's transgression into their community as invasion, an imagined catastrophe- "blackfeller's arrival among them was to be the start of something" (*RB* 15).

Such a potential threat from the natives haunts the imagination of the Whites despite the fact that they are weaponized with guns, an advancement that local nomads are far from. Consequently, they are dubbed as animalistic and savage, anti-civilization. Gemmy for instance, is never designated as a human being, rather a savage, a creature, or an object under British imperialism, open to manipulation and exploitation. He is always seen as threat to the settlement by a few, however empowered by conviction that he is utterly unharmed; always despised and seen with suspicion. This ideological tool of dominant colonial structure is apparently conspicuous in the text in following lines:

Was he in league with the blacks? As infiltrator, as spy? Did he slip off when they were not watching – they had work to do, they could not always be watching – and make contact with them? Did they visit him secretly at night? Maybe they did not even come in the flesh but had other, less visible ways of meeting and passing information that a white man would not recognize because it was not in a white man's mind to conceive of it. Even those who were well-disposed to the fellow found him unnerving. (*RB* 38)

This suspiciously pregnant observation and race-mired skepticism not only expose colonial racial bias under dominant structure, but also the usage of oriental mysticism to demonize the blacks to an extent that the threat is beyond the magnitude of what can be imagined- a white mind cannot even "conceive of." Malouf himself tends to play the politics of inclusion and exclusion as his narrative partially seems to focus more on the banishment of whites than the aborigine. While Gemmy may be perceived as a metaphor of aborigine race, the deliberate exclusion of the depiction of natives in all entirety is a matter of question.

Gemmy, himself a white, tells a saga of his lost white identity more than his ambition of becoming a black, thus, his banishment and eventual incarceration is the victimization as a white- be it in the hands of blacks or whites. The narrative more often than not, focuses on two-pronged banishment of the whites- one in their emigration as settlers in Australia and double dislocation of Gemmy as a man from a white decent. Therefore, the politics over identity, inclusion and exclusion is deeply imbedded in Malouf's narrative itself.

Despite, occupation and manipulation of the most powerful structure, and the illegal occupation of a foreign land, not the aggressor but aggressed, not oppressor but oppressed, is deemed ruthless. Thus, Gemmy's treatment as infiltrator, aggressor, spy, half-demon, half-human, is a common tendency under colonial ideological propaganda wherein the oppressor is designated as redeemer or saviour. His conception is a natural phenomenon whereby his incarceration is also justified as elimination of a possible approaching danger- the present is castigated for the sake of future. The fear of 'unknown' to the dominant structure ushers into conjecturing false identity for the sake of buttressing its own.

Partial cause of this incarceration is an acknowledgement of the mimicry of the white as happens in the case of Gemmy. His victimization is owed to the fact that he is partially white, and has infiltrated into the settlement in an attempt to become completely white; taken to be an insult to supreme identity. He is taken to be "a parody of a white man . . . black-white feller . . . trading on their goodwill" (*RB* 39). The parody refers to mimicry which connotes a copy of the real, such a copy of the dominant section is never sanctioned, and rather any potential surfacing of it is eliminated with a well devised mechanism. Therefore, Gemmy's hybridity is a potential threat to the superior most race, hence, eliminated with sheer dint of multi-pronged ideological apparatus at work in social behaviour against him.

In addition to the ideological dominance executed via racism, exoticism, and parody, *Remembering Babylon* also uses history as metaphor and a feed to the plot. The whole gyre of identity is spun by centrifugal force of history giving us a fair idea how the dominant identities have been established, and how within the dominant is an interplay of other dominants, furthermore, paving a way for residual and emergent in the same way. In other words, 'dominant' in terms of identity in the novel is in itself layered. While, the settler community may be perceived as 'dominant' in the novel, we cannot undermine the fact that they are being governed and administered by the other dominants, a superior power structure. Class structure plays a considerable role as we see an unending interplay of variables in terms of identity. Conversely, the peasant class of British emigrants in the novel is perceived as dominant structure, undermining the fact that we have above them a bit more sophisticated class that includes Mr. Frazer, a local minister, above it the administration in Brisbane, and then authorities in Britain. Each of these unit may be studied on each, dominant, residual, and emergent climes as they stem from each other as much as they seep into one another.

As an instance, the farmer community can be seen both as dominant as well as emergent within cultural, geographical, identity, and political contours. As far as we take it as an isolated unit dissociated with political and historical realms of Britain, their motherland, and its colonial project; it is predominantly dominant as rest other left is Gemmy, their prisoner; representing natives or the whole Aborigine community in absentia. It occupies the dominant domain and shoulders the responsibility of fostering colonial agenda of imperialism through labelling anything other than themselves as inferior or dangerous. When it is seen in association with its higher segments, it is carved out as emergent which again forms dominant later as nothing poses to it the challenge of contestation on the foreign land where it is the symbol of supreme authority in itself. As a community, it is a peasant class, emerged out of European emigration and settlement in its colonies. Unquestionably, this class is

formed with the residual tendencies that it carries within in the form of culture, language, a set of values, which includes its sense of superiority weaponized with material advancements that it deems its natural privilege to administer on what they take to be an inferior class.

Similarly, aborigines are the natives of the land, living there since very inception of life on the land, but with the arrival of the settlers, they are conferred upon the status of 'emergent' as they are a new occurrence to the white world in dissociation to their age-old existence and culture. However, this emergence is a natural occurrence without a relation to the 'dominant', rather in contrast. Its condescending as 'emergent' despite it shares with the land a cultural and spiritual bond for centuries, instead of just possessing natural right to be an independently dominant in itself.

The formation, transformation, emergence or appropriation of identity is not an isolated process but a well devised evolutionary mechanism, working on several climes at the same time- historical, geographical, cultural, linguistic, and literary. The first and the foremost part is historical representation whereby history of the land and its people is portrayed as insignificant. Their identity is appropriated deliberately through political historiography, devising certain disparaging narratives in order to ridicule and undermine their cultural and ethnic practices. While, the race is reduced to uncivilized and showcased as savage, they are projected as potential threat to the civilized world; this shepherds a way to the process of colonization and imperialism on the pretext of civilization by the superior race with sheer dint of technological and economic advancements.

Geographical landscapes are depicted to be unlivable, infested with dangerous creatures and infectious diseases as happened in the case of most of the countries including India, Africa, and Australia. India was portrayed by the Britishers as the land of snakes and diseases. The colonial project undermined indigenous cultural legacy of the natives and attribute to them certain identity that suit the colonial agenda. In *Remembering Babylon* too,

the native land is considered to be barren, and everything it grows is castigated as insignificant, devoid of any substance. It is considered to be the land of “absolute dark” even “in full sunlight, it was impenetrably dark” (*RB* 3, 8).

The dominant structure makes negation and repression as its chief apparatus, in Raymond Williams’s words, it simply “neglects, excludes, represses, or simply fails to recognize” (*ML* 125). This is to maintain class hierarchy, working in oppositional order in order to maintain the uppermost echelon of power structure. Explaining it furthermore, he unravels the politics of dominant social order:

A distinctive and comparative feature of any dominant social order is how far it reaches into the whole range of practices and experiences in an attempt at incorporation. There can be areas of experience it is willing to ignore or dispense with: to assign or to specialize as aesthetic or to generalize as natural. (125)

This politics of incorporation and naturalization is inherently prominent in the novel even within white power echelons. Aboriginals were forced to assimilate with the ways of majority, while the whites confronted the changed social, historical, and natural circumstances of the world of exile. The settler community in itself is a colonized section within British power politics, depicted as farmer community, they were actually convicts who were transported to Australia as a matter of punishment and a project of colonial and racial expansionism. Therefore, they are a subordinate class within a wider power structure, depicted by Malouf to showcase western attitude towards inferior race. Thus, dominant social order works on several praxis at the same time as per its developing need.

The orientalist identity conferred on Australia by the settlers is that of ‘exotic’, ‘strange’, and ‘savage’, unsurprisingly so, as this was their important tool in appropriating the identity of the land and its people that they occupied; a deliberate politics of misrecognition

or negation. This helps in formulating a binary other, as in the book, wherein settlers represent a civilized dominant race, the natives are portrayed as nomads as “wandering myalls who, in their traipsing this way and that all over the map, were always encroaching the boundaries” (RB 9). This appropriation of identity of the natives comes in the wake of occupation of their land by the foreigners who take upon themselves the responsibility of misrepresenting the tribe as nomad and animalistic- antipodal to Western civilization. Interestingly, the settlers, foreigners or transgressors of the land, portray natives as intruders and trespassers of the land they have occupies, without a sense of boundaries-yet another pejorative that portrays aborigines as ignorant and coarse tribe. They are ridiculed for not having a common sense of geographical boundaries that in Western perception forms the idea of a nation. They are ignorant of the fact that they are naturally dispossessed of their country and land as Malouf comments, “they were unaware that six hundred miles away, in the Lands Office in Brisbane, this bit of country had a name set against it on a numbered document, and a line drawn that was empowered with all the authority of the law” (RB 9).

Debunking such a politics of misrepresentation and designation of natives as ignorant and animalistic, Robert Hughes observes in *The Fatal Shore* that although, the Aborigines were nomadic hunters, they possessed an extraordinary knowledge of the place and nurtured their rich culture as they moved on:

carried their conception of the sacred, of mythic time and ancestral origins with them as they walked. These were embodied in the landscape; every hill and valley, each kind of animal and tree, had its place in a systematic but unwritten whole. Take away this territory and they were deprived, not of “property” (an abstract idea that could be supplied with another piece of land) but of their embodied history, their locus of myth, their dreaming. (17)

The vivid description of the native Australians' profound knowledge of the place, resources, and the history of their successful survival on it for centuries; the preservation of their culture, rituals and myths; ridicule the settlers' lack of knowledge about the place despite material and technological advancements. It exposes their shallow-mindedness and malicious attitude they bear for others. Consequently, to conceal their own discomfiture, they manufacture an ideology that demonizes the natives to preserve its hollow honour, they venture on a futile mission- "about the destructive and futile conviction that Australia must be made to resemble England in everything from agriculture to place-names" (Brittan 1164).

Hence, settlers bear a reductionist approach towards the native people, land, and their culture. They do not think whatever exists or grows on that land naturally is worth anything, of any real substance. They pay no heed to native flora and fauna except Mr. Frazer who finds land rich of resources. He is yet another melting line between the natives and the settlers. Fascinated by botanical aptitude, convinced that the land has a lot to offer, he takes advantage of Gemmy's skills about native plants and fruits and keeps an account in his diary. While the development in settlement has forced McIvor family to denounce Gemmy, Mr. Frazer believes Gemmy to be the forerunner of new civilization on the land – a hybrid civilization.

Besides, the institution of 'language' has also been deployed by the settlers as well as by Malouf to deprive the aboriginals of an agency to articulate identity. The essence of 'language' in the novel is metaphorical as it refers to the complete emasculation of agency to express, to resist, and to exist. Probably one of the first ideological apparatus that colonizers usually brought into practice irrespective of country and their location on the map, was the hegemonizing of language, for they deem it an easy instrument of occupation. It was literature and language of great countries they occupied, that was attacked first. Their literature, for being the chief source of their civilizational evolution and the spring-well of

linguistic growth, was either misinterpreted or designated as unimportant or futile. As T. B. Macaulay in his “Minutes on Education” called the literature produced in India and the Middle East as futile which could be replaced with a shelf of books in any school library in Britain. He asserted that the existing education should be replaced with that of England, for it had better utility- specially to create a class of *babus* who could serve the empire.

Thus, in the novel, Gemmy’s lost language is symbolic of his emasculated individualism that cannot have a language. How can a ‘creature’, possibly a savage, monster, may be human, may possess a language? If he does, it’s a threat to the dominant structure as it is an agency of resistance. Gemmy’s surrender is one that of a creature than a human being in the hands of divine race, therefore, despite an impulse to protest, as a slave he walks the direction he is herded into. He has no language as he has hardly existed, either amongst the natives or the whites. That is why, on his first encounter with Beattie and his sisters on the fence, Gemmy is astonished to find the words that come out of his mouth accidentally because,

. . . he could find no more of them . . . He struggles to find more of them, on failing, he gaped, grinned, rubbed his sides, winced, cast his eyes about in a hopeless way, and when he found his speech again it was a complain, against himself perhaps, in some whining blackfeller’s lingo. (*RB* 3-4)

Lachlan, on the other hand, armoured with his white skin and the language of the master, is threatened with Gemmy’s inadequacy of language; he feels his dominant command in danger, emanating from the residual lingo that Gemmy could preserve, may be with a hope to occupy his lost space in his former race. Gemmy’s lingo made Beattie feel ‘incensed’ and the “idea of the language that he did not know, scared him. He thought that if he allowed the man to go on using it, he would see how weak they were and get the advantage of them”.

Resultantly, “he jerked the stick in the direction of the man’s heart. ‘Stop that’, he yelled. ‘just steik yur mooth’” (*RB* 4).

Lachlan Beattie’s dominance tries to erase whatever linguistic residue Gemmy has, for it might pose challenges of equivalence which a slave cannot be allowed to. So, the most convenient way that Lachlan finds is to deny Gemmy the right to gather his language in the first place in order to evade its awfulness that might expose Lachlan’s own insufficiency. Metaphorically, his fears represent the psychological quagmire of his community, which on the pretext of strangeness, treats Gemmy with hostility which surfaces and resurfaces throughout the novel. Despite their conviction that Gemmy is absolutely harmless, they are threatened by an imaginary impending tribal attack that they think Gemmy might be a spy for.

In Gemmy emerges a sense of triumph that he had acquired language, the language he thought “belonged to someone he had thought was gone, lost, and here it was on his lips again. It had come back again at the moment, up there on the fence, when he first found words in his English tongue” (*RB* 14). It is not only a linguistic acquisition, but a hope that he might be able to claim a place of his own. It is soon shattered as he is asked to speak no more of it before his master as it brought Beattie’s linguistic inadequacy to the fore. Although, Gemmy is overwhelmed by the fragmented acquisition of his lost language and uses it to impress Lachlan in order to pretend that he also belonged to their community. Wherein his skin and the facial structure is baffling to decipher as to whether he is a black or a white, he tries using language as a token of identity to supplement his whiteness, in vain though.

Even during Gemmy’s stay among aborigines, he had not possessed much of the language except what he could use for his sustenance. His transitional life impeded the process of acquisition and made it fluid:

He lost his old language in the new one that came to his lips. He had never in fact possessed more than the few hundred words that were immediately needful to him, to fill his belly or save his skin, having heard little in his short life but commands, curses, coarse endearments, the street talk that he had learned to spit out like the others. (*RB* 26)

Gemmy's incompetency of language in either community exposes his castigation by the dominant structure with least social inclusiveness and communication. It is the evidence of his exclusion in human habitat as an equal. His stammering connotes his inhibition and fear to use whatever leftover of language he has within himself; thus, he spoke only for the sake of life instead of dignity. Mixed with his stammering, whatever words he has, now "slipped away altogether, they dropped out of his life, and with them, and the words, went whatever thin thread had held them together, and made up the fabric of his world" (*RB* 27). Having learnt the limitations of linguistic resistance, he ushers into almost a shattered silence, where language is nothing more than a tool of sustenance beside utilitarian utility. He dissociates himself completely with political purpose of language and goes on using fragmented residue in order not to offend his masters.

There is always a dominant over the dominant, depending on the class structure of a social order, similar is the case with residual and emergent. None can be seen as an isolated entity. The whites in the settlement face the same challenges, for, wherein they are perceived as the dominant class in an Aboriginal world, they themselves are cast-away of British society. There is an endless play of structures within structures.

The predicament of language is not restricted to Gemmy only, but also pervades the settler community too. The settlers, with the passage of time, are losing hold over the language and accent that their superior class like Mr. Frazer or the officers in Brisbane have.

Lachlan Beattie's superiority over his cousins is determined by his town accent of Scotland, which made him feel distinct. Ellen McIvor too has fascination for the British accent in a similar way. Thus, the language plays a significant role in constructing and destroying class and identity.

Like language, myth is an important referent that adds latent meaning to what is left unmeant and unanswered. It is part of that 'residue' which has its relevance in determining the present identity of the aboriginals. The title of the novel itself is a myth of exile and rupture wherein the narrative "focuses on this issue at a different plane where the imagined fears projected onto Aborigines become more pronounced in absentia" (Bansal 55). The myth of the imaginary stone that allegedly two blacks on their meeting with Gemmy gave him, becomes the moot point in channelizing narrative in several directions. On one hand, it symbolically connects Gemmy with his black world and heals him of his wounds and disease as Hem Raj Bansal observes in his paper:

Due to their spiritual power, the blacks learn about Gemmy's troubled state and come there to reclaim him, to make him a part of their communal identity and to pull him out of this detrimental situation. It is for this reason that they give him this Aboriginal object which with its divine power would heal Gemmy of his disease. (Bansal 57)

On the other, it portends rupture to the white world in the form of black magic. The white struggle to substantiate their suspicions, and their dark mysticism about the black world suddenly become alive with mere conception of this dark object brought from a dark world as a mean of war paraphernalia. The object, like Gemmy, becomes a symbol of transgression. It is an object of offence, as was Gemmy. This sends shockwaves through the settlement, ironically, even though the object is a mere imaginary concoction as are natives in the imagination of settlers. Like Gemmy is perceived as potential threat to the white world, stone

also assumes mysterious significance, regardless whatever might be the intention behind the object brought into a white world which may be perceived as an object bridging the gap between the two worlds. As Hem Raj Bansal asserts in his paper that placed between the two worlds, it becomes a bridge, connecting two diagonally opposite worlds:

Since the stone has been brought from the Aboriginal world, it is placed at the border between the world of the settlers and the Aborigines. It thus ceases to be merely an object but signifies something which replaces speech as it stands for all that Andy imagines might have been said to Gemmy by his Aboriginal visitors. . . . In fact, it is the stone that ironically bridges distance and comprehension but for only deepening Gemmy's pain hereafter as he is completely misconstrued. (Bansal 56)

Thus, the stone becomes a metaphor of the imagined wreck to the white world by the aborigines. Alice Brittan writes that "it is a foreign object entering the settlement from the alien world of the Aborigine, a thing freighted with meaning terrifying in proportion to its inscrutability" (Brittan 1167). However, it might be as a simple object of memory as the furniture of the whites, they have brought along to Australia (*RB* 83). This is Gemmy's only means to connect to the Aborigine world spiritually and metaphysically. It may be deduced that the imaginary thing, maybe a stone as it is perceived, was handed over to Gemmy as a token of entry into his previous Aborigine world, or in its form, they bestowed him with an essence and spiritual strength of their world to cope with his tyrannic life in the settlement. This alludes to Gemmy's eventual return to the Aborigine world and his complete acceptance that we may see in reference of massacre where Gemmy also died in solidarity with his preferred community. It is thus, unmistakably precise to say that the stone and the myth related to it, bring to the settlement the much-awaited rupture to his life.

To boot the above-mentioned social referents indicating the rupture of the identity of the aboriginals, David Malouf's narrative also contests between past, present and future, each seeping from or into another, obstructing as well as forming the other. While the past is a mix of residual tendencies, individual or communal cultural baggage one carries along; the present is a construed social order by dominant social structure; and the future is either the imagination or a construct of the both- the 'emergent', either evolving out of it or expected to. Thus, three climes of culture and identity in relation to simple ratification of time in above-mentioned segments provide a simpler yet deeper understanding of perpetual shift of space and time with regard to cultural and identity evolution. Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first Prime Minister, in his book *The Discovery of India* defines these three phases of time lucidly- "the past becomes something that leads up to the present, the moment of action, the future something that flows from it; and all three are inextricably intertwined and interrelated" (8-9). Raymond Williams makes the same proposition about this inter-relatedness, "'residual' and 'emergent', which in any real process, and at any moment in the process, are significant both in themselves and in what they reveal of the characteristics of the 'dominant';" further explaining that "residual cultural element is usually at some distance from effective dominant culture, but some part of it, some version of it" (ML122).

Hence, it is imperative to study the position of characters, individually as well as communally, predominantly, their identity formation and its impediment in the hands of proposed hypothesis. Malouf's characters are the constructs of the past. While their present is majorly shaped by their residual of the past, affected at the same time; their future imagination is also affected or influenced by the both. This is evident in the white settler community who are drawn back to their past time and again, try rehabilitating it with whatever leftover of memory or recourses they have. Ellen McIvor's powerful nostalgia takes her back and forth between Scotland and Queensland. She tries feeling it in everything, her

memory, stories, Lachlan Beattie who has recently arrived from Scotland. Janet, who has never seen the wonderland of glamour always talked about, visits it through her mother's words. Their past is in constant struggle with the present, for, from climatic conditions to vegetation to land, everything is unfamiliar what they term 'savage'.

In fact, they are transported to the past with a mere encounter with an object that has been imported from their motherland. The white emigrants' "imported property was invested as portable materialization of home" (Brittan 1164), for it connected them psychologically and spiritually to their native land as Gemmy is connected to the aborigine with the stone. Mrs. Hutchence's crockery and furniture is one instance that is the reminiscence of the lost world and the major source of rehabilitation in the present one (*RB* 87).

We come across a strong psychological, emotional, and nostalgic diasporic residual that forms their dominant present, there is yet another phenomenon that obstructs their imagination of the future, the emergent- 'the fear of unknown'. It is not only the past that is affecting their present, the future- a construed emergent, impedes the process of their assimilation. The fear of the unknown significantly comes into play and affects the whole peaceful process of imagination of their desired 'emergent'. The 'unknown' however, exposes settlers' lack of knowledge for the place, space and landscape, therefore, in order to maintain their dominant position, they term it pejoratively. Gemmy's arrival among them is the first sign of danger they have always imagined. He casts on them a spell of awe and fear not for being black, but a mix-breed, something beyond their conception of savage and unknown. The arrival of two blacks to meet Gemmy and the mysterious object, possibly a stone they give him, sweeps them with a shockwave and a threat of an invasion.

It opens scopes for those who were hateful towards Gemmy and always wanted an excuse to excommunicate him from the community or to kill him. Andy leaves no chance in

manipulating the things, arousing in people a sense of fear from the unknown creatures-natives. Jim Sweetman accompanied by others hateful towards Gemmy, joins Andy and finally compel McIvors to send Gemmy away, an elimination of already oppressed in the hands of oppressors. The rupture caused to the present is the end product of dominant politics and its manipulation of the vulnerable like Gemmy. This rupture is symbolic as it gives birth to an imagined 'emergent' termed 'unknown', impregnating violence, which we are hinted to later in the novel as a reference to the genocide of the aborigine in Australia in the hands of white settlers as a result of unknown, incomprehensible racial hatred and animosity towards them. It is as if they want Australia to be a country they have imagined, the project is taken further under the dominant garb of British colonialism.

Gemmy too, like the settlers, slips from one stage into another fluctuating between past and present. His residual is multifarious, an amalgam of numerous identities and cultures- a prototype of 'hybrid-emergent'. His past being troublesome, torments him in every possible vision. Already in an in-between stage as a half-cast, he inhabits many worlds at the same time that have not only shaped as well as distorted his identity, but also disfigured his physical appearance. The beast of his past chases and de-stabilizes his already disturbed present, furthermore, hinders his vision of a utopian future world where he may be able to claim a place for himself.

Importantly, Gemmy's identity is fluid rather being static, constantly dissolving and evolving. His residual and emergent work hand in hand, since he is open to acculturation and assimilation, we may call hybridity. Homi K Bhabha in one of his epochal work *Location of Culture*, elaborates the concept of hybridity in postcolonial discourse. To Bhabha, culture is never static, always fluid, so is 'mixedness' of identities. Culture whether dominant/subservient, superior/inferior is an illusion, and rather constructed. Every aspect of culture is

contaminated and it can never be pure. If we apply same in the context of Gemmy travelling from one culture to another, he truly emerges as a hybrid. The moment travel is possible then we conceive that space not as an isolated area but as an area which is interconnected with other places and not only in terms of physical interconnectedness but also in terms of cultural interconnectedness. As a small white boy, when he entered native tribal life, where eventually he is able to claim a space for himself, he often feels second-class or half-caste citizen, thought of as “half-child, half-sea-calf” changed from a “sea-creature into a skinny human child” (*RB* 27). So, the process of shedding his white knowledge begins. He becomes an emergent through his acculturation into the native tribal life. While explaining the concept of acculturation, Paul N. Lakey writes, “To acculturate themselves to the new culture, immigrants must acquire the host cultural patterns and develop working relationships with the new environment. This cultural awareness process and then necessary adaptation is facilitated by communication. To the extent immigrants master the communication process of the host culture, they will become acculturated” (104). Marden and Meyer also define the adjustment process of acculturation as “the change in individuals whose primary learning has been in one culture and who take over traits from another culture” (36). Among the whites, Gemmy becomes a residual of an ancient native tribal culture residing at outskirts of Queensland which once he accepted as part of acculturation as he was trying to adopt the natives’ culture. He gets himself assimilated into the host-culture as he found himself amidst tribes. Once going back to the mother-culture (the culture of the settlers), he is often tormented by his conflicted past, the horrors he faces in his sleep being chased by an undecipherable figure like a sea-calf, much like himself, yet another sign of uncertainty. At such trajectory, he again enters into the process of deculturing himself from the tribal world, to be accultured in the world of Whites to emerge as a new entity again, though a hybrid one. For Homi Bhabha, the concept of hybridity is an empowering one, because it crumbles the binaries of

inferior/superior. It leads to a cosmopolitan idea where all eventually become hybrids breaking all 'civilizing mission(s)'. He contends in his *Location of Culture* while deconstructing Edward Saïd's concept of orientalism that all cultural statements and systems are constructed in a space that he calls the 'Third Space of enunciation' (37). He says,

It is significant that the productive capacities of this Third Space have a colonial or postcolonial provenance. For a willingness to descend into that alien territory . . . may open the way to conceptualizing an international culture, based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the diversity of cultures, but on the inscription and articulation of culture's hybridity. (Bhabha, *Location* 38)

Such idea in the novel, disrupts the settlers' project of civilizing Gemmy. He is a savage coming from a dark place who needs to be rescued. However, Gemmy fails as a hybrid. The process of assimilation never ends for him as both the cultures white and black, rejects him. Instead of a hybrid, he becomes a marginal product in the process of acculturation.

Gemmy's desired 'emergent' is a world of acceptance. His only goal is to acquire a place for himself. For that, he sacrifices his dignity by flattering even children although he dislikes being treated as a child: "His object was to make himself agreeable to the girls, and to play pupil when they wanted to be teacher, the doll when they wanted someone to dress up" (*RB* 35). The rupture of his present may however be attributed to his oppression under dominant social order, ushering him into a state of 'in-betweenness', unacceptable one.

The acculturation, deculturation, and assimilation are parts of a process that gives birth to hybridity, nevertheless, they may be a cause of dissimilation as well. Acculturation and deculturation are interconnected variables, helping shape and dissolve each other. In her article "Cross-cultural adaptation: An Integrative Theory," Young Yun Kim defines

acculturation as the process of learning the elements of the host culture to be a member of it, and discusses it together with deculturation, which is then defined as one's old cultural habits. Deculturation results when members of non-dominant cultures become alienated from the dominant culture and from their own minority society (Berry "Varieties" 9-25). APA Dictionary of Psychology defines deculturations as, "the processes, intentional or unintentional, by which traditional cultural beliefs or practices are suppressed or otherwise eliminated as a result of contact with a different, dominant culture". While acculturation is an end product of confluence of cross-culture characteristics, it gives birth to a hybrid culture that imbibes in itself the traits of more than one culture, we may term 'sandwich culture'. Deculturation on the other hand, is a process of shedding off the influence and the traits of a particular culture, an individual is a part of. It is one of the primary stages of acculturation. Deculturation opens scopes for further inclusiveness, cross-culture assimilation. Therefore, both are important constructs of one's cultural assimilation, manufacturing hybrid identity.

While identity remains central to the discourse in the novel, various shades of it are presented in different ways and phases. Though, we come across flat identities as the characters and communities have been introduced to us at the inception of the narrative, their round identities surface one after the other as we progress. These identities are manufactured at various stages through the process of acculturation and deculturation as evolving 'emergents'. In shaping of one identity, it loses as well as assimilates another in the process. The hybrid identity that is churned out of this process is the end product (emergent) of acculturation and deculturation, which we may also term as 'multi-culturation'. However, this product of identity might not be the desired result. Thus, there is often a quest for identity which is perpetual.

The conflict between dominant, residual, and emergent plays a central role in manufacturing and dissolving of identity as well as in the quest for a desired identity. The conflict remains integral to the discourse of identity in the case of Gemmy beside others as the question of identity on the pretext of race, class and colour resurfaces on every second instance in the novel. Gemmy's quest for identity throughout the novel governs his whole life. He "had started out white. No question. When he fell in with the blacks – at thirteen, was it? - he had been like any other child, one of their own for instance . . . but had he remained white?" (*RB* 40). Ironically, where he is identified as white in Aborigine world, the perception of him in the white world is antipodal, "when you looked at him sometimes he was not white. His skin might be but not his features. The whole cast of his face gave him the look of one of them. How was that then?" (40). This conflict between both his worlds that he inhabits and does not at the same time, tears Gemmy's identity and his 'self' bit by bit which he later finds stitched into something strange to both the worlds- an in-between identity, a hybrid. During his stay with the natives, he sheds as well as imbibes traits of the previous and existing cultures respectively, a process of acculturation and deculturation hand in hand, which works similarly even during his stay with the whites.

His quest for identity is obstructed by a perpetual conflict at the background where his language, and facial features too betray him. Despite a thorough research is conducted whether or not to induct him back as white in settler community, there are question marks imbued with racial judgement. Mr. Frazer answers these obscurities with pragmatic diligence: "his teeth had been worn down to the gums eating native food. The white man's facial structure came from different and finer diet. It was the grinding down of his teeth, and the consequent broadening of the jaw that they called a native look" (*RB* 40). His features that he has lost- stretched, widened gum by eating half-cooked food amongst the natives, and skin burnt by scorching sun heat owing to insufficient clothing deny him his return entry into the

white world for the loss of appearance. Rather, all features are taken to be that of a black. After thorough assessment and examination, he concludes with his westernized intellect that Gemmy could be “by no means the first white man to have turned up like this after a spell among the blacks” (16). He negates any possibility that any white may mix up with an inferior race and contaminate his divine superiority as a result of acculturation and deculturation. Since he has done so, he cannot be reinstated to his previous self- a permanent exilic status that the title of the novel itself connotes through its Biblical references to Babylonian exile.

Interestingly, while with his lost features Gemmy’s attempt to become white again, but is shunned despite his endless efforts of imitating them and reviving the language, the colour, the white way of life, his tribal residual sticks to his body and soul, as had once his whiteness. The process is impeded by the tribal essence that has seeped into his skin and soul. Although Ellen McIvor washes him with a soap, he could never get rid of “the smell he came with, which was the smell of the myall, half-meat, half-mud, a reminder, a depressing one, of what there might be in him that could not be reclaimed” (*RB* 41). The smell of his body is reminiscence as well as reminder to him that his part will keep glued to him no matter what part of the land he inhabits and what community he lives with. The role of the dominant structure in shaping his identity by manipulation of his past is significant, for it is used as an apparatus to class him a ‘half-race’.

Gemmy could never claim a place or space for himself as his efforts are halted by constant interference of his past in his present. He residual accompanied by dominant manipulation of him, changes the course of his intended ‘emergent’- living among the aborigines, he wanted to get rid of his white identity, and among the whites, he wants to rid

himself of the black one. This process has created of him a cross-culture hybrid self, unable to locate himself in either world.

Dominant attitude is marked with suspicion towards the vulnerable section of the community, eventually, leading to their undue incarceration. The attitude of the settlers towards aborigines is manifested in their suspicion on Gemmy's unconditional submissiveness and respect: "It was the mixture of monstrous strangeness and unwelcome likeness that made Gemmy Fairley so disturbing to them, since at any time he could show either one face or the other" (*RB* 43). However, understandably, this strangeness is marked with frustration of his treatment as the other throughout his life.

The crucial but a significant phase of Gemmy's quest for identity can be seen in emotional and metaphysical episodes during his historiography by Mr. Frazer and Mr. Abbot, and later when he tries reclaiming it. A bunch of papers that contains his detailed tattered history and biography (comprehended and miscomprehended from Gemmy's faint tongue) by Mr. Frazer's examination of Gemmy, penned down by the schoolmaster, George Abbot arouses in him a sudden sense of belongingness as if he had suddenly reclaimed his world and identity that he has been struggling for since the very inception of his sense of 'self'. However, unable to read and comprehend the signs on the papers, he is emboldened by the spiritual essence of immortality conferred on him by these mystic words on paper. He feels that he has been understood, included, and defined most appropriately for the first and probably, for the last time. All of a sudden, the apprehension shrouding his existence clears off like a sky full of stars. His 'emergent-self' that has popped out of the papers is emancipated by overwhelming sense of belongingness. He takes hold of the papers and runs his eyes through the pages one after the other, and when this process is over, "he raised the sheet to his nose and sniffed them, and might have been preparing, till Mr Frazer intervened,

to lick and may be swallow them. He looked puzzled when Mr Frazer gently took them back” (RB 20).

Yet again, the intrinsic linguistic value of identity resurfaces as it imports Gemmy’s past back to him and smuggles him into his lost world that emerges out of these pages. The residue of his past that is spilled across these pages forms a new world, an emergent one, both alternating and opposing the dominant one imposed over his. After all, he had squeezed himself hard to put the pieces of his life together with the help of Mr. Abbot and Mr. Frazer. Nevertheless, this journey proved certainly poignant and traumatic as vividly portrayed in the book “with so many gaps of memory, and so much dislocation between what he meant to convey and the few words he could recover of his original tongue” (RB 16).

He attempted at conveying his life in the most possible and appropriate way by patching the residue of his fragmented memory with a stutter of a few recovered words of his childhood language. Therefore, rather than physical, he connects to the life on the papers emotionally and spiritually. When he sniffs at the papers, divine sense of life hugs him; he wonders, “Was that the smell of his life, his spirit, the black blood they had drained out of him? No wonder he felt weak” (RB 21). Momentarily, he resigns from his current status as half-caste as he is assimilated into his suddenly new found world (an ‘emergent-self’) or the lost world suddenly became alive (residual-self). Since, this gratification is mortal, he is pulled back to his castigated existence by Mr. Frazer.

The inherent residual characteristics of identity make Gemmy jittery at times as he wants to shake it off himself and disburden himself of it. He takes recourse to mimicry whereby he tries mimicking white way of life to an extent that he may get rid of the residual of his black identity. His mimicking the white ways conforms his inferior residual identity to be assimilated in superior dominant one. Ziauddin Sardar in Foreword to *Black Skin, White*

Masks explicates this phenomenon experienced by the blacks and says, “His ego collapses. His self esteem evaporates, . . . the entire purpose of his behaviour is to emulate the White man, to become like him, and thus hope to be accepted as a man” (xiii). However, as Gemmy recognizes the permanence of his exile and the futility of mimicking process, he revolts and takes back the papers and moves away with them. It is his new ‘emerging’ identity that he has finally claimed as an independent self and reclaimed his black blood in the form of words on the pages that melt down in rain on him and seep into his body. The bridge between his residual - self and emerging - self is woven around his acculturation into the dominant cultural elements.

While the formation and destruction of a culture is an invisible process, it involves unconscious or subconscious faculties than the vigilant ones. Thus, the unwilling process of acculturation that takes place in the settlement is apparent in McIvor family’s cultural transaction with Gemmy, the only acceptance that he may relate himself to. The welcoming nature of McIvor kids who tell him all their secrets and the things precious to them, wins over his heart. He is particularly drawn towards Jenet as she showcased an extraordinary compassion for him what he felt as if “she saw that he could not be treated as a child or plaything” (*RB* 35). He made every possible way to keep this process alive. However naively, the process of acculturation takes place between them as Gemmy too fosters his attempts to show them “a little of what he knew”:

He taught the girls to plait the grass and make dillybags, to hollow out gourds, dig up the fat yellow or white roots that, once you had thumbed the dirt off, could be baked in the ashes, and to gather berries that yielded a burst of moisture to the tongue or an astringent sweetness. (34)

The passage is suggestive of a hesitant process of bringing to the confluence two divergent cultures, repugnantly hateful towards each other. Gemmy's nomadic tribal skills that he displays before the kids and their reluctant fascination for it, start a process of acculturation towards the formation of the world Gemmy envisages.

The deculturation process of the settlement is also evident as its residents start acting savage in an uncivilized world where the acts of violence like slavery are celebrated as acts of bravery. The incident serves as a loophole to pave the way for the separation of the settlers from the civilized West to emerge as an altered West. The welcome drama of Gemmy is a vulgar display of hostility that the nascent children are also bewildered to witness. The slavery or call it imprisonment of Gemmy is celebrated as carnival with entire community together which their own children find a rare communal phenomenon:

Only experience of such communal get-togethers was Sunday church and the gatherings organized by Mr. Frazer, their Minister, where their parents, constrained by collars, ties, bonnet strings, buttons, remained stiffly intimidated, were astonished now by so much levity. They could never have imagined their fathers, their mothers too, shouting and chacking like this (*RB* 11)

This is a symbolic impact of the imagined savagery of the land they inhabit, however, they are conscious of their racial supremacy; they will never let such a display take place in case it was a white which they consider "bad enough if he was what he appeared to be, a poor savage, but if he was a white man, it was horrible" (*RB* 13).

In addition to the process of acculturation of Gemmy and deculturation of settlers, Gemmy is a metaphor of a world in himself trying to bridge the gap between the two worlds- settlers' world and the world of aborigines. His identity is residue of the both, yet always emergent, evolving and transforming into a new one. He imbibes in himself the

characteristics of whatever he comes across, the identity or the language, conferred upon him by the dominant section that he is living with, and keeps himself open and ready for the process. Malouf portrays Gemmy as confluence point of present and past, always in a struggle to shake off the residual burden of the past, yet not at the same time. He is a nomad walking between past and present, inhabiting both in a complex simultaneity. While living with the tribesmen, Gemmy has carved out a place for himself, nevertheless, as a half-caste. He does not wish to abandon the tribe, yet he wants to venture into the world beyond no man's land. Gemmy's metaphor as a bridge between two worlds has been depicted beautifully, yet poignantly in the novel:

He had no intention of abandoning the tribe, even less of breaking from one world into another. It was a question of covering the space between them, of recovering the connection that would put the words back in his mouth, and catch the creature, the spirit of whatever it was, that lived in the dark of him, and came up briefly to torment or tease, but could be tempted, he now saw, with what these people ate and with the words they used. (*RB* 32-33)

Gemmy's status as an individual is that of 'in-between' one, often hanging between earth and sky, struggling to situate his world that he is never able to: "he belonged to their tribal life, he believed, but in the other part he did not" (*RB* 27). This is a perpetual struggle to locate his 'self' often in relation to the 'dominant other'. He is an inhabitant of no-man's land, alone in a hope to create a world of his own. He wants to eject himself from the worlds that never treat him as equal but other. In white and black world alike, he is classified as second-class or last-class citizen. Like in the white settlement, he is often treated as half-caste in the tribal community. He is fit into a cage of restrictions where he is unable to fully penetrate into their forbidden world:

No women, for example, would have to do anything with him, and there were many objects in the camp that he was forbidden to touch . . . the restrictions on him were his alone, and the separation he felt, his questionable status, kept alive in him what he might otherwise would have let go. (28)

His poignance is personalized in a way that he manifests it only in the dark giving vent to the torments he has suffered- “He was a tormented spirit. The cries he uttered in his sleep, the terrors that assailed him, were proof that although he had a look of a man, he was not one yet. A day would come when, fully arrived among them, he would let go of the other world,” a constant struggle between past and present, self and the other, and human and non-human’ (*RB* 28).

Thus, there is a constant emergent passion within Gemmy to envisage a new world, made up of the two worlds together- a hybrid world, like himself where he could possibly rehabilitate himself. He visions to create a tribe that is like himself and he is the founding father of it, like Mr. Frazer declares him in his diary of botanical entries. This ‘emergent’ identity of Gemmy is evolved within the dialogues of banishment and displacement of aborigines. The motifs of banishment and displacement are present in Malouf’s narrative not only in the context of aborigines, but also the settlers, who struggle to situate themselves between the lost and the new found world. The identity in such a process is a fluid discourse as has been thoroughly examined by the chapter on several climes with the help of William Raymond’s conceptualization of identity, predominantly into three stages- dominant, residual, and emergent.

To sum up, the chapter starts with a theoretical background to identity, situating the subject position vis a vis textual analysis as a consolidated evaluation on the above-said three climes. While the study fathoms an endless interplay of variables of identity, it situates a link

how these variables evolve as well as dissolve in various stages and situations. It traces the conflict as well as politics of identity in the form of race, colour and class structure. When the three children play their pretend to be game, they see Gemmy with “stick-like legs, all knobbed at the joints” (*RB* 2). He appears to be a human that in curses “had been changed into a bird, but only halfway and now, neither one thing nor the other” (2). He is considered more a “creature” and “all that belonged to Absolute Dark” (3). “A black! That was the boy’s first thought. We are being raided by blacks” (2). They have an extreme fear of the native “black” population. The white settlers are unable to face the terrible knowledge which he brings— that the qualities which make them superior may be more fragile than they think. Those who try to face this knowledge like Mr. Frazer, Jack, Janet and Lachlan and ally themselves with Gemmy and what he represents “the true child of the place as it will one day be” (132) become estranged from their community and although they arrive at a new understanding of themselves and the landscape which supports them, it is clear that the cultural gap is too wide to bridge.

The title of the novel invokes history and historical reference. Babylon, “a place of exile to which God banished the Israelites for idolatry, or the bestowal of divine meaning on profane objects, is also to remember Babel, the tower that inaugurated the diversification of language”, writes Brittan (Brittan 1167). In the novel, Babylon is the reflection of the past that has seeped into the present of mass scattering of emigrants from one place of the world to another. Such an invocation to history by Malouf and its blend with the present is an artistic endeavour tracing back the historical phenomenon of banishment, displacement, dislocation, and violence that eventually shapes communal, racial, and ethnic identity of an individual or a community either in association or in isolation.

The colonial project at work is fathomed as to how it penetrates into the geographical and emotional space of the aborigine and then hijacks all the platforms of identity as a dominant structure. The aboriginals were the First natives of Queensland who were encountered by the Western settlers especially the Scots. More so, as analysed, the identity of aborigines has been laid on the perspective of the colonial settlers only without any involvement of the aborigines themselves. The residual native culture is excluded without any recognition via dominant ideologies. Even new structure emerging through process of assimilation fails to incorporate aborigines' right to exist. The aborigines find space not even at margins.

The text is also surveyed for the process of acculturation, deculturation, and hybridity as variables of identity which play a significant role in shaping and rupturing of the identity. The politics of language is paid a special heed to as Malouf employs it as determining variable of identity, and as a weapon of emasculation, agency, and resistance. Finally, the study rests on a vivid survey of an endless quest for identity as an ever evolving 'emergent'.

Chapter 4

Examining the Individuality of Machiguengas in Mario Vargas Llosa's *The Storyteller*

A Peruvian writer, Mario Vargas Llosa has reputation and literary genius for insightful presentation of socio-cultural issues that were prevalent in Latin America, especially, in Peru during 1950s. He is known for his unconventional craftsmanship and for his art of telling stories. Born into a middle-class family on March 1936 in Arequipa, Peru, he has experienced and witnessed institutional violence that affected various ethnic groups in Peru's diverse society. The present chapter is dedicated to Mario Vargas Llosa's 1987 work *The Storyteller (El hablador)*. In this work, Llosa has adopted multiple points of view. *The Storyteller* concerns a Native American tribe, the *Machiguengas*, and in particular the community's storyteller, Saul Zuratas.

The objective of the present chapter is to analyse the multifaceted identity of Peruvian society in which primitive and modern lifestyles are forced to coexist in conflict and contradiction using Raymond Williams's trio- the dominant, the residual, and the emergent. An attempt is made to highlight the homogenising missions to maintain the integrity of Peru as a Nation. The process of homogenization initiates in its vogue the social processes which aim to assimilate the Amazonian tribes into the modern structure of Peruvian society ignoring the individual tribe's traits, values, beliefs, and traditions. These traits constitute nonetheless the real identity of the tribes. Peru has the largest Native American population in the western hemisphere: about half its population of 28 million is Native American (indigenous). More than 15 percent of Peruvians speak Quechua, an indigenous Peruvian language and Native American storytelling traditions have had a marked effect on modern Peruvian literature (D'Altroy). Llosa's first-hand experience and familiarity with these indigenous tribes has

provided a close scrutiny of Peruvian National structure in thwarting the tribes into extinction.

Politics has remained an ever-increasing interest for Llosa which has provided strong realism in his novels. Blending realism with fictional material, Llosa speaks out against Odría's dictatorship, reformist tendencies of Alan García, and Belaúnde in his writings. He has sixteen novels to his merit with other critical prose writings. In *New York Times*, Mel Gussow reports him as a novelist who has the obligation to question real life.

Mario Vargas Llosa ran for the presidency of Peru in 1990 and narrowly lost it too. To him, the politics of the country has always played a significant role in determining the identity of the Peruvians, and there is so much to inquire about the complexities of human relationships and social structures in the context of Peru as a Nation. He has many works to this distinction. His *Aunt Julia and the Scriptwriter* is the most acclaimed autobiographical novel exploring the themes of marriage, infanticide, incest, prostitution, religious fanaticism, and genocide. *The War of the End of the World* concerns a rebellion in the Brazilian backlands in the late nineteenth century, reflecting the plight of the poor throughout Latin American history. Using real and imagined events, *The Real Life of Alejandro Mayta* (*Historia de Mayta*) tells the story of Alejandro Mayta, a Marxist revolutionary who organized a failed rebellion against the Peruvian government in the late 1950s.

The narrative under study titled *The Storyteller* proceeds with the alternative point of views: one from the perspective of the first narrator, who seems to be none else than the author himself, and the second from the perspective of Saul Zuratus, a citizen of the post-independent Peru with Jewish descent. Interestingly, both the perspectives delve deep into the lives of the residual native culture of Amazonian Indians in a postcolonial setting. The mainstream's view of the native tribes in the novel has been represented by the first narrator;

Saul Zuratus; the professors at San Marcos; the linguists like Schneils; and the missionaries. However, the *Machiguengas*' own view of their indigenous culture has been introduced through *hablador* (storyteller), which turns out to be Saul himself after being assimilated into these indigenous tribes.

The Indian tribes of the forest of Amazon were once the dominant tribes, the First People of Peru in pre-colonial times. Peru attained its freedom and got its status as a Republic in 1821. Since independence from Spanish and European colonial rule, the socio-political and economic structure of Peru have gone through several phases of development under the rulebook of Nationalism. Mario Vargas Llosa has set his *The Storyteller* in-between the dominant phases of National development of Peru popularly known as urbanization, industrialization, bourgeois civilization, and learning (literacy).

The narrative opens with a romantic image of the Amazonian Indians when the first narrator at Firenze (Italy) comes across a painting exhibited in a museum. The very name of the exhibition "Natives of the Amazon Forest" at the museum suggests a peek into the lives of *jungle* people which the urban world would hardly know. To the mainstream, the native tribes are a part of that residual culture which would enhance the aesthetics of a museum only. The first narrator looks at the painting in a highly impassioned way, pointing out the:

bows, arrows, a carved oar, a pot with a geometric design, a mannequin bundled into wild cotton cushma. . . . The wild rivers, the enormous trees, the fragile canoes . . . and the knots of men and women, naked to the waist and daubed with paint, looking at me unblinkingly from the glossy prints. (Llosa, *Storyteller* 3)

The strangeness of the natives of forest with their "naked waist and daubed with paint" is in fact a faithful reflection of the photographer Malfatti's keen interest in "the daily

life of a tribe which, until a few years ago, had lived virtually so isolated from civilization” (*Storyteller* 4) named, the *Machiguengas*.

Ling Raj in his article on *Machiguengas* tribe accounts their history publishing that “the Machiguenga are indigenous to the jungles of Southeastern Peru and the border region of Peru with Bolivia and Brazil. Along with much of South America, their culture was severely put under strain by the arrival of the Europeans. The Inca Empire was located immediately to the west of the Machiguengas and when the nearby Incas were defeated by the Spanish, some of the refugees fled to the jungles inhabited by the Machiguengas and other Campas and most probably became assimilated into these Amazonian cultures.” The first narrator as a representative of the dominant part of Peruvian culture comes in touch indirectly through a photograph with the residual native culture of the *Machiguengas* in terms of its ‘difference’ with the mainstream as ‘mystic’, ‘strange’ and ‘exotic’.

In fact, this exotic perspective towards tribes stands as one of the ideologies the mainstream society has adopted to distinguish itself as superior to the native tribes. The facial features, social mannerism, rituals and customs, food and habits as captured by the photographer reminded the narrator of his first hand-experience with the tribe. The dominant ideology of exoticizing ‘the other’ is marked in the photos eloquently showing “how fragile, frugal their life was; their isolation, their archaic ways, their helplessness” (*Storyteller* 5). To the first narrator, all this incarceration is neither demagoguery nor aestheticism. The women depicted as “lacing mats and baskets”, “making headdresses”, decorating their faces and bodies with annatto dye, “drying hides and skins” of animals, and fermenting cassava present an intriguing view of residual culture that has been excluded as wild and different by the mainstream. The narrator detects “the gathering of men and women, sitting in a circle in the Amazonian way-similar to the Oriental: legs crossed tailor-fashion, . . . hypnotically

attentive” (7). The word “Oriental” evidently signifies the view of the natives by the Occident. The orientalism has been adopted long back as an ideology by the Occident to justify the ‘civilizing mission’ of the Orient in a colonial context. Though the narrator does not belong to the Occident and the context is far ahead to the colonial setting, the civilizing mission has yet been the part of the process of inclusion or exclusion of the residual tendencies in a dominant national culture.

The first and foremost attempt to relegate the tribes involves the perspective of the dominant. Just as the Occident look at the Orient in its residual primitive savage form, the mainstream nationalists look at the tribes as residual exotic beings. The narrator enters the tribal world with his friend Rosita Corpancho for her linguistic project, and gets the first-hand glimpse of tribes of Aguaruna village at Urakusa:

The entire population of men and women, half naked and daubed with paint, . . . slapped at their faces and chests with both hands to drive away the insects. But in Urakusa, besides the copper-colored bodies, the dangling tits, the children with parasite-swollen bellies and skins striped red or black, a sight awaited us that I have never forgotten. (74)

The entire scene is marked for its exotic as well as derogatory description by the mainstream who invades the first-people. The Dominican missionaries and apostolic linguists divide the tribes on the basis of their primitive ways. Those who are in contact with missionaries learning, reading, and writing, and also working as labourers and workers in the national projects are better for their own sake. The rest, where the Dominican missionaries have not reached, are the *Machiguengas* in an archaic small group or fraction. They are “stark naked, though some of the men wore phallic sheaths made of bamboo, and attached anyone who entered their territory, even those who were ethnically related” (*Storyteller* 80). The

description of their cannibalism and physical nakedness justifies the missions of the Dominicans.

In fact, such dominant tendencies have roots in colonialism where the construction of the oppressed colonised is a justified attempt of 'modernizing' and 'civilizing' by the British colonisers. The very structure of the colonial power prevents the speaking and resistance of the natives/colonised. Similarly, the very structure of the nationalism is believed to be justified under the ideology of homogenisation. In the process of keeping this residual tendency of homogenisation, the dominant class having the power constructs the 'other' dominated class and the subaltern. Thus, the nationals weave the web of burden of civilizing as well as homogenising mission. Raymond Williams explaining the meaning of civilization brings out its etymology. In its etymological sense, the adjective 'civic' expresses order, education and politeness derived from the word 'civitas' or 'civis'. The idea of civilization here entails two meanings: one as an achieved state which could be contrasted with barbarism, and second, as an achieved state of development which implied historical process and progress. In view one, civilising is a process of continuing development for a new and higher social order. But in the second view, there is already an achieved state of freedom and civilization with the received glory of past which this new 'civilising mission' is threatening to destroy (Williams, *ML*14-15). However, contrary to the idea of Raymond Williams, the dominant tends to believe in its civilized homogeneity and sells the illusion of development of the natives and tribes by stamping them first as savages and uncivilized wild race and then by placing them at margins to be suffered as labourers and workers. The heterogenous cultural variables are contained within the homogenous integrity and unity of a nation. A significant difference in social status has always been there between the dominant and the marginalised groups which have been dissolved into oblivion in the shadow of a universalist homogenising culture. When the dominant fails to subjugate these tiny tribes they despise,

they begin “to look down on them. That is why, they invent(ed) all those disparaging Quechua words for the Amazonian Indians: savages, degenerates” (*Storyteller* 98).

This ideology of homogenising as well as civilizing is reflected in the efforts of the first narrator, Saul Zuratus, Christian missionaries, ethnographers, anthropologists, Institute of Linguistics, and literate group of the mainstream. They represent the socio-economic hierarchies as well as superstructures which regulate the mission of civilizing indigenous tribes to either include or exclude them. “Ideology”, Raymond Williams elaborates, “as the set of ideas which arise from a given set of material interests or, more broadly, from a definite class or group, has been at least as widely used as the sense of ideology as illusion” (*Keywords* 156) created for the social world to name ‘the other’. Consequently, the ideology of homogenising in the name of civilization authenticates the subjugation of the tribals in the nation.

The Storyteller takes the reader to 1950s Peru when the “generation was moving from the spurious peace of General Odria’s dictatorship to the uncertainties and novelties of the return to democratic rule in 1956” (12). The dominant Peruvian society consists of new middle class engaging in the reforms to be taken in the sector of agriculture, education, fishery trade, geographical borders and politics. The Peruvian bourgeoisie was able to seize control of the means of production in agriculture, centralizing private ownership of the land, monopolizing control over water and labor power, and introducing machinery, there was a growth of the capitalist mode of production. This dominant structure of the Peruvian society has placed the indigenous tribes of Peru at margins below their socio-economic national hierarchies.

One of the means to execute the civilizing ideology and to marginalise the tribes of the forest is analysed in the novel in the institutional ratification done by the intellectuals at

San Marcos. The tribes are seen as an area of exploration to the new privileged literate middle class. Saul Zuratas, as a student of Ethnology shows his consternation at “how little had been written about the tribes” (*Storyteller* 17). The dominant’s intellectual curiosity to venture the world of Indians with their “the primitive practices, their frugal life, their animism and their magic” (19) serves the purpose to put and keep these tribes at a distance later to be assimilated or dominated. The dialogue between Dr. Jose Matos, an ethnologist and Raul Porrás Barrenechea, a historian at San Marcos evidently brings out the politics of writing about the tribes. It is always the dominant intellectuals interpreting and deciphering the tribal world. This privilege of being well read and ability to use language have given the dominant power to do what Foucault calls institutional ratification (Foucault, “Order” 55). Foucault in the essay “Order of Discourse” pointed out that the discourse that is generated, circulated and ratified by the institutions of the powerful is the discourse which gains acceptance as the truth. Institutional ratification is an important factor that limits the proliferation of discourse. He discusses at length similar views in his *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. If we think carefully then we will understand that our process of knowing something and talking or writing meaningfully about those things are closely guided by various institutions like schools, colleges, publishing industry, news agencies, learned societies, scientific laboratories, so on and so forth. In the narrative, this institutional ratification is evident in the research projects at San Marcos University. For Matos Mar, Saul’s work in the Summer of 1956 among the *Machiguengas*, which was expanded into his thesis for bachelor’s degree, fulfils the need to ratify a discourse about the indigenous tribes. Despite Saul’s true intentions, he himself started doubting about his research and fieldwork. The intellectual need of Matos Mar pays no attention to Saul’s complaint that with “our tape recorders and ball-point pens, we are the worm that works its way into the fruit and rots it” (*Storyteller* 32). Saul is convinced that “we are attacking them (tribes), doing violence to their

culture” (32). The consequences of the ethnologists’ work are similar to “those of the activities of the rubber tappers, the timber cutters, the army recruiters, and other mestizos and whites who were decimating the tribes” (33). Saul maintains that the researchers have contributed to, “where the colonial missionaries left off. That we, in the name of science, like them in the name of evangelization, are the spearhead of the effort to wipe out the Indians” (33).

Besides, the Summer Institute of Linguistics also adds up to the civilizing discourse entwined around the tribes. Language has been treated by the linguists as an effective tool to build a mainstreams’ narrative about the tribes. In the novel, at Yarinacochas, the Ministry of Education with the aid of the Institute of Linguistics drew a program to teach the Aguaruna villages of the Alto Marañon. Men of the tribes who, like Jum, were capable of setting up an educational project were given a “superficial” course “to enable them to teach their people to read and write” (*Storyteller* 75) by the linguists and instructors. However, the contact with ‘civilization’ through reading and writing caused the cacique and Jum of Aguaruna to discover the “cooperative” (76) business and value of money. The Whites or Amazonian *mestizos* used to visit the tribes for rubber and animal skins. When the tribes learnt about the economic exploitation through reading and writing, they refused to sell the same and thought of moving to cities which would rather bring more agony to their existence. Later, the tribes were badly beaten by the whites or *mestizos*. So, the civilizing mission of teaching did not attain its goal. The dictum behind their exploitation as given by the mainstream that “their primitive state made them, rather, victims of the worst exploitation and cruelty” (74) fails utterly. As David Stoll has analysed in his article,

Like everyone else in an indigenous hinterland, missionaries operate within the context of “dependency,” the system of unequal exchange endemic to world market

expansion. Indigenous societies come to depend upon outsiders for trade goods and other items in exchange for their labor, their land, and conformity to the new order. In meeting indigenous demands for tools, schooling, and so forth, missionaries try to offer better terms of exchange than rival brokers, set up alliances with native people against mutual adversaries, and generate the patronage power which expedites evangelism. (86)

Until the 1960s, most of the *Machiguenga* “lived isolated from Westerners due to their remote locations. They had their own individuality. This changed when the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) began flying in American missionaries with small aircraft in the 1960’s” (Ling Raj). The post-war period of industrialization, urbanization, and general economic growth created a new middle and professional class that altered the prevailing political panorama. Ling Raj also writes,

The institute of linguistics and Christian missionaries laid the foundation of rescue mission of the tribes by reaching and staying at jungle among the tribes. However, due to the impenetrable Amazon rainforest, some small groups of uncontacted Machiguengas have survived to this day and remain living in voluntary isolation from Western civilization. Recently loggers and miners have been clearing new roads to infiltrate into the Amazon Rainforest inhabited by these uncontacted groups of Machiguengas, putting their survival in jeopardy.

The role of the Schneils, as members of Institute of Linguistics, put their purpose in question as they constantly view the “broken-spirited Machiguenga people” (*Storyteller* 81). The couple makes references to the tribal world using the words “nomad,” “redheaded gringos,” “copper colored children of the village talking and spitting” (83, 87). The Schneils shares their story of stay amongst the tribes with the first narrator with sharp contrasts

referring to clothes, food, and shelter. They tell less the tale of exploitation of the tribes and more of their own adaptation to the primitive ways:

They (linguists) lived, admittedly, in primitive conditions among the tribes, but at the same time they could rely on an infrastructure that protected them: planes, radio, doctors, medicines. . . . they wore clothes, while their hosts (tribals) went around naked, the linguists . . . lived in much the same way they did: in identical huts or virtually in the open air, in the most precarious of shelters, sharing the frugal diet and Spartan ways of the Indians. (87)

To Schneils, the language of the tribes “was an archaic tongue, vibrantly resonant and agglutinative” (*Storyteller* 86). The language used by tribals is questionably as per the western standardised grammar rules and numerology. Mrs. Scheil explains how the *Machiguenga* verb system is “complicated and misleading” and “humorous and unsettling”-

Just as the word for “many”-*tobaiti*- was used to express any quantity above four, “now” also included at least today and yesterday, and the present tense of verbs was frequently used to recount events in the recent past. (93)

So, translating the native tongue into western standards raises the power of the Schneils in the mainstream. A Dominican missionary, Father Jose Pio Aza (the first to study their language) also maintained that “they were the last vestiges of a Pan-Amazonian civilization” (84). In contrast to the other linguists, the Schneils were also motivated by spiritual goal of “spreading the Glad Tidings of the Bible” (86). David Stoll in his study of assessing the role of SIL and Dr. Peter Townsend exploring the indigenous tribes remarks,

SIL communicates with indigenous religious sentiments through the shared belief in spiritual power, or magic. SIL's magic is a combination of prayer, written word, and

western medicine through which technological power is invested with spiritual authority and becomes a bridge to indigenous religiosity. (88)

The Scheneil's account of the tribes' mythology, beliefs, and customs suggest that they have always led a very hard life and a primitive one. The myth of the origin of the tribes by breath of god Tasurinchi, their association of "nomad life with the movement of the stars" (*Storyteller* 83), their self-inflicted deaths, archaic language, their potions of deadly poison, "their witch doctors" (83), exorcism, their "fatalism and timidity" (84) - all such descriptions confirm the uncivilized, mystical ways of the primitive tribes. Even, the concept of God also becomes that part of residual culture which technology laced missionaries would replace with their apostles. For *Machiguengas*,

God is air, water, food, a vital necessity, something without which life wouldn't be possible. They are more spiritual than we are. . . . That's why what the Institute is doing is so damaging, taking away their gods and replacing them with their own, an abstract God who's of no use to them at all in their daily life. The linguists are the smashers of idols of our time. (101)

In addition to this, the detailed account of Edwin Schneil and Mrs. Schneil about the *Machiguenga* artifacts makes the tribal world look more like a residual of some primitive land and robbed them of their independent culture. The *Machiguengas* keep "large and small monkey-skin drums (*Storyteller* 89). They play flutes and drums to produce "rich scale of sounds ranging from a shrill high note to a deep bass one" (89). Their jewellery seem most absurd as they wear headpieces of parrot, macaw, toucan, and cockatoo feathers set into circlets of wood (46). They poison their arrows and painted their bodies with dye tattoos. The Schneils wonder at the "river cosmogony of the Machiguengas, in which the Milky Way is the river Meshiareni, piled by innumerable great and minor gods in their descent from their

pantheon to the earth” (89). The tribes have their own witch doctors called seripigaris (the good ones), and machikanaris (the bad ones). *Machiguenga* society lacks any sort of authority. The tribes have their own small social structures with internal rival tribes who vary from each other on minor lifestyle issues. The only headmen they have are “imposed by the *Viracohas* set up by the Dominicans at the time of haciendas and the rubber camps, when the bosses designated one of them as cacique so as to control them more easily” (91).

The systematic knowledge gathered by the missionaries through research projects in the Amazonian Forest is a part of the broader umbrella mission to sustain in the gamut of domination. Institutes representing the dominance and superiority over indigenous groups through the tools of language and writing, ratified the biased views as the truth about the tribes. This ratification enabled the dominant to justify its civilizing agenda over the indigenes. Thus, when the institutionally ratified discourse identifies the mainstream elite class as the seat of civilisation and the tribes as the den of barbaric customs and vile rituals, it starts making eminent sense that the mainstream should have control over the tribes not simply because it is intellectually profitable to them but also because it is the morally and ethically right thing to do (Foucault, “Order” 48-78).

The institutional ratification of the discourse about the tribes as a residual culture can also be examined in the writings which are referred to by the narrator while illuminating the origin of the tribes:

Except for a slim volume published in 1943 by a Dominican, Father Vicente de cenitagoya, and a few articles by other missionaries on their customs and their language, which had appeared in the journals of the Order, no serious ethnographic study of them existed. . . . their origin was a total mystery; their identity, blurred.

(*Storyteller* 81)

It is to be noticed that the mainstream develops its discourse about the tribes from a considerable distance even though the missionaries like Vicente de cenitagoya and Schneils have lived among them for more than twenty years. The Dominicans have frequently called the *Machiguengas* “savages and chided paternally for being childish, lazy, and drunken, as well as for their sorcery” (*Storyteller* 103) in their reports. Fray Vicente has called the tribes “nocturnal sabbaths” (103). Moreover, Fray’s book confirms that the tribes have unhealthy inclination towards listening to and telling stories, and they are incorrigible gossips. They seem to be “possessed by the demons of movement” (104). Due to these blandishments, the missionaries feel attracted as well as burdened to make the tribes settle down and to be accultured. “Polygamy, animism, head shrinking, and witch doctoring with tobacco brews” (*Storyteller* 24) do not represent a superior culture to the dominant. As Raymond Williams has explained the behaviour of the dominant to either exclude or include the residual, here too the missionaries start the process of assimilating the tribes into the mainstream. The mainstream seems swayed and gives the tribals:

Mirrors, food, seed: they taught them the advantages of living in a community, for their health, for their education, for their survival. . . . They seemed well on their way along the path of Christian civilization. (*Storyteller* 104)

Fray Elicerio Maluenda, another missionary who has stayed at Alto Urubamba, too produces a version of cosmogony of the tribes which is “full of complexities and Dantesque echoes” (*Storyteller* 105). To him, *Machiguengas* believe that Earth, *Kipacha*, is the centre of Cosmos and there are two regions above and below it. Above is *Inkite*, the domain of *Tasurinchi*, and below is region of the dead *Gamaironi*, the domain of *Kientibakori*. The earth is the abode of the *Machiguengas*. Now, the question is “how much of this- and the many other details that Fray Maluenda had given me- was true” (106)? This version of Fray

Maluenda is more or less inspired by the intellectual curiosity as well as the institutional ratification. The mythological tales and indigenous lores have been exploited by the dominant to subjugate an otherwise rich heritage of the ancestral knowledge. Thus, the voices that are “contrived sounded all wrong” (106).

After institutional ratification and development project of Linguistics, the Catholic mission launched by whites and *mestizos* from Santa Maria de Nieve at the village Urakusa can be analysed as a part of RSA (repressive state apparatus) used by the dominant. Urakusa was inhabited by the Aguaruna tribe. The catholic mission included the “civil authorities of the settlement plus a soldier from a frontier post. . . . Then they burned down the huts of Urakusa, beat up all the Indians they could lay their hands on, and raped several women” (*Storyteller* 74). All the projects and reforms are, thus, backed by political motives and economic power to “make the Amazonian Indians into good Westerners, good modern men, good capitalists, good Christians of the Reformed Church? . . . Just to wipe their culture, their gods, their institutions off the map and corrupt even their dreams” (97). Thus, the narrative of progress and development has served the purpose of creating an illusion of civilization. The first narrator in the novel raised the need to civilize the primitive culture, asking:

Should sixteen million Peruvians renounce the natural resources of three-quarters of their national territory so that seventy or eighty thousand Indians could quietly go on shooting at each other with bows and arrows, shrinking heads and worshipping boa constrictors? Should we forgo the agricultural, cattle-raising, and commercial potential of the region so that the world’s ethnologists could enjoy studying at first hand kinship ties, potlatches, the rites of puberty, marriage and death that these human oddities had been practicing, virtually unchanged, for hundreds of years? (22-23)

These questions point out the loopholes of the primitive culture and thus, at once, justify the process of assimilating the tribes into the modern Peruvian structure.

Another mean which has been executed by Llosa to mark the identity of the *Machiguengas* is the geographical description of their abode. The geographical surrounding adds up to the justification of civilizing mission by the dominant. To dominant, the tribals live in an unhygienic surrounding with no sense of safety and permanent settlement. Even Saul's version of the story of the tribes is not free from Western standards. In his dream, Saul creates a highly dramatized and romanticized view of the tribal surroundings which are influenced by mainstream's standards. When Saul meets the seripigari (witch doctor) of Segakiato where *Machiguengas* live, he describes the dark world with:

Muddy water, dead animals, jumbled islets of roofs, huts, branches, and canoes. Here and there, men half eaten by piranhas and other river creatures. There were great clouds of mosquitoes, and water spiders crawling over my body (*Storyteller* 118).

Even Saul's narratives about the tribes, being a *hablador*, is also not free from exotification. When he leaves the mainstream urban Peru behind, and hails the life of *hablador*, his narrative with *Tasurinchi* of the *Machiguengas* involves biased perspective. The social mannerism, dresses and food habits of the tribals affect the understanding of tribals' culture for Saul. The inclusion or exclusion of the primitive and residual tendencies of the tribes is possible only through the civilizing mission. Unfortunately, the dominant has excluded much of the residual and turned the tribes into detestable beings only to establish their own cultural supremacy over them.

Moreso, the cultural supremacy of the mainstream is also supported by the economic structure of Peruvian society. Social relations of production "like a magic wand" (*Storyteller* 77) primarily explain the servitude of the tribes and dominance of the national mainstream.

The narrator in conversation with Matos Mar opines that “the problem of Urakusas, that of all the tribes, should be seen as part of the general problem resulting from the class structure of Peruvian Society” (78). Their conversation supports the actual socio-political facts of 1950s Peru. Belaúnde's government piloted reforms at that time in Peru when there were widespread expectations raised throughout Latin America under the presidency of John F. Kennedy at USA. Hudson Rex while giving an account of rural stagnation in Peru describes how “Belaunde tried to diffuse the growing unrest in the highlands through a three- pronged approach: modest agrarian reform, colonization projects in the high jungle or Montana, and the construction of the north- south Jungle Border, running the entire length of the country along the jungle fringe”. Belaunde was himself a planner and thus, under his rule the national development reforms “embarked on a large number of construction projects, including irrigation, transportation, and housing, while also investing heavily in education” (Hudson).

Thus, the economic structure and the relations of social production in the Peruvian society relies on urbanization and industrial bloom. There are White-Fathers and Dominicans who depend on the residual primitive culture for trade of animal skins, for land required for agriculture, for fish in the Amazonian rivers, and for healing herbs. The novel refers to the era of “rubber bloom” and “tree-bleeding” as the only source to match up the industrial demand. There are “timber me” who are in the business of cutting down the trees. The dominant traders like Hipolito exploit the internal rivalries among the tribes and turn the innocent men of the jungle against each other. The *Viracochas* and the mountain people who have come down from the Andes to conquer the jungle have been assigned the tasks “to clear the woods with fires that burn over enormous areas of land, which after one or two crops become barren” (*Storyteller* 24). There is a frantic greed for hides and skins of jaguars, lizards, pumas, snakes, and dozens of other species and the only source is the hunter tribes of the forest. The traders and White fathers hire the *Viracochas* “who were themselves nothing

more than a handful of miserable whites and mestizos, most of them illiterate and barefoot, living in conditions nearly as wretched as those of their victims (76). The *Viracochas* track down the members of other tribes like *Machiguenga*, *Ashaninkas*, *Piros*, and carry them to the urban camps which are made to bleed trees and tote rubber. The *Viracochas* hired by the authorities act as RSA to grab land. The tribes are hunted down and “nobody believed anybody, the sons suspecting that their fathers would hunt them, and the fathers thinking the sons would cast them in chains” (139).

Thus, the tribals are trapped as slaves and workers losing their individuality as people of *jungle* in the economic class hierarchy of the mainstream. Saul explains, the tribes:

Their gentle and docile nature had made them choice victims of the rubber boom, during the great manhunts to provide Indian labor for the rubber camps, at which time the tribe had been literally decimated and on the point of disappearing. (*Storyteller* 80)

The dominants, like Fidel Pereira, exploit the inside-rivalries among tribes and divides the tribes via geographical boundaries too. A dividing line, whose chief topographical feature was the Pongo de Mainique, separated the *Machiguengas* – “a wooded region below the high sierra where whites and mestizos were numerous- from the *Machiguengas* of the eastern region, on the far side of the Pongo” (*Storyteller* 79). The *Machiguengas* who were in contact with the white and mestizo world “had begun the process of acculturation” (80). The Dominicans had established missions such as- *Chirumbia*, *koribeni*, and *Panticollo*- among the tribes to assimilate them as per the economic and political interests. There were also *Viracocha* farms where a few *Machiguengas* worked as “hired hands” (80). Then there are the Creoles, who hire the *Viracochas* to do fishing with dynamite. The tribes do fishing with *barbascos* and *cumo*, only at certain times of a year, and never do in the spawning season.

But Creoles make the *Viracochas* poison the rivers to meet the urban demands. The *Viracochas* are also exploiting the river resources for gold “digging up earth and stones, with their hands, poles, picks (137). The introduction of the concept of economy, money, and capitalism among the tribes has drained the forest of its precious natural treasure. These natural resources are the base of the tribal life that has been snatched from the tribals on the pretext of development.

To add, land seizing by the government authorities for national projects and growing agriculture are the major reasons for the extinction and disappearance of tribes. Forest land with all its resources is the abode of the *Machiguengas* and other tribes. But the continuous excavation and afforestation by contractors, and military forces have made these tribes to leave their natural abode and walk. The tribes “have always been leaving because someone was coming. . . . But they’ve always come and they’ve always wanted to stay” (*Storyteller* 138).

Furthermore, the mainstream exploits the fault lines prevalent in the tribal sub-cultures for the process of assimilating or diluting the tribes in the dominant one. The tribes do have polygamy, animism, and strange rituals. There is a tendency of physical perfectionism among the tribes. Arawak tribes are known for killing their own children if their babies are born “with physical defects, lame, maimed, blind, with more or fewer fingers than usual or a harelip. . . . Anybody would naturally be shocked by such customs” (*Storyteller* 25). The tribes of Aguarunas and the Huambisas tear out their daughters’ hymen at her menarche and eat it. The tradition of slavery exists in many tribes for times unknown. Even some communities let the old people die at the first signs of weakness. All these offensive customs give the dominant an assumed right to kill the tribes off.

One of the fault lines of tribal culture is the treatment of the tribal women within their own culture as a primitive residual. The status of tribal women in their own community gives the dominant a chance to intervene and ‘civilize’ their behavior. The tribal women have accepted the custom of polygamy and live their lives pleasing *Tasurinchi*(s) by hunting animals, carrying the heaviest load of cassavas from the fields, and even killing each other for survival. They can be easily bought by the men trading a sachavaca, and a sack of maize. When they bleed, they stay “locked up, not speaking a word to her kinfolk” (*Storyteller* 114). The different mythological tales are woven around the wicked tribal girls who are shape-shifters and considered ‘itoni’: a devil. The tribal women are depicted to give births not only to dead babies but to toads and lizards as well sometimes. The abode of the tribals seems “dark . . . full of toads and armadillos: Damp earth that rots plants” (49). The women skinned armadillos, roasted its meat and cut it up in small chunks.

Nation-states are primarily predicated upon control mechanics for equitable distribution of resources. A second and relative motive has been the security of the home state. Myth of progress and development is the third possible reason due to which nations are in competition like individuals. All these reasons collide and contribute to the annihilation of indigenous sub-culture that existed in Peru. The national projects of modernization like educating the tribes, providing them with housing facilities and medical apparatus, introducing them to the industrial machinery and fishery equipments, etc. are the civilizing apparatuses serving the purpose of the dominant by making the tribes a low-class ‘other’ subservient in the socio-economic structure. The dominant tactfully knits the narrative that:

If the price to be paid for development and industrialization for the sixteen million Peruvians meant that those few thousands naked Indians would have to cut their hair,

wash off their tattoos, and becoming mestizos- or, to use ethnologists' most detested word, become accultured-well, there was no way round it. (*Storyteller* 23)

This dominant structure of Peruvian society engages in the brutal act of neglecting the indigenous tribes residing in their natural abode, the forest. The national projects “with planes, penicillin, vaccination, and whatever else is needed to destroy the jungle” (*Storyteller* 101) fail to safeguard the rights and interests of the tribes. Mao, commenting on the national bourgeoisie which arises in Third World countries says, it “is a class with a dual character” (320). On one side there is rise of capitalism initiated by foreign settlers or invaders and in these countries and on the other side, there is also parallel presence of pre-capitalist modes too like feudalism. This national bourgeoisie “has ties with both, and therefore vacillates, particularly when confronted by a more revolutionary force, namely the peasantry or working class” (320). Such dual characteristic of nationalism becomes blind to the real national sentiment of getting rid of the foreign influence. Rather, in the name of nationalism, the hideous crime of exploiting the national resources begins. Thus, Saul Zuratas calls out loud that:

What is being done in the Amazon is a crime. There is no justification for it, whatever way you look at it. . . . they have been driven out of their lands for centuries, pushed farther into the interior each time, farther and farther. The extraordinary thing is that, despite so many disasters, they have not disappeared. They are still there, surviving.
(20)

To understand Peru as a nation, it is important to recognize the *Machiguengas* as an integral part of the nation. As per the historical account given by Ling Raj, “the Machiguengas are indigenous to the jungles of South-eastern Peru and the border region of Peru with Bolivia and Brazil. Along with much of South America, their culture was severely

put under strain by the arrival of the Europeans.” At the time of the Spanish invasion, the Andes and Incas who were living to the west of the *Machiguengas*, “fled to the jungles inhabited by the Machiguengas and other Campas” and most probably became Peruvian indigenous groups who subsisted on “hunting, fishing, gathering, and migrant agriculture.” There were also a few tribes which got assimilated by the Spanish and European conquerors. From the earliest years, Spanish soldiers and colonists intermarried with the indigenous women giving rise to mixed race, *mestizos* which gradually became a sizeable portion of the mainstream Peruvian population. (Raj).

In 1824, Peru became free from the control of Spanish power. Independence brings reforms and development in its wake under the leadership of great political leaders. But with the arrival of General Odria in the politics of Peru in 1950s, the expansion of the nation began. This expansion brought rick in the lives of indigenous tribes and *mestizos*. Odria passed projects of housing in the name of improving the conditions of tribes. However, this housing schemes prod the indigenous people further into distress. Their housings were cramped, and poorly constructed. They were removed from the land and jobs they knew. And till this day there is no fall in the number of their troubles. Jenna Scanlon in her thesis on indigenous communities of Peru, gives a detailed account of the difference between the indigenous people of Peru and Peru as a Nation. She remarks, “since the time of their conquest by the Spanish, native tribes have struggled to live and hold on to the rich culture and practices of their ancestors. The state has made this ever more difficult by taking away their lands, relocating them and pushing for their assimilation into western Peruvian society” (Scanlon 14-15). Thus, Peruvian indigenous tribes are considered the primitive and seen as residual culture by the mainstream nationals of Peru.

Among the indigenous tribes, “the Machiguengas,” as Ling Raj asserts in his article, “traditionally are the believers of the divinity and sacredness of the nature and forest around them.” They believe the forest is there to nurture them, and flora and fauna is working in harmony to sustain everything in the world. “Their shamans” (which are called seripigaris in the novel) “are able to heal their people by harnessing the qualities of local herbs, plants and minerals which they use to manipulate animal spirits.” They have their own herb lores, mythological evil and good spirits, their rituals and customs to support their survival system. They use plant “ayahuasca to manipulate and control powerful jaguar spirits.” They roam the Amazon Rainforest, “migrating from forest to forest on a seasonal basis”, painting their bodies with dye and tattoos, and wear cushmas woven from cotton. Once they exhausted the resources of a given area, they would move on in search of new resources. Their regular diet consisted of local rodents, fish and cassava.”

The same description of the *Machiguengas* is drawn in the novel, but from two emergent perspectives. The first is narrator’s perspective who celebrates the dominant projects to assimilate this residual native culture into the dominant. The second is Saul’s perspective who takes a journey into the residual culture as a storyteller to be assimilated himself into it and interprets this residual culture as once self-reliant dominant one. Both in their narration of the tribal world have used residual markers like their physical appearance, food, clothes, color, tattoos, weapons, geographical surroundings, and their myths and lores.

The first residual indicator of the tribes is their existence “from time immemorial” living “between the wide, slow rivers, dressed in loincloths and marked with tattoos, worshipping the spirits of trees, snakes, clouds, and lightning” (*Storyteller* 13). They are ‘pagans’ who are constantly forced to adopt a refined modern religion. The *Machiguengas* consider themselves as men of earth and “the hesitant sun of earth came and went, its survival

mythically linked to the conduct of the Machiguengas” (106). This paganism is preceded by another residual marker, their tattoos and symbols. The geometric designs on their bodies, utensils, and their cushmas, which seem residual to the dominant, are actually not fanciful or decorative. These are their formulas and spells to protect themselves from evil gods, animals, and insects. These designs are also markers of their social status in their own community. They paint x-shape design in a half circle like Saint Andrew’s cross to indicate death.

One more residual tendency is their ‘storytelling’ and myths. They have their legends of witch doctors (seripigaris), good gods, and evil gods. Their history, life, social mannerism, all depend upon their lores. Their faith in Nature and in the co-relation between human behaviour and natural calamities is based on their age-old wisdom transmitting through oral stories. To the tribes, “A man throwing a fit overflow, and a murder make lightning burn down the village” (*Storyteller* 11). In fact, through such myths they keep in check the law and order in their daily lives. All the lores of this residual culture have their core in the fact that, “if an evil occurs on the earth, it’s because people have stopped paying attention to earth, because they do not look after it the way it ought to be looked after” (226). To them, any sort of emotional upheaval has to be controlled, for there is fatal correspondence between spirit of man and the spirits of Nature.

On one side, all the myths and oral stories in the novel challenge the reasoning faculty of the dominant. This side is fairly introduced by the narrator. On the other side, myths and beliefs try to save the existence of the tribals and help them to keep harmony with Nature. Saul Zuratas brings into light the importance of residual myths and oral stories in the lives of the tribes. He explains at length “the wisdom born of long practice which had allowed them, through an elaborate system of rites, taboos, fears, and routines, perpetuated and passed on

from father to son, to preserve that Nature . . . they depended for subsistence” (*Storyteller* 27).

Moreover, the tribes have their own oral animal literature as well as herb literature. They wear necklaces made of animal bones, capybarah teeth, monkey femurs, majaz fangs, caterpillar skins, to scare away evil sorcerer, the machikanari. The evil sorcerers are those who abduct the tribals into timber and rubber camps and also spread flu and epidemics. The peculiar feature of this residual culture is Entomology. Without having any scientific degree, the tribals know, “the one that lives on giant reeds, the chakokieni, is good; the one that lives on lupana is bad. The one that lives on rotten tree trunk, the shigopi, is good, and also . . . the kororo, sweetens the mouth, relieves hunger, and brings untroubled sleep” (*Storyteller* 190). The healing properties of cassava, datura, and brews of herbs help them to sustain forest life:

This leaf, the one with burned edges, is for stopping up jaguar’s nostrils, so it can’t catch the scent of the man who walks. This other one, the yellow one, wards off vipers. There are so many of them. . . . Each one has a different use. Against evil and strangers. (136)

The myth of “walking” (43) makes the tribes nomads for the dominant. A force more powerful, “an ancestral instinct impelled them irresistibly toward a life of wandering, scattered them through the tangled virgin forests” (*Storyteller* 104). The *Machiguengas* live among trees, near rivers and after using resources of a particular area in the jungle, they start walking in search of some other piece of land. Their habits and customs, which are labelled as ‘exotic’ and ‘savage’ by the mainstream, are in accordance with the rhythms and requirements of the natural world. Saul Zuratas in his meetings with different Tasurinchi(s) listens to the mythological tales which indicate that the *Machiguengas* are born to walk. If they would not walk, they will be consumed by the evil god, kientibokari for not obliging the

law of forest. In fact, these evil gods are no one else than the mainstream who are exploiting both the tribals and the nature. The tribals have equated the evils of the mainstream like capitalism, tree cutting, fishing with dynamite, animal skin trading with the deeds committed by their folk evil gods in their mythological tales like “*kamagarinis*” (51) who is responsible for diseases, and “*Kachiborerine*” (122) a god of anger who is responsible for destroying forests. These tales serve as fair warning against the atrocities of the mainstream. The mythological tales warn against the process of assimilation of the tribes into the mainstream. To them, *kamagarinis* (evil gods) take the shape of White Fathers and *Viracochas* and corrupt the tribal world with diseases “Achoo! Achoo!” (53) and make the tribals sick. The tale told by blind *Tasurinchi* about the corruption of his son who fell in the trap of *Viracochas* symbolises the fatal consequences of assimilating the tribes into the dominant culture. All the myths, oral traditions and customs are part of the “memory” of the tribals which “rearranges the past to fit the present” (95).

Additionally, under the tendency of developing one dominant national culture, the heterogeneous sub-culture of the tribes seen as residues have suffered extinction eventually. This is similar to the earlier view of the Peruvian Marxist, Jose Carlos Mariategui, writing in the 1920s. In his essay “The Problem of Land,” he remarks, “Its one hundred years as a republic, Peru has not had a genuine bourgeois class, a true capitalist class.” There “does not exist and never has existed in Peru a progressive bourgeoisie, endowed with national feelings, that claims to be liberal and democratic and that derives its policy from the postulates of its doctrine” (30-32). The tribes related to these native sub-cultures goes through the process of assimilation which is one of the highest forms of acculturation under the homogenizing mission leading to identity crisis and marginalization.

Nationality is the homogenous basis of civil solidarity. But an important challenge to the nation-state is from the ethnic and other minorities (Nayar, *Cultural Theory* 103). Nation is a social formation where the dominant group is mainstream/majority and the dominated section is ethnic minorities which are given the identity of 'the other' within nation under the ideology of homogenization and nationalism. In the early modern era, the idea of nation as an aggregate of people linked by co-residence or common sociocultural characteristics took political and cultural connotations in struggles with and between states and over state-building. This led to the distinctively modern invocation of nationalism as "a theory of political legitimacy, which requires that ethnic boundaries should not cut across political ones, and, in particular, that ethnic boundaries within a given state—a contingency already excluded by the principle in its general formulation—should not separate the power-holders from the rest" (Gellner 1).

In other words, nation is supposedly unified— an ideology that ignores through a process of homogenization, all cultural, ethnic and regional differences. United Nations Development Program (UNDP) report of 2004 on Culture and Democracy states, "The state's typical response to cultural differences is suppression and assimilation—to build a homogeneous nation" (40). Policies of assimilation – often involving outright suppression of the identities of ethnic, religious or linguistic groups – try to erode the cultural differences between groups. Policies of integration seek to assert a single national identity by attempting to eliminate ethno-national and cultural differences from the public and political arena, while allowing them in the private domain. In nation state, the minorities are asked to believe in the ideal of the nation even when the nation does not respect their cultural rights, or solve their problems. Any attempt to seek cultural rights or protection or recognition is seen and treated as a threat to the nation itself. This Nationalism is itself an emerging process constructed

through a process of exclusion and marginalisation of the tribals and aboriginals. Saul explains,

The fact that they had been displaced at frequent intervals by more warlike tribes and by whites- during the various booms: the rubber, gold, rosewood, and agriculture colonization “fevers”- towards ever more unhealthy and infertile regions, where the survival of a large group was impossible, had accentuated their fragmentation and brought on the development among them of an individualism bordering on anarchy (*Storyteller* 82).

Take the case of *Viracochas*. They were once the natives too, but the era of industrialization has turned them into lesser beings. The white-fathers, people who are echelons of power having economic base, have acculturated these *Viracochas* by lacing them with delusional technology. They have provided the *Viracochas* guns and knives to build cabins in the forest and cut down the trees, a harpoon to fish with. The *Viracochas* now want to bleed their fellow tribes like they bleed trees. The Peruvian government would never ever grant the tribes extraterritorial rights in the *jungle*. So, the easiest way to grab territory is to “change the *Viracochas*,” (*Storyteller* 77) and assimilate them under the control of the mainstream.

In traditional sense, ‘assimilation’ is a process in which formerly distinct and separate groups come to share a common culture and merge together socially. This concept was stimulated by the massive immigration from Europe to the United States that occurred between the 1820s and the 1920s. American sociologists have developed a rich body of theories and concepts based on the assimilation experiences of the immigrants. For instance, Robert Park explains assimilation in the sense that when groups first come into contact (through immigration, conquest, etc.), relations are conflicting and competitive. Eventually

however, the process or cycle moves towards assimilation and the “interpenetration and fusion” of groups. (Park 735). Milton Gordon in his book *Assimilation in American Life* has defined cultural assimilation in the sense that members of the minority group learn the culture of the dominant group which may include (as necessary) learning the English language, changing eating habits, adopting new value systems, and altering the spelling of the family surname. Though the concept has its roots in anthropology and sociology, it has been applied by cultural critics to identify and understand the process whereby individuals or groups of differing ethnic heritage are absorbed into the dominant culture of a society. One form of assimilation is expressed in the metaphor of the ‘melting pot’, a process in which different groups come together and contribute in roughly equal amounts to create a common culture and a new, unique society. Although it is a powerful image in our society, the melting pot is not an accurate description of how assimilation actually proceeded. Some groups—especially the racial minority groups and indigenous groups- have been largely excluded from the melting process (Abrahamson 152-54).

This assimilation is an illusion in Marxist terminology supported by ISA (the ideological state apparatuses) like media, religion, and education etc. The attempts of the missionaries to teach the tribals and to spread the doctrines of evangelic Church among the tribes are part of implementing ideological state apparatuses. The dedicated episode on Indian tribes in Peru in the TV program *Tower of Babel* directed by narrator and his friends also serves as ideological state apparatus. It is “political reporting and a documentary on the Indian tribes of Amazonia” (*Storyteller* 147). The information given in the program by narrator is entertaining and instructive. It celebrates the work of assimilation and acculturation of the tribes done by linguists and religious missionaries. The episode traces the results of national bloom and efforts of missionaries, due to which the tribes are “less

reluctant- the ones who lived in communities, at any rate- to try out novelties, to progress . . .” (162). There is emergence of “New World” and “New Light:”

The diaspora- little groups scattered here and there with virtually no contact between them, each one fighting desperately for survival- was over. . . . After many efforts on the part of the authorities, Catholic missionaries, anthropologists, ethnologists, and the Institute itself, the Machiguengas had begun to accept the idea of forming villages, of coming together in places suitable for working the soil, breeding animals, and developing trade relations with the rest of Peru. Things were evolving . . . New World and New Light. (161)

Like many tribes, the documentary by the narrator shows that the *Machiguengas* are ceasing to be primitive tribes. They are in the middle of the process of acculturation in which they are leaving the age-old folklores, myths, and their forest-norms, language, habits, living style, dresses, and mannerism on way to modernization. They have the Bible, bilingual schools, an evangelical leader, private property, and the value of money, trade, and Western clothes. But, the same ideological apparatus of TV documentary also subverts the structure and intention of the well-educated, civilized, dominant class of Peru. Though the residual indigenes were “handful of tragic, indomitable beings” (*Storyteller* 163) that society was breaking into tiny families who were fleeing “from whites, mestizos, mountain people, and from other tribes during the civilizing and development mission, yet they were not giving up their language, their gods, their customs” (164). The emerging trends of anthropologists, ethnologists and Christian missionaries have reduced the existence of tribes to a settlement controlled by the departments of Cusco and Madre de Dios. From free and sovereign savages, the tribes have turned into “zombies” (163) and caricatures of Westerners. Thus, the

emerging trend of the missionaries to make the tribes an integral part of Peru is certainly diminishing the very identity of the tribes:

Do our cars, guns, planes, and Coca-Colas give us the right to exterminate them because they do not have such things? Or do you believe in ‘civilizing the savages,’ pal? How? By making soldiers of them? By putting them to work on the farms as slaves to Creoles like Fidel Pereira? By forcing them to change their language, their religion, and their customs, the way the missionaries are trying to do? What’s to be gained by that? Being able to exploit them more easily, that’s all. (26)

The entire emergent “World” and “Light” are driven by the intellectual curiosity of institutional ratification, political and economic motives, and personal vendettas. Saul Zuratas scrutinizes the work of assimilation of missionaries and linguists. He says,

They work their way into the tribes to destroy them from within, just like chiggers. Into their spirit, their beliefs, their subconscious, the roots of their way of being. The others steal their vital space and exploit them or push them farther into the interior. (*Storyteller* 95)

The work of assimilation is not restricted to ISA like media, documentaries, books, reports of the missionaries, rather also involves the changing political-economic scenario of Peru. The assimilation which was started with missionaries during industrial bloom of fishery, rubber business, animal-skin trading reaches to oil well camps, drug trafficking, coca plantations, laboratories, secret landing strips, and gang rivalries of Colombian and Peruvians. This assimilation has led to periodical reconnoitring by the Army and even bombardment by the Air force. Thus, the process of assimilation is like ever emerging process indicating ‘emergents’ as per Raymond Williams’s model.

However, the work of assimilation is again a two-way traffic. The missionaries and linguists also suffer losses, “half dead of hunger, and, what’s more, a very few of them. They live in such need they are in no state to evangelize anybody, luckily” (*Storyteller* 96). The tribes are also suggested to face violent resistance from the tribes. As cultural critic Paul Gilroy has pointed out, “When national and ethnic identities are represented and projected as pure, exposure to difference threatens them with dilution and compromises their prized purities with the ever-present possibility of contamination. Crossing as mixture and movement must be guarded against.” (105). Saul mentions the story of Jibaro tribe who are responsible for the death of three American Protestant Church missionaries whose “corpses, beheaded and pierced with arrows, had been found by a military patrol. Since the Jibaros are headhunters, the reason for the decapitation was obvious” (101). But Saul, as an assimilated member into the tribes, explains this act of cruelty as a means to defence:

They kill out of necessity. When they feel threatened, when it is a question of kill or be killed. Or when they are hungry. But the Jibaros aren’t cannibals. They did not kill them to eat them. The missionaries either said something or did something that suddenly made the Jibaros feel they were in great danger (102).

Unlike the ethnographers and linguists who explore the aborigines for professional or rational reasons, Saul’s motive is intimate and emotional. It is an act of respect, faith, and love. Saul Zuratas is a true ‘emergent’ as a “Black Legend” (*Storyteller* 33) for the dominant, and as a *hablador* for the residual in the novel. Saul Zuratas is the part of the mainstream, but belonging to a race and religion of immigrants different from mainstream, a Jew. He has a “dark birthmark, the color of wine dregs, that covered the entire right side of his face” (8). He is that product of the process of acculturation, who has rejected his own Jewish sub-culture and also the dominant culture. His assimilation does not include the acceptance of the

dominant culture, rather he adopts the residual tribal culture, and suggests a clear-cut separation of the tribes from the mainstream.

Saul Zuratas is a citizen of Lima only, but born of a refugee family. His father Don Salomon was from Talara and his mother was a Creole. Saul as a student of ethnology at San Marcos is quite fascinated by the world of tribes in Amazonian Forest. He takes up research projects and travels into the Amazon Forest and one day he rejects his relationship with the so-called nationals of Peru. To narrator, “Surely more emotional than rational, an act of love rather than intellectual curiosity or the appetite for adventure that seemed to lurk” (*Storyteller* 16). Saul’s attitude “toward this new calling, the devotion he manifested for the world of the Amazon,” is the “subject of conjecture” (16) at San Marcos.

Saul turns out to be an emergent during his trips “erasing all other concerns from his mind and turning him into a man with a fixation” (*Storyteller* 21) in the regions of Cusco and Madre de Dios. He identifies his own Jewish origin with the Amazonian Indians in terms of minority who are “always persecuted for their religion and their mores that are different from those of the rest of society” and calls it “Frankenstein syndrome. To each mad man his own mania” (28). His physical features make him a culturally hybrid emergent among the students of San Marcos who is neither fully a tribal, nor a national:

That bright red hair, with its wild, uncombed tuft on the crown of his head, flaming and unruly, dancing above his bipartite face, the untouched side of its pale and freckled. . . . never spotted him wearing a tie. He always wore cheap coarse cotton sport shirts, over which he threw some bright-colored sweater in winter, and faded, wrinkled jeans. His heavy shoes never saw a brush. . . . no one ever heard, from his own lips, what was happening to him and what he intended to do. (35-36)

Saul adopts the role of *Hablador*: a speaker among the *Machiguengas* which fully establishes him as a ‘hybrid emergent’. The alternative chapters in the novel talking about the tales of different Tasurinchi, discussing their myths, herb lores, animal tales, value of rivers, invasions of *Viracochas* and White Fathers, consequences of assimilation, their mannerism, laws of jungle, and their story of origin eventually comes out to be Saul Zuratas’s version.

Being a storyteller means:

Being able to feel and live in the very heart of that culture, mens having penetrated its essence, reach the marrow of its history and mythology, given body to its taboos, images, ancestral desires, and terrors. It means being, in the most profound way possible, a rooted Machiguenga, one of that ancient lineage . . . constituting something fraternal and solid. (244)

Getting rid of his boredom at Church being a Jew and literary disappointments as an Ethnologist, Saul adopts this role “. . . making long journeys of days or weeks, bringing stories from one group of Machiguengas to another . . . reminding each member of the tribe that the others were alive” (*Storyteller* 93). He speaks about the tribes with such enthusiasm even at Marcos as if he is a voice among the *Machiguengas* himself, “an Indigenist to the nth degree” (99). He goes back “from trousers and tie to a loincloth and tattoos, from Spanish to the agglutinative crackling of Machiguengas, from reason to magic and from a monotheistic religion or Western agnosticism to pagan animalism, is a feat hard to swallow, though still possible” (244).

The very outset of the novel, refers to *hablador* in a photograph clicked by Malfati which catches the attention of the narrator reminding him of its association with his friend Saul. The word is uttered “with a great show of respect by all the Machiguengas” (*Storyteller*

91). The missionaries have assumed that the *hablador(es)* “must be something like the courier service of the community”:

Messengers who went from one settlement to another in the vast territory over which the Machiguengas were dispersed, relating to some what the others were doing, keeping them informed of the happenings, the fortunes and misfortunes of the brothers. . . . They spoke. Their mouths were the connecting links of this society that fight for survival. . . . Thanks to the habladores, fathers had news of their sons, brothers of their sisters, and thanks to them they were all kept informed of the deaths, births, and other happenings in the tribe. (92)

Saul Zuratas as an emergent also suggests a clear separation of the tribes from the mainstream Peruvian culture. He deciphers the social conduct codes of the tribes by being part of them, and opines that “. . . these cultures must be respected . . . the only way to respect them is not to go near them. Not touch them. Our culture is too strong, too aggressive. It devours everything it touches. They must be left alone” (98-99).

But his noble intentions become questionable at the time when he moved to the indigenous world because of his unacceptance by the mainstream. The ‘ugly’ birth mark on his face maintains his identity as “Mascarita- Mask Face” (*Storyteller* 8) among the mainstream as he resembles the tribes. He is “the ugliest lad” (8). His non-acceptance in the mainstream on the basis of his physical features and his warm, respectable acceptance by the tribes indicate the politics of equality. It suggests as if the tribals are as “ugly” as Zuratas:

Both he and they were anomalies in the eyes of other Peruvians. His birthmark aroused in, in us, the same feelings, deep down, as those creatures living somewhere far away, half naked, eating each other’s lice and speaking incomprehensible dialects. . . . Had he unconsciously identified with those marginal beings because of the

birthmark that made him, too, a marginal being, every time he went out on the streets?
(28)

Further, the difference between the dominant culture of Peru and the sub-culture of refugees (emigrants) in the Peru also aggregates Saul's selection of the tribal world over the dominant one. He says, one of the interpretations of his interest in the tribes is that "being half Jewish and half monster has made me more sensitive to the fate of the jungle tribes" and the narrator's response to this is, "poor jungle tribes! You are using them for a crying towel" (28-29).

Saul has heard at home, at school, in the synagogue stories of "persecution and of dispersion, of attempts by more powerful cultures to stamp out Jewish faith, language, and customs" which the Jewish people have resisted for long. Thus apparently, an equation is drawn between the Jews and the Amazonian tribes and Saul Zuratas emerges as a Jew "prepared than most people to defend the rights of the minority cultures. (99)

Saul's identification neither with the Peruvians, nor with the Jews, but "with small, marginal, nomadic community" is because of the fact that

He was a Jewish, a member of another community which had also been a wandering, marginal throughout its history, a pariah among the world's societies, like the Machiguengas in Peru, grafted on them, yet not assimilated and never entirely accepted. (243)

More so, Saul could not leave behind the western dominant discourses upon which his entire life has been built. He does not idealise them and says, "If the question is posed in terms of infant mortality, the status of women, polygamy or monogamy, handcrafts or

industry”, then the *Machiguengas* may be an “inferior” form of culture (*Storyteller* 24). Saul towards the end acts as a superior while living within the tribe. Thus, his choice is not an act of favour in protecting and preserving the tribal values or life, but his own escapism from the mainstream.

The character of Saul provides an accurate critical appraisal of tribal legends by revealing ancient customs instituted by primitive men. The adoption of nature owes its origin to mythological conceptions. He recounts the interpretation of tribal beliefs in a more philosophical way. But it is wrong to understand that Saul is a representative of integrated conception of combining tribal culture and White culture. It is also terribly wrong to understand that he achieves spiritual communion with tribal characters. He can communicate with them and he also conducts a journey through the harsh terrain of the land as a ‘speaker’ only. Persuading himself on the false notion that he can become tribal, he indulges in self denial. With a profound desire to be accepted by the tribals he speaks the native language and performs native customs. This kind of spiritual reconciliation proves to be illogical as it is shadowed by the inflated sense of own importance.

Besides Saul, the first narrator (author) exoticizing and institutionally ratifying the discourse about the *Machiguengas* and *hablador*, subverts his own stance being part of the dominant. He appears to be a rising ‘emergent’ who wants to document the trials and tribulations of the *jungle* people from the perspective of Saul, the storyteller. He considers Saul “for twenty years, a great stimulus for my own work, a source of inspiration and an example I would have liked to emulate (*Storyteller* 174). From the perspective of first narrator, the condition of the acculturated tribes in “New World” and “New Light” as a part of progress shunned the myth of progress. As a true emergent he irrevocably asks: “What effect has all this had on Machiguengas people?” Do they exist after getting assimilated into

the mainstream? Do the emerging tendencies in the name of Nationalism address their real identity?

It is adequate to go with the words of Ling Raj to trace the true identity of the *Machiguenga* tribe that “since the 1960’s, missionaries have moved into jungle outposts close to the tribes.” In many ways, “the lives of the Machiguengas have been totally transformed and turned up-side down. Some anthropologists believe that new religion, new diseases, new value system, new ethics and new morality mean that the old ways are dying rapidly.” Further, Ling Raj points out that “critics say that these indigenous Amazonians are no longer allowed to feel proud of their history, ancestry or culture. Other anthropologists point out that indigenous cultures are adaptable and are capable of adapting to a modern world, provided that core cultural values and their native language remain intact.”

To sum up, in the play of the dominant, residual and emergent cultural tendencies, the tribes are always at loss. Gradual and systematic destruction of the weaker culture by the dominant is inevitable. The path to modernisation is rather a path to the extinction:

Irreversible disruptive mechanism of this contradictory civilization, represented by the high wages paid by Shell and Petro Peru, the coffers stuffed full of dollars from the drug trade, and the risks of being drawn into the bloody wars of smugglers, guerrilleros, police, and soldiers, without having the faintest idea of what the deadly game is about. . . . They were invaded by the Inca armies, the explorers, the Spanish conquistadors and missionaries, the rubber and wood traders in the days of the Republic, the gold prospectors and the twentieth century immigrants. For the Machiguengas history marches neither forward nor backward: it goes around and in circles, repeat itself. (*Storyteller* 240)

Since, social and political institutes have sought to portray the tribals and aboriginals as nationals, the irony is in the process through which these institutes keep them apart as ‘others’ within one nation. The individuality of *Machiguenga* tribe in their own nation has been demolished cruelly by the power tactics of the dominant elite. The process of co-optation is not entirely honest: for socially, culturally, and even physically, the mainstream nationals want the tribals and indigenes to remain their ‘other’. This homogenising exclusivity of the nation state meant that throughout history marginal as well as assimilated voices have been silenced, though their bodies have been working. The mainstream national culture of learning alienated them from learning the exploitative ideologies. Rather, the mission of educating and training of the tribes is used as tools for incorporating the innocent apolitical lives into a politicised dominant structure. Thus, the dominant narrative of Nation state in Peru needs to be interrogated for the ways in which it concentrates power- and therefore culture- in the hands of a few and stamp the tribes as ‘the other’.

The forms of acculturation in Amazonia are maleficent for tribes: integration leads to exploitation at the hands of the dominant; assimilation leads to loss of real identity; and ultimately there is downgrading of the tribes as they are sans voice, sans learning, sans class, and sans refined social manners. Only separation is suggested:

We know now what an atrocity bringing progress, trying to modernize a primitive people, is. Quite simply, it wipes them out. Let’s not commit this crime. Let’s leave them with their arrows, their feathers, their loincloths. . . . you realise it’s not right to call them barbarians or backward. Their culture is adequate for their environment and for the conditions they live in. (*Storyteller* 100)

Chapter 5

Evaluating the Selfhood of African Tribes in Abdulrazak Gurnah's *Paradise*

Abdulrazak Gurnah, born in Zanzibar, Tanzania, is an acclaimed novelist having authored several novels. Born in Zanzibar Island, he moved to Britain in 1968 and later became professor in the Department of English at University of Kent. Famously known for his expertise in colonial and postcolonial studies, Gurnah has authored many novels depicting these conflicts vis a vis Africa, the Caribbean and India as setting. He has been awarded prestigious Nobel Prize for literature in 2021 for his uncompromising and compassionate penetration of the effects of colonialism and the fate of the refugee in the gulf between cultures and continents. *Memory of Departure*, *Dottie*, *Paradise*, *By the Sea*, the recent book *Afterlives* are a few novels; *Paradise* was shortlisted for Booker and Whitbread Prize, and *Destination* was longlisted for Booker and shortlisted for *Los Angeles Times* Book Award. The current chapter dwells on Abdulrazak Gurnah's *Paradise* scrutinizing and evaluating it through Raymond Williams's configuration of identity discourse on three praxis- dominant, residual, and emergent. As discussed in the previous chapters in detail, Williams's discourse of identity leaves the scope open wide to textual evaluation combining these variables for a better understanding of how identity is being shaped and dismantled involving different structures influencing them.

The objective of the chapter is to deconstruct the colonial problematics of South African lives, particularly Tanzanian selfhood from postcolonial view point; weighing the magnitude collectively formed by colonial yoke and pre-colonial ill-practices within the region. The project seeks to examine the transformation of identity in relation to Raymond Williams's discourse categorizing it into three realms- dominant, residual and emergent; however, the identity will not be separately studied on this praxis, rather collectively in

association with postcolonial perspective, as it posits serious threat of repetition. The previous chapters have delved into the depth of theoretical understanding of Raymond William's conception of identity and how it evolves, mixes, transforms; how these three constructs seep into the one another, one forming the other's substance. Therefore, the chapter does not delve into theoretical realms nor does it deviate at the same time from its stipulated framework; but attempts at fathoming into the dynamics of identity and its evolution in relation to colonial and postcolonial constructs.

In postcolonial and postmodern era, colonialism is criticized, evaluated and deconstructed in various forms and lights by scholars from various parts of the world, especially by those who bore its brunt. The appropriation of selfhood of local African tribes by taking over the cultural as well as economic and political institutions, by portraying them as savage, primitive and uncivilized prominently figured in every realm. The inception of colonialism may be roughly traced back to fifteenth century, although, European industrialization and so to say, its modernization set it on a global journey to exercise their power on the vulnerable countries and colonized them. People from European colonies are awry of the fact that it was a brutal exercise that left more than half of the world scarred in utter destitution by plundering natural resources. The very way of life is demeaned for being uncivilized in western parlance, thus the process of alteration takes place on the pretext of civilizing it. Both power and knowledge were brought into practice to strengthen their hold on foreign land; to ridicule and downplay indigenous knowledge and culture. Michel Foucault, the famous postmodernist scholar aligns parallels between power and knowledge in the course of subjugation in terms of power relation in "Power and knowledge directly imply one another. . . . There is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations" (*Discipline and Punish* 27).

In postcolonial phase, the political, economic, cultural, and linguistic consciousness thwarted the established colonial residual of ill-notions, the scholars from across the colonies started deconstructing the dominant appropriation of their culture and identity. The colonial views started being questioned and toppled by reclaiming and celebrating their original culture, tradition and ethnicity. Predominantly, the scholars from Asia, Africa, Australia, and several other continents and colonies took over themselves the responsibility of redeeming their identity. Through fiction and non-fiction, philosophical and political discourses, the writers and philosophers depicted colonial predicaments and refuted colonial ideology. Abdulrazak Gurnah's works are one of those postcolonial thinkers who shoulder the responsibility to redeem their cultural and national identity. In all his works, Gurnah locates inter-cultural and inter-religious problematics within the South-African locales of his setting, and blends them with colonial ones in order to weigh the accurate magnitude of the sufferings by the general masses.

Gurnah's narrative of colonization, runs parallelly on dual principal of internal and external, thus, it is studied scrutinizing internal dynamics of colonization of the natives by their own people and later colonization by the outsiders without finding a difficulty in establishing colonial set up as the foundation for it was already ripe. Gurnah's narrative, henceforth, is distinctly unique for having given a vivid background of pre-colonial Tanzania, penetrating into how the local administration was headed by the tribal headmen and merchants which gave rise to slavery. It encouraged incarceration of natives, which was taken advantage of by Europeans.

Gurnah's *Paradise* depicts slavery ridden pre-colonial Tanzania and the perception of natives and native tribes towards West and rest of the world beyond it. It casts a boy named Yusuf who is sold as a slave by his father to a businessman from the south, whom he

owes huge sum of money that he had borrowed to set up his start up business. As a compensation for the failed hotel business, Yusuf is taken as a slave to work for Aziz for the rest of his life. The narrative unfolds to us several wrinkled facets such as slavery in pre-colonial phase that was prevalent in the region, which in colonial phase becomes epicenter of slave business. Yusuf gets to meet Khalil, yet another slave who works for Aziz and looks after his sister who was brought along with him and later became Aziz's mistress; and learns about various shades of life and perceptions about it from different angles. Through Khalil, Yusuf gets to learn about the ways of town life and the wretchedness it conceived.

Aziz, on the other hand, takes trade caravans to the mountains and beyond for trade with the local people in exchange for valuable products. Each time he constitutes a team of porters and armed guards and ventures into the mountain. Aziz's borrowers are at various places he visits; he confiscates their children in case of failed repayment and makes them work for him as slaves. Yusuf is also taken along during his last but grand caravan to the farthest places beyond the sea. Wherever they go, they witness that the Europeans have reached before them, hence the trade with the people has become difficult as a result of their apprehension to entertain foreigners. The caravan returns with a huge loss and Aziz himself is buried under debt from his creditors; besides, the future prospects of trade and such expeditions also look bleak. The lives of slaves are depicted to be left in utter uncertainty as their families and parents have either died or have been displaced.

Paradise showcases an Islamic society as a dominant cultural structure whose selfhood majorly consists of beliefs about the world. These beliefs are shaped by the mythological or scriptural knowledge, equating the insiders and outsiders, good and bad. The concept of hell and heaven and the concept of garden are played around to give an in-depth

overview of their mental conditioning. The motifs of heaven, hell, and garden also bring out the residues of Islamic culture.

Commenting on *Paradise*, Jacobs draws a parallel between Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* and Gurnah's *Paradise* in his paper titled "Trading Places in Abdulrazak Gurnah's *Paradise*" and says that Gurnah's narrative is about "the last of the great East African trading caravans retraces one of the major trading routes from the coast into the interior around the Great Lakes, which in the nineteenth century had become one of the axes of the slave trade" (77). Furthermore, he asserts that Gurnah in his fictional transaction with *Heart of Darkness* "shows in *Paradise* that the corruption of trade into subjugation and enslavement pre-dates European colonis[z]ation [*sic*], and that in East Africa servitude and slavery have always been woven into a social fabric" (77).

Fawzia Mustafa like Jacobs, in his paper titled "Gurnah and Naipaul: Intersections of *Paradise* and *A Bend in the River*" associates Gurnah's narrative not only with *Heart of Darkness* but also with Qur'anic and Biblical material and call the narrative to be a saga of "disenfranchisement, slavery, liberation, and triumphant reconciliation long predating the modern history of slavery, indenture, abolition, and emancipation" (234). He says, with these parallels, "Gurnah disrupts the historical clock, unsettling the complacency of an uncritical anticolonialism of rigid binaries and its counterdiscursive ripostes" (234).

A major construct that is evidently dominant in the narrative is a perpetual contest of power between the dominant structures; although, apparently flat in nature as there are hardly any traces of resistance from the subjugated. The subjugation is considered to be natural phenomenon on every clime. The subjects submit themselves to the dominant forces owing to their vulnerability. The slaves are basically the children of those who owed something to the businessmen like Aziz; they have lost their family, hence, any motif of returning to their

families; thus, resistance on their part is scarcely evidenced in the narrative. Nevertheless, the power struggle is manifested as a contest amongst the dominant structures, those who have significant wealth to lose or gain.

As both, slavery and colonization are two dominant structures in Gurnah's narrative, these are constant threat to the natural identity of the characters in an attempt to manufacture one for them. These dominant variables are thinly interconnected with regards to their relation to the identity discourse. Conceived by the merchants and the affluent business class, slavery is construed as a socially accepted phenomenon in order to neutralize it as a compensation for their debts. Normally, the slaves are little children, who have not seen and understood the world and their own existence in it; therefore, their slavery at an early age gives their predators enough time and space to manufacture a convenient identity for them as a part of psychological colonization. They are a community of slave diaspora within their own country.

Today, in a postcolonial world, we witness a community of diaspora spread across the globe as colonial residual. These people were either exported from their native lands as slaves or indentured labourers, merely a disguised legal form of slavery. For instance, Fiji consists of more than thirty five percent of people of the Indian origin who were transported to Fiji by government sponsored contractors as indentured labourers in colonial phase and left there forever. They were promised lucrative lands and wages, however, a hoax to entrap them; in addition, they were promised a free return passage after the completion of the contract of ten years. The same happened with those who were transported to the other parts of the world including South Africa, Australia, and several other European colonies. It is though astonishing in a postcolonial world that Britain still has several oversea territories, indirectly being governed by it- yet another colonial residual.

There is no limit or a frame of time stipulation that would promise these slaves freedom, rather their bondage is a lifetime indenture labour. Thus, Gurnah's novel maps a geographically located phase of slavery which has otherwise been used by the European forces to their advantage. He educates us in an artistic way as to how the existing evils in a society later benefit the colonial cause. It reminds Chinua Achebe's description of the loopholes within Igbo society of Nigeria in his debut novel *Things Fall Apart*.

Gurnah's Tanzanian saga of slavery also helps us understand the paradigmatic structure of slavery being exploited by the internal as well as external dominants. The world that we are introduced to with a setting in predominantly pre-colonial phase, or partially colonial; we later see that the region becomes a hotbed for the slave business worldwide, to the advantage of Europeans. We witness later as to how in countries like the United States, slaves are a common domestic help and their children open to every abuse. *12 Years a Slave*, a movie about a gripping life story of an artist who is held hostage as a slave for twelve years exposes the evil of slavery. From labour to resources, everything is plundered ruthlessly, leaving these colonies in a poor state after minting exponential material gain.

The European colonization of the region in the novel is depicted on a superficial level. We come across the smattering instances that the characters have either come across, or heard of. Initially, it is the xenophobic description of the Germans, depicted as magical beings; later, it is the direct encounter with them, majorly one during Yusuf's expedition to the savage tribal world, another after their return to the coast.

While both the slavery and the colonization tend to be the same, they are two different stages of a process. While slavery works as a tool of colonization, colonization is a wider ideological process reflected through slavery on a minor scale. It can also be taken to be the

milder form of colonization in abstract sense, but European colonization of masses is a different phenomenon.

As far as their relation to identity in the novel is concerned, both manufacture as well as topple the identity of characters as dominant social structures. Aziz in the novel, represents the class of capitalist traders who wield power through their resources over the vulnerable class; and gives birth to a diasporic community of slaves. Above Aziz comes another dominant structure of the Europeans who now destroy and re-configure the identities of his class; in a way, restructuring the dynamics of identity and power. This can be understood on two praxes as a power struggle between two forces- one at the level of Aziz and Tribal headmen, another at the level of the colonizers- an absolute and unquestionable authority. Europeans sweep the entire authority over to their side with a privilege of power absolutism as we see in a description in the novel:

The European had the power over the chiefs of the savage tribes, whom he none the less admired for their cruelty and implacability. To him they were noble people, hardy and graceful, even beautiful. It was said that the European possessed the ring with which he could summon the spirits of the land to his service. None of his domain prowled prides of lions which had an unquestionable craving for human flesh, yet they never approached the European unless they were called. (Gurnah, *Paradise* 62-63)

The ones who were in the topmost echelon of power structure until now, lose their dominance and find their own identity in crisis. The residual tendencies that they are left with of their previous stature, make their pain even worse. On the other hand, the colonizers tend to take control of every business and land by converting everything to their feasibility. The business that was being controlled and operated by the local businessmen and heads of the

tribe, is taken control over; land rights are snatched; civil rights are curbed; in fact, everything is taken over. Yusuf notices that the Europeans had also taken control over the farms- “European farmers came into the town in their trucks and ox carts, for supplies and to conduct their mysterious business. They had no eyes for anyone, and strode about with a look of loathing” (*Paradise* 69).

Over a discussion amongst the traders, through Yusuf, Gurnah gives a vivid account of the process of colonization which starts with a penetration in the name of trade as happened in India with the arrival of East India Company; then through religious conversion by Christian missionaries that is illustrated in Chinua Achebe’s famous novel *Things Fall Apart*. Achebe depicts vividly the penetration of the African society by Christian missionaries, making people believe that their local gods were irrelevant; and therefore, they had come to save them through conversion. Those like Okonkwo who protested are dealt with ruthless Oppressive State Apparatus and persecuted.

Likewise, through a discussion among the traders we get the glimpses of a similar process in Tanzania. The traders say that they faced Europeans wherever they travelled; for they travelled to the nook and cranny of the country as well as outside; the colonizers were a common site who had reached everywhere before them. They had deputed officials and other staff who would convince people that “they had come to save them from their enemies, who only sought to make slaves of them . . . as if no other trade had been heard of” (*Paradise* 72). Gurnah ridicules their ruthlessness and unquenchable hunger for plunder with the description that they could eat anything or everything, and that “their appetite has no limit or decency, like a plague of locusts” (72). They taxed people for everything or else were meted with as severe punishment, as cruel as hanging.

The ideology is manufactured at several levels by bringing into place a system that scares and frightens people. Gurnah tells us that the first thing that these people did was construction of jails, then churches and trade centers, and in the end, they would build a house to live in: “The first thing that they build is a lock-up, then a church, then a market-shed so they can keep the trade under their eyes and then tax it . . . even before they build a house for themselves to live in” (*Paradise* 72).

The major construct of inferior identity here on the pretext of external colonization is the realization as well as acceptance of higher power structure. The dominant consent is manufactured by the emergent fear instilled by xenophobia that threatens the third world with its draconian technological, scientific and ethnic superiority; as a result, the natives give in even before resisting. Such a politics is better explained by B. Dirks in his essay “Colonialism and Culture” says:

Although colonial conquest was predicated on the power of superior arms, military organization, political power and economic wealth, it was also based on complexly related varieties of cultural technology. Colonialism not only has had cultural effects that have too often been either ignored or displaced into the inexorable logics of modernization and world capitalism, it was itself a cultural project of control.

(Ashcroft et al. *Post-colonial Reader* 58)

Thus, in *Paradise*, we come across two-pronged colonization- internal and external; internal by the dominant native class, for instance merchants whose profit relies more on slavery; the external refers to the European colonization of South African countries, whereby they are being governed by the foreign forces. The categorization of colonization in *Paradise* is imperative as Gurnah deliberately delineates colonization in two phases; but go hand in hand in the later stage. Probably his attempts are to expose the governing dynamics of

colonialism on whatever praxis they perform, regardless of geographical location, color or the ethnicity of the colonizers. Hence, B. Dirks' deliberation here offers an insight into the performative role of those dynamics in establishing colonial empire.

Dirks delves into the innermost strategic dynamics of colonial project and exposes the powerful tools it governs with. Referring to "superior arms and military organization", he stresses on the exponential scientific advancement of European countries that served as major tool in curbing the consent of their subjects by spreading fear and terror; however, the military power is strengthened by the local administration that they have established, while superior weapons are their indigenous advancement. Importantly, the local administrative mechanism they devise and then strengthen on far-flung foreign land, is the end result of the second stage that Dirks calls "political power and economic wealth" (58). It is used to influence and bribe the natives to build an oppressive state apparatus in order to manufacture consent coercively if not voluntarily. The wealth is first used to fancy people with lucrative trade deals, then they are forced to sell them their land a property; the local governing bodies like merchants and tribal headmen are the first victims of this business. Once, they are sold about, the whole land and its people fall prey to the same. In the narrative, *Paradise*, the European colonialism used ethnicity and religious conversions as ideological paraphernalia on the pretext of the only way to salvation. The orthodoxies are spread and then denominated into consent.

Interestingly, Gurnah offers us an angle to evaluate internal colonialism also in the same light as European colonialism. In his narrative, working on the same paradigm, it is the subjugation of the powerless by the powerful; of the poor by the wealthy; of uncivilized by civilized. The only difference is that Europeans are replaced by the locals. Aziz's trade expeditions into the wild mountainous regions give us an in-depth account of the affairs.

Being wealthy and powerful, he first buys weapons, and then the whole army to assist him in his cause; then he would form a class of micro businessmen, rather shopkeepers as his borrowers; eventually robbing them of their children as his slaves and their little daughters as his mistresses. The inside corruption that Gurnah reveals is no less ruthless than the colonial one. His supremacy is predominantly established by the power of cultural legacy that people in the south think to be superior over the people from the mountains, who are considered to be the 'savage others', exactly the same way the colonizers treat them later. Modernization and civilization, the means of power and largely seen as capitalist cult, the prerogative of the dominant class.

Economic wealth, political power, cultural technologies, military power, modernization and capitalism, all the tools are put into practice in almost a similar way. Although, interesting of all is the base formula of the implementation at the inceptive stage; both surface on the pretext of business with the locals, confer upon them generous debts, then colonize them; profusely evident from Yusuf's, Amina's and Khalil's life accounts. Their fathers too fall prey to the same trade with business aspirations like gamblers.

Coming back to Raymond Williams' conception of identity vis a vis colonization phenomenon on the discussed praxis, it works on dual principle with the same configuration. Khalil's and Yusuf's fathers aspired business success is their emergent identity, a construct to get rid of their poverty-stricken residual; is eventually dominated by their present life crisis in the form of business failure. Their progeny on the other hand is meted out with pre-ordained 'dominant' in the garb of slavery. The residual of their family determines their dominant, wherein, their emergent as slaves is a perpetual uncertainty, for they have no say of their own. The whole course of their identity is carved out by their masters; in fact, their life, by and large, is their earned property.

The dominant structures are often located to be in a perennial conflict for ensued power struggle- the merchants struggle to negotiate as well as win over the tribal heads for a free and profitable trade; on the other hand, the tribal heads try to curb their trade and seek more and more presents to satiate their lust for wealth. More than often, they resort to violence to take control over one another and to benefit from the enterprise. However collectively, their identity configuration takes the same course, whereby their residual- their legacy of dominance, strengthens their dominant, their stature as controlling powers in the society. Nevertheless, their 'emergent' is their tragedy caused by the rupture of their dominant in the wake of Europeans' arrival. Therefore, the identity configuration in *Paradise*, more or less, is structured on the basis of class consciousness, for class factor in the novel is a major determinant with regards to one's position in the society.

The colonialist attitude of the Europeans is often feared to mean cultural destruction and misrepresentation. It is unstoppable even after its acknowledgement by the natives, for the exercise of political, economic, and material power makes it easier to them. However, this aspiration is fueled by the counter acknowledgement by the European of the fact that the natives are vulnerable enough to be ruled; and therefore, their lust for power rises by leap and bound. The African colonization in the novel takes place in spite of natives' prior knowledge of its ill-intentions and repercussions. The conversation among Hussein, Hamid and Kalasingha manifests these fears and apprehensions vividly as they translate the uncontested subjugation by the Europeans as the marked end of their cultural heritage and personal freedom. Hussein, expressing his fears and concerns over their shadowed emergent in the wake of colonialism,

Everything is in turmoil. These Europeans are very determined, and as they fight over the prosperity of the earth, they will crush all of us. You'd be a fool to think

they're here to do anything that is good. It isn't trade that they are after, but the land itself. And everything in it . . . us. (*Paradise* 86)

Hussein fears that they will ruin them along with their culture and “they want the whole world . . . we'll lose everything, including the way we live” (*Paradise* 87). The fears become a reality soon afterwards as the lust for power and wealth overpowers the overdetermination of the occupants. Their dominance is furthermore emboldened by the unimagined success of their political mechanism that they exercise over the occupied.

The cultural destruction that Hussein fears is multifarious in nature as its contours are as vast as literature, culture, history, and civilization itself. The institutional ratification via re-writing of literature and re-articulation of culture; and their further translation as uncivilized and savage, change the entire course of identity and its emergent repercussions in the form of its appropriation. The similar apprehension is invoked by Hussein as he imagines their futuristic depiction- “When they write about us, what will they say? That we made slaves” (*Paradise* 88). Historiography as a tool of identity appropriation and cultural misrepresentation, is exploited to the hilt, as a western prerogative in order to ridicule native way of life, way of thinking and cultural legacy. The already persistent evils work as residue to be altered by the dominant. Slavery is used as weapon to cement the ill-conceived notions. While in pre-colonial era the slavery is relished as cultural luxury by the dominant class, as a residual tendency, it is perpetuated by the colonizers for their advantage; and therefore, slaves from South Africa are sold as far off as European countries. Thus, Gurnah's novel is a rare amalgam of native African cultural evils and the foreign subjugation and its eventual ramifications.

Moreso, Gurnah has evoked the motifs of displacement and dislocation within the play of residual and emergent tendencies. The displacements and dislocations in *Paradise* not

only surface and resurface as plot intricacies, but also affect Gurnah's narrative as happens in most of the postmodern narratives. Being an expert of colonial and postcolonial discourses, he deliberately imbibes these elements to depict the complications of the subject matter and the multifarious subjugation of his characters. The narrative maps the contours of colonization in South Africa both before and after colonization.

In order to unveil multi-faceted contours of subjugation, Gurnah has situated his characters in different locations in order to give a clearer picture of pre-colonial African world, particularly the one that he has been raised into. His characters are moved from location to location, and passed on from one hand into another in order that kaleidoscopic view of actual affairs could be presented. From the mountains to the coastal areas, from coastal to the hill and even beyond, and to the world beyond the sea; the characters are made wandering prophets dispensing first-hand account of affairs. While they are located within a slavery dominated world, they bring to us the news of the smattering happenings of European colonization that is spreading its wings and taking control over the land and sea.

Yusuf's past plays a significant role in shaping his character and identity, wherein his dislocations and dislocations play a pivotal role. Having come from a place thought of as savage and uncivilized, his education begins all over again. He starts visiting mosque with Khalil and later when he is working for Hamid and learns the ways of 'civilized Muslim life'. With the shift in place and space, he gains wisdom and discovers significant changes in his character and identity. The entire journey from his childhood to his expeditions to new lands and people play an important role in shaping his 'being' - his dominant self. From a docile naïve lad, he is transformed into an opinionated being to an extent that he is ready to resist his colonization by Aziz and plans to run away with his mistress, Amina. This shift is brought about by the whole course of his entire life journey.

Aziz, on the other hand, is shaped by the past and his relocations, from an ordinary self into a revered as well as envied being. In spite of Zulekha's physical ailment, he marries her for the sake of wealth and prosperity. Taking advantage of the wealth he incurs; he grows his trade manifold and becomes a famous trader to the farthest region. Similarly, Khalid and Amina are both the victims of their past, whereby they have been bonded for their life; so are all other slaves. Their displacement is the transformant of their identity, reconfiguring it tremendously. Likewise, the past and displacements have a significant role to play in configuring and disfiguring cultural as well as individual identities in the novel. Abdulrazak Gurnah uses them as metaphors and as prominent constructs of cultural identity.

However, we observe that Yusuf is depicted as an observant character who hardly ever comments or compliments over anyone's character or identity, rather he keeps introspecting his own journey and observes people and their way of life. With each passing displacement, his nostalgia too undergoes a transformation. In the initial phase of his first displacement, it is his mother and her scent that makes him cry like a child in the night darkness; later at Hamid's, it is Khalid's memory and of the coast and his customers; and lastly, it blends with that of Amina. Thus, the nostalgia as an everlasting shade of displacements, ushers Yusuf in a state of persistent struggle to cope with his 'being' in an in-between state; for everywhere, he is a second-hand citizen.

H. W. Longfellow's poem, "The Slaves Dream," where freedom as a dream is attained by the protagonist only after his death; what remains with him as a living man is the memory of his home and the dream of freedom; offers a mind-boggling state of being of a slave. Longfellow showcases the powerfulness of the memory and dream which can survive and overcome the wretchedness of slavery. The similar overdose of nostalgia seems to work

as an alcoholic hangover on Yusuf as well. In a state of displaced identity, he is forced to usher into a refuge of memory:

Nervous and combative, hemmed in from all sides and dependent. Stranded in the middle of nowhere. He thought of his ceaseless banter with the customers, and his impossible cheerfulness, and knew that it only disguised hidden wounds. Like Kalasinga, a thousand miles from home. Like all of them, stuck in one smelly place or another, infested by longing and comforted by visions of lost wholeness. (*Paradise* 175)

This perpetual state of in-betweenness, eventually arouses in him a sense of repulsion and revolt against his subjugation by Aziz. In a matter of time, like Longfellow's protagonist, he too becomes fearless of the repercussions he would have to bear as a matter of disobedience. He is fearless to blossom an affair with Aziz's mistress. When he is manipulated by Zulekha, Aziz's elder wife, he is ready to confront Aziz, in spite of Khalil's suggestion to run. When Aziz is comforting him with a truce for whatever happened, he muzzles his feeling of revolt and mutters within the words he wants to speak as a speech of disobedience- "I want to take her away. It was wrong of you to marry her. To abuse her as if she has nothing which belongs to her. To own people the way you own us" (*Paradise* 241).

Although Yusuf's targeted speech is for the sake of Amina, his new found love; it actually is the pent-up resistance within him that wants to counter the authority of his master. This is the acknowledgement of his own oppression and of his beloved ones, which is evoked by his knowledge of the world and the acknowledgement of his 'self' as a being, rather than a slave. Undoubtedly, the entire journey of his evolution is to be owed to his displacements and dislocations that not only makes him discover the world for himself, but also his own self.

The formation of selfhood in *Paradise* relies heavily upon the location of individuals vis a vis space, place and landscape. Either it is the residual that forms the perceptions of identity and likewise eventual treatment, as happens in the case of Yusuf's Mother and his neighbours; or the emergent which is entirely based on myths, the perceptions about the Germans in particular. The southern region is generally considered to be the epicenter of civilization. Yusuf's father gives himself an air of superiority for he has migrated from south to the mountains. With his residual superiority-complex, he maltreats his wife and neighbours as uncivilized to an extent that he does not permit Yusuf play with the children of his age. They are termed 'savage' as Gemmy and the natives in *Remembering Babylon*. He would often ridicule them and their faith by saying: " 'We are surrounded by these savages' . . . 'Washenzi, who have no faith in God and who worship spirits and demons which live in tree and rocks'" (*Paradise* 6).

Astonishingly, we learn through Yusuf that the major cause why his father ill-treats his mother is because she comes from a tribal lineage and has been sold out to him for two goats and five sacks of beans: "She was the daughter of hill tribesman from the back of Taita who lived in a smoky hut and wore stinking goatskin, and thought five goats and two sacks of beans a good price for any woman" (*Paradise* 13). Her patriarchal domestication forms the larger whole of her identity which by and large, hinges on her residual identity that is manipulated in order to downgrade her. He would often cite his previous family (the previous marriage) as an example of illustrate decent. He would even threaten her that "If anything happens to you, they'll sell me another one like you from their pens" (30). The mother is expected to endure it all for "She was not to give herself air because she had grown up on the coast among civilized people" (13). Thus, here Yusuf's mother and the tribal community are an instance of communal and racial victimization on the account of identity politics where the slave trade plays a prominent role in configuration of identity. People are judged, mis-judged,

their identities manufactured on the basis of where they come from and what their social status is.

Everyone or everything unknown is labelled to be savage, the people from the mountains in particular; the tribal culture and their way of life is subject to exotification. Yusuf, the protagonist, too climbs and descends several climes of identity configuration manufactured locating his place of origin or his situation within a space as slave. On his expedition to various places, there are certain facets that are added to it. Like a rolling snowball, it multiplies as a perennial 'emergent', however space, place, and landscape remain determining contributing variables.

When Yusuf is taken to the coastal area by Aziz as his slave, Khalil another slave who tends to Aziz's shop, calls him "Kifa urongo, living death" (*Paradise* 23). He would often mock his thin body and tell his customers that he looks so small and thin because "he's just come from the wild lands, back there behind the hills. They only have cassava and weeds to eat there. That's why he looks like living death". Evidently, Yusuf's appearance and his body texture is attributed to the wildness of the place of his origin and the food that is considered worthless. The place he comes from Khalid believes is wild, having layered connotation which not only expose the ideology of the dominant structure based on geographical location as southern Tanzanian region of the time was more prosperous than the tribal people in the mountains. It is believed that the people from the regions beyond mountains are demonic and uncivilized, a colonial hegemonic bent of mind in pre-colonial phase. Yusuf's identity in the course of his first displacement transforms significantly as he gets to learn from Khalid the ways of the world as he knew it, although to a limited extent. Thus, Yusuf is a savage who needs to be civilized as per his locations.

The first and the shocking revelation that startles Yusuf, and for a long time he is unable to cope with is the fact that Aziz is not his uncle but his master, and that he is his slave who probably will never be able to pay his father's debts and would not get to see his parents again. He wept in the darkness and cried in his sleep haunted by the scary visions and dreams. Owing to Khalil's tender love and care for him, he is able to rehabilitate; he comes to terms with his new identity of a slave, and gradually adopted to call Aziz *sayyid* instead of uncle as Khalil frequently told him to say. However, Yusuf is always bothered by the thought as to how much his father owed to Aziz, he reflected it once by asking Khalil the same question, but he too believed that it was not "honourable to ask" (*Paradise* 24). Yusuf also learns from Khalil how draconian the slavery system was and there were several wealthy predators who could lend money to small businessmen, when their business failed their children were taken away as slaves. Khalil once tells him, "You don't have a sister, maybe, or he'd have taken her" instead of him which was a common practice in such cases. Khalil's own sister, though not from the same blood, was taken away by Aziz and made his mistress.

Yusuf is forbidden to see and know several things, for instance, the mystery of inside the house where none but Khalil is allowed to go. Even the garden is a forbidden entry but Yusuf manages to get inside it in Aziz's absence and tends to the plants along with the old gardener who has been brought along with the elder mistress as a slave. Unquenching curiosity of Yusuf wanders across the walls and he compels Khalil to tell him who lived inside. After he learns about the older mistress with an immortal scar on her face, and that she wants to meet him, something that Khalil forbids; Yusuf has plenty of quarries to be answered. Since he is a dreamer, his heart lurks to enter the house to meet the mistress; and when he poses too many quarries about the woman in a casual manner Khalil is infuriated:

Khalil slapped him several times, and then punched him hard in the head. . . .
 You are her servant. I am her servant. Her slaves. Don't you use your head? You
 stupid Mswahili, you feeble idiot . . . she is sick. Don't you use your eyes? You are
 better off dead than alive. Are you going to let everything happen to you all the time?
 (*Paradise* 44)

Importantly, Khalil seems to have convincingly manufactured his false consciousness and accepted his status as a slave within the contours defined by his master, wherein, Yusuf tends to violate prescribed norms as a way of resistance to an extent that he is ready to run away with Aziz's younger mistress. Superficially he seems to have fit into the frames carved out for him, his consent remains his own till the end and prompts him to resist his subjugation.

Nevertheless, such a categorization is the end result of structural class consciousness which emanates from hierarchy established by superiority of place and race beside class factor. This structure is at work on different climes in the novel- Yusuf's father's subjugation of his neighbours, his own dominance by Aziz, Aziz's exploitation in the hands of tribal headmen, and their control by the Germans. On each paradigm, the variables owe to a confined space that the protagonists are remained aware of their position within it.

In terms of location and geographical sphere, a 'savage other' is manufactured in order to substantiate identity superiority in a binary play. The south is the only place considered to be civilized, the rest of the world is depicted to be the part of dark ages. Mohammed Abdalla, a close confidant of Aziz who assists him in all his trade journeys, announces to Yusuf that he was to see the difference between the world of the civilized and uncivilized through his journey with them into the savage world. He is told that he was being taken along to see for himself how the savage lived and how different they were from their

own world. “You’ll come and trade with us, and learn the difference between the ways of the civilization and the ways of uncivilized”, he says as he asks Yusuf to prepare himself for the journey (*Paradise* 52).

The mountainous regions in particular, suffer the brunt of misrepresentation and identity appropriation, nevertheless, the geographical understanding of these places to the African populace plays a significant role in the process. The mountains beyond lakes region are taken to be the marked geographical end, so does the places in the north and eastern parts. Hussein in the novel, gives a kaleidoscopic view of the such a geographical construct vis a vis identity binary:

Those mountains on the other side of the lake are the edge of the world we know. Beyond them the air has the colour of plague and pestilence, and the creatures who live in it are known only to God. The east and the north are known to us, as far as the land of China in the farthest east and to the ramparts of Gog and Magog in the north. (*Paradise* 83)

Keeping their own region at the epicenter, the world is confined to supernatural understanding; the nearest periphery is the mountains beyond the lake where the air is thick with disease; in the east, it is China; in the north, the land of supernatural creatures. Furthermore, Hussein gives a juxtaposed image of the west as well, which is antipodal to the human world. It is considered to be the land of “land of darkness, the lands of jinns and monsters” (*Paradise* 83).

However understandably, the conception of the west as non-human world might be impregnated by the very rumours of ruthlessness and savagery of the Europeans that they spread through colonization. Thus, Raymond William vis a vis identity and its cultural location can be located on dual pattern in *Paradise*- the first is formed by the Muslim ethnic

influence which also amalgamates with geographical constructs; the second is European imperialist and colonialist conception about the non-western world. The contest of identity revolves around myths of hell and haven, paradise and gates of fire.

Further, the garden and banishment are the recurrent metaphors that dominate the plot of the narrative. There are forbidden gardens, then disobedience, eventually leading to banishment; this can be understood on three-dimensional paradigm of dominant, residual, and emergent. Every character may be tested on these climes taking recourse to mythological references from the narrative.

Metaphorically, Yusuf finds all comforts and pleasures in the leisurely lap of his mother, his garden, his utopia; it comes to a rupture as a consequence of his father's disobedience of Aziz- the supreme authority; which leads to Yusuf's banishment from his world to Aziz's. His father's inability to pay the debt is liable to punishment-a forbidden act, and thus punished. Now that his lost paradise becomes his residual world; it is Aziz's Garden that resembles the garden of Islamic heaven, which casts a dominant spell on him. His mother's lap is replaced by the cozy shades of pomegranate trees in the garden, however, his disobedience to enter into the forbidden garden is punished with another banishment. He is banished to the mountains during one of Aziz's trade expeditions and kept slave with a shopkeeper named Hamid. Here again, Yusuf starts blossoming an affair with his daughter that he forbidden to, which again causes his castigation. This time, he is taken along by Aziz on one of the biggest expeditions to the farthest wild world, but eventually brought back to his coastal home which awaits Yusuf's final banishment; however, we are left baffled as to what the banishment is.

After an arduous and life-risking expedition, Yusuf starts tending to the garden again. As he is demanded to be in the house to meet Aziz's older mistress Zulekha, he falls in love

with his younger mistress Amina, yet another disobedience; however, we are left perplexed in the end as what banishment Yusuf is awarded for this disobedience. Each of Yusuf's banishments shapes and restructures his identity in terms of his dominant, residual and emergent; predominantly his emergent, for it is perpetually transformant.

Similarly, Khalil and Amina like many other slaves suffer their banishments for the disobedience of their father. Yusuf's mother's trade for the sake of goats and beans is her father's disgraceful act that her husband often taunts her for. The greatest banishment of all comes with the colonization that thwarts the stalwart businessmen and tribal heads into a frenzy of everlasting exile within their homes and country. The agony of banishment is best conveyed through an episode of Yusuf's departure on his first second expulsion: "He felt as if he was being banished, and felt accused of a betrayal he did not comprehend. Khalil pulled him near and held him in a long embrace and then let him go. 'it's better for you,' he said" (*Paradise* 53).

Everybody's dominant is always in a constant emergent; it keeps shaping and restructuring with a perpetual shift in place and space, although, their 'residual' is the end product of a historical phenomenon, which cannot be seen in isolation. The past intervention is significant in making of the present dominant, thus, the present identity is construction of its past. Stuart Hall elaborates this historical construct of cultural identity precisely in "Cultural Identity and Diaspora", defining how the present condition is a matter of 'becoming' - which again is a historical process:

In the second sense, is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'. It belongs to the future as much as to the past. It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have

histories but like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. (Ashcroft et al. *Post-Colonial Reader* 435)

Thus, Hall draws a connection between three dimensions of time, namely past present and future which collates with Raymond William's dominant, residual and emergent. The same may be linked to geographical as well as emotional dimensions as Hall suggests. While 'becoming' is essentially an evolution, a residual seeping into dominant and emergent; 'being' is essentially the end culmination, a 'dominant'; however, in the perpetual transformation as an 'emergent'. Certainly, cultural identities have past and a history involved, which is a dominant construct of 'being'.

In addition to the variable of locations which is being exoticised to justify slavery, the myths and lores are also incorporated in the mechanism of slavery. Myth and paradise are determinant narrative tools, used by Gurnah interchangeably in order to showcase the psychological, ethnic, spiritual, and paradoxical characteristics of his characters; partially put into practice to ridicule the both- parochial shallowness of locals, and superfluous ruthless superiority of the Europeans. Both are used as metaphors of aspirations and their eventual rupture in the hands of dual-faceted colonization.

There are several myths about the Germans that are circulated around. They are perceived to be demigods or demons who cannot be destroyed by the fire of the hell. There is a feeling of awe if someone has seen a German who is considered to have come from another world, antipodal to the natives. One of the boys in Yusuf's neighbourhood tells boys that his father had seen a German put his hand in blazing fire without getting burnt "as if he were a phantom" (*Paradise* 7). The 'other' is formed taking view of one's geo-ethnic location, whereby everything beyond the known world is 'savage' and demonic. There is a distinction

also amongst the things, places and people in the known world on the basis of their situation in the mythical sphere.

The myth serves as a metaphor as much as paradise in each individual's life; in fact, they cannot be studied without their perspectivization in this light, for we get a deeper and significant insight into all sort of realms. The most knowledge, understanding and the comprehension of Gurnah's *Paradise* world (the Tanzanian population in particular and the South African population at large) is depicted to have been influenced and shaped by religious association, Islamic in particular.

Most of the characters in the novel, having come from Islamic background, root their understanding of the world in *Quran* and Islamic mythology. Their understanding of hell and heaven and their situation in real life is reflected through various referents offered by the narrative. Aziz's garden is metaphorically depicted as a prototype of Islamic paradise; however, it ridicules orthodoxical conviction about Islam, particularly the pollutant aspects that tarnish its piousness. The debate encircling the garden and paradise, revolves around inter-religious mythological understanding of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity, although, Islam occupies the center stage. Aziz's garden is described as what can be associated with all three religions, yet, Islamic association is prominently inherent:

the garden was divided into quarters, with a pool in the centre and water channels running off it in the four directions. The quadrants were planted with trees and bushes, some of them in flowers . . . Beyond the pool, towards the top end of the garden, the ground rose into a terrace planted with poppies, yellow roses and jasmine, scattered to resemble natural growth. . . . Orange and pomegranate trees were scattered in parts of the garden. (*Paradise* 42-43)

The description of Aziz's Garden resembles that of Islamic paradise we find illustrated description in Hamid's narration to Yusuf that it is divided by four rivers flowing in four directions. The only insertion is that of seven terraces that we are unable to locate in Aziz's Garden. Kalasigha, an Indian Punjabi, contradicts the location of paradise and mockingly asserts that it exists in Kashmir, India, for most of its descriptions match Shalimar Bagh, a Mughal Garden with terraces, however not exactly with seven terraces. Gurnah delineates several contradictions detesting specificity established by orthodoxy and counter claims.

The myth of paradise and hell is the dominant present of most of the characters in the novel; it is like a reversible prop, a utopia inside dystopia and vice versa. Yusuf's life away from his family as a slave is a living hell which comes in conflict with the paradise- Aziz's garden that he seeks transitory refuge in. The heavenly fragrance of flowers and fruits makes him forget all his odds. But ultimately, he gets to shake off his mirage and to remember his status of a slave. Similarly, Khalil's world revolves around the shop and his business with his master and taking care of his sister. The arrival of Yusuf fulfils his life, their bond gives him a sense of family. This is why he wants to keep him out of troubles, so that his paradise does not banish him into his lonely hell.

The garden that the most people praise to be a Heavenly construction, actually is a cage to those living inside it. The women living inside live in a state of permanent imprisonment as they can never venture out like free people. The older mistress, the owner of the paradise like garden, is confined to a room of the huge mansion with a mysterious illness. Overtly, people believe her to have owned heaven, while she knows that she is the part of a living hell. Amina, Aziz's young mistress and Khalil's sister lives in the same state of confinement with dual edged slavery-one as Aziz's mistress, another as his first wife's

attendant, rather as a slave to her. Since her captivity as a child and then marriage to Aziz, she has not ventured out of the doomed house and lived as a free bird, thus, her utopia like world is a dystopian existence to her.

Aziz marries Zulekha despite her incurable illness for the sake of her infinite wealth that she owns. He builds a world not less than a paradise envied by every passerby. But his world is at the cost of other's dystopia- the small-scale businessmen whom he lends money then plunders them on the pretext of compensation; the slaves whom he uses to his advantages as a free indentured labour; his mistresses whom he puts to use for material and sensual purpose. The arrival of Europeans cast a shadow on his empire too; he suffers the greatest loss in business on his last grand expedition to the world beyond the Great Lakes where most of his goods is consumed by plunders and as appeasement gifts to the heads of the tribes. As Europeans have sought control over almost everything, the future prospects for business diminish causing death knell to local trade and traders. The colonizers seem to assume control over his fortune also like many others. His paradise too therefore, loses its sheen as his future is certainly doomed.

Yusuf's parents whose paradise is a happy family and aspired successful business comes to an abrupt end as soon as Aziz commands them to compensate for his loss with Yusuf as a slave for him. His mother in particular is shattered since he the only axis of her world, for her marriage is an unsuccessful venture. They represent a class of people whose paradise is ruined by the business class of Aziz like merchants. As we learn later that Yusuf's father does not live quite long and mother too has left probably for her parental place, however, it is uncertain that whether their house and property has been confiscated by Aziz as a matter of compensation or not.

Thus, everyone's paradise in the novel is a mythical refuge to escape their dystopian reality, though momentarily. They seek refuge in their paradise as a consequence of fatigue caused by the wretchedness of their existence. Yusuf misses his mother, her scent, the coziness of her lap at Aziz's mansion, thereafter he tries to replace it with the fragrance and coziness of the garden that he sneaks into in his master's absence. Henceforth, the paradise in the novel is not wholly the reference to the world that Gurnah has lived in but a serious and blatant question that he poses artistically with an interrogation mark- 'Paradise?' He gives us an inside kaleidoscopic view of each character's internal turmoil of a want for paradise and their persistent endeavours to obtain it. Thus, it affects each individual's life on three different climes: 'paradise lost' (the residual), the lost world of Yusuf and his mother, Khalil and his sister, Zulekha; 'paradise regained' (the dominant), the mythical construction of home within a dysfunctional dystopian existence, transitory though; and 'paradise ruptured' (the emergent), eventually coming to term with the fact that paradise is merely a mirage, and the coping up with the existing reality is the only way out.

Those who understand their present existential predicament feeling the permanence of a void, they evoke Islamic paradise as an imaginary attainment of it. Hamid, the shopkeeper in the mountain keeps evoking Islamic heaven, its beauty and relevance. Similarly, the old gardener (Zulekha's slave) who has given shape to Aziz's Garden, is also in a perpetual attempt to make it resemble paradise as much as possible. Having divorced from the outside world and people, he is wholeheartedly devoted to the garden reciting qasida most of the time he is working in the garden and tending to his plants.

Other slaves like those of wealthy Omani families are yet another example of paradise tragedies. As slave practice is miserably filthy business evident in every rich household like that of Aziz, a paradise looking world with perennial water and garden, is ironically hellish

place of captivity for many; one's utopia, another's dystopia. We come across Omani families living in the vicinity Khalil and Yusuf walked for evening strolls; some innocent faces of children slaves, bought and sold in the in the murky business of slavery, could be seen pressed against the windows looking at the world outside their prisons. We come across a vivid description in the novel through a customer:

In some of those sprawling fortresses are feeble offspring locked away and never talked about. Sometimes you can see the faces of the poor creatures pressed against the bars of the windows at the top of the houses. God only knows with what confusion they look on our miserable world. Or perhaps they understand that it is God's punishment for their fathers' sins. (*Paradise* 49)

As Fawzia Mustafa rightly puts it that "Gurnah's evocation of paradise play upon the often-overlooked difference between the Islamic Garden as both the place of origin (without original sin) and return . . . and Judeo-Christian concept of the garden of Eden as the original condition only" (Mustafa 234). It works on dual ethnic principal with biblical intertextuality both as a metaphor as well as ethnic obligation. Thus, on ethnic grounds, important to understand is the fact that Gurnah's aspirants of paradise are those who are living a comparatively compromised life. Wealthy people like Aziz and headmen are in a constant foray to accumulate more and more wealth and slaves for their material advancements, they hardly find time to be lost in fantastic illusions of paradise and hell, rather believe that the paradise is a wealthy world that can be established by exercising wealth and power- a typical colonial perspective.

There are several other myths that are used either to convey the predicament of the native people, or to ridicule the ruthless uncompassionate colonial culture and their lust for wealth. The analogies are mockingly drawn with the creatures like snakes and locusts, though

in a serious tone in order to heighten the gravity of satire. The Europeans are feared to be poisonous to an extent that a splash of their spit could burn anybody's flesh and they could stay without sleep, water and food for days. Like magical creatures, they could be killed only by stabbing them under their left armpit; for like warriors, they wear heavy protection all over their body. Some native people rear notions as weird as bringing back a dead European by another, as we see in a trader's mythical assertion that he had seen a European fallen dead while the other one breathed life back in him (*Paradise* 72). He believes that as long as "the European's body was not ruined or damaged, had not started to rot, another European could breathe life back in him. If he were to see even a dead European he would not touch it or take away anything from it, in case it rose again and accused him" (72).

Hell and haven are closely linked to the world around, and to confer upon its people identities that go in consonance with the ethnic and theological societal conditioning. Khalil is the prototype of such a social construction and conditioning who views the world from a typical mythological angle. He firmly believes that there is still a world of jinns and demons, and of the half-human and half-beasts. His binary understanding of a Muslim world as a holy society and the rest other as savage situates identity on the basis of human and non-human; essentially designating his own society in the former light. He tells Yusuf the stories of wolves and jackals "who stole human babies and raised them as beasts, feeding them dog-breasts and regurgitated meat" (*Paradise* 28).

Through Khalil and religious men like him, we are offered an insight into the perspectivization of the Muslim world, weaved around myths and theological axis. The conceptualization of the unknown is labelled as 'savage', or even worse. The world of 'Gog and Magog' is a mythological construction of the savagery beyond the peripheries of what is known and deciphered; they form an imagined world of demons with a constant spiritual

threat to human world. The magnitude of mysticism reaches its zenith as Khalil tells Yusuf that Alexander the Great had to build a huge wall in extreme south to restrain demon entry into human world, asserting that he too feared fighting them.

During his conquest of the world, he was once travelling to the edges of it when he came to some people who told him that to the north of them lived Gog and Magog, brutes who had no language and ravaged the land of their neighbours all the time. So Dhul Qurnain built a wall which Gog and Magog could neither climb nor dig through. That is the wall which marks the edge of the world. Beyond that lived barbarians and demons. (*Paradise* 42)

Last but not the least, the terms savage and civilized are recurrent and persistently in contestation with each other; deliberately put into use by Gurnah to expose the ideological identity politics by one over the other. Khalil's and his community hold on to the dominant position in terms of ethnic conception of the world backed by their cultural residual in the form of mythological and Quranic world. Their emergent, nevertheless hinges partially upon their xenophobia and to the scientific and technological backwardness in contrast to the west. They label anything and everything that endangers their cultural fraternity as savage, owing to the fact that they view the entire non-Muslim world as heathen.

The European conception of non-western world is by and large shaped by their dominant attitude which is backed by scientific, technological and other material advancement. Their subjugation over the entire world is, in fact, empowered by it. Therefore, their hold over the topmost echelon of power structure is naturalized by these factors; and thus, it makes it convenient for them to manufacture or appropriate any identity to their advantage.

The cultural residual that the west holds on to, is their material advancement, and the occupation over the knowledge, exercised to wield power. The European emergent, essentially is often in the spiral of change, shifting its location from time to time; in the initial phase, it restricts to scientific hegemony, then to economic imperialism, and finally to the aspiration of ruling the whole world with the advantage of these tools.

Interestingly, if weighed on contrast, the emergent of the African world has evolved into what is the initial phase of European emergent- the aspiration for a successful trade, the economic growth. While the dominant of the former hinges upon scientific and colonial success, the later situates it taking recourse to mythological heritage and to the class hierarchy in the society, which is largely dominated by the traders.

The conception of tribal identity hinges on several praxis in *Paradise* as it is shaped and structured by various aspects and constructs. The tribal identity in *Paradise* is the end product of cultural and civilizational marginalization that is not singular in nature, rather pluralistic. In fact, the metaphor of slavery is ascribed to the identity conferred upon the tribal people on the pretext of civilization and modernization. This is a structural procedure that not only castigates the people coming from geographically, socially and economically from a weaker section, but also designates them as 'savage' and 'uncivilized', owing to their multiple victimization and exclusion from human habitat as non-humans.

The first and the foremost construction of their identity is done in the hands of their indigenous superiors- so to say, culturally and economically. With sheer dint of economic privileges, they went to trade with the innocent tribal people and sold them the fancy products brought from the southern markets. First they mortgaged the property of their buyers, and when they failed to pay the debt, took away their children as slaves and indentured labourers; that is where we come across the first inception of the 'slave' as identity, and as a product of

business. Secondly, we see how amongst the tribal people also the idea of slave trade is prominent as we see in the case of Yusuf's father that more often, he threatens his mother to buy another woman from her tribe for a few sacks of beans and so on conveniently, as he belongs to an economically privileged section, at least in his part of the country. The conception of 'slave' thus becomes a metaphor to tribal identity, which is naturalized as a business product- which again refers to tribal community as non-humans and demonic.

Thus, the project of civilization takes place on various climes- first at the parochial level amongst the tribal community, then by the superior powers coming from the south, and eventually, by the Europeans who own the entire land and people. The European colonization hardly makes any difference in the aftermath of their control over the African continent as the tribal community were already immune to cultural and identity violence perpetrated on them by their own people; or perhaps that was more inappropriate way of colonization than the latter European project.

Uncle Aziz's trade expeditions to the mountainous regions reflect that the tribal leaders have already started harbouring an unwelcome sentiment towards their own traders from the south as a symbol of resistance, perhaps because, they have become aware of misrepresentation of their identity in their hands; and therefore, subject Uncle Aziz and his companions to atrocious manners during their last expedition. We are hinted at by Abdulrazak Gurnah that the awareness of cultural and identity marginalization, and their eventual resistance causes death knell to any further expeditions and any such aspiration. As the tribal heads tell them, they resisted and plundered business envoys from the south as a retaliation to the fact that they came and took their people as slaves; however, we never come across such a resistance during the first half of the novel- as in the case of Khalil and Yusuf, for their parents had accepted it as a natural norm.

To sum up, Abdulrazak Gurnah offers us a variety of discourses surrounding pre-colonial Africa and its eventual colonization. The slavery in pre-colonial phase is paid due heed to by delving into internal dynamics of class structure within African continent, later taken advantage of by the Europeans. The chapter offers a postcolonial scrutiny of the text analyzing the complex mix of diverse narratives blended together by Gurnah. It seeks to trace history as a process of colonization by dividing the process into pre-colonial slavery and colonial European occupation.

Slavery and colonization are closely studied in consonance with each other as the former is a pathway to the later. The characters' location vis a vis place and space are evaluated which contributes to the shaping and reshaping of identity in relation to Williams' conception. Most of the characters have been affected by their displacement and dislocation-geographical, psychological, emotional and cultural; which keep their identity in a loop of constant change; thus, a due section has been devoted to space and place-based analysis of cultural identity. Mythological references to Paradise, hell and haven are recurrently evoked throughout the text; in fact, the whole view of Tanzanian life and its understanding about the outside world is shaped by it. Myths and paradise are thus studied as metaphors, as touchstones to measure the identity upon.

The tribal identity in the novel is not homogenous but heterogenous in nature as it is construed by political forces for cultural and economic superiority on heterogenous climes. In fact, there is no golden past of the tribes where they can turn to for reclaiming their selfhood. There is no consolation of the local African tribes as they have normalized and accepted the dictated identity provided by the dominant structure on the basis of its own residual Islamic manipulated and illusive ideologies. Slavery as a metaphor, describes the tribal identity well as a lengthy process of colouring and garnering in a light beneficial for their predators.

Hence, the term slavery may be fluidly traced into Raymond Williams' dominant, residual and emergent as multi-shaped and multi-coloured phenomenon, that seeps through all these three paradigms lucidly. The chapter ends with an overview of how the blend of perspectives, on their respective realms, offers enough space for Williams' variables to study identity dynamics.

Conclusion

The implementation of the Raymond Williams's trio- 'Dominant, Residual, and Emergent' on the selected texts elaborates the identity crisis borne by the tribals and aboriginals at the hands of the dominant social formations. The critical study of each text highlights that the serene and contented lives of the indigenous tribals and aboriginals are disturbed with the steady arrival of the settlers on their lands. These settlers emerge as invaders, colonisers, capitalists, traders, religious missionaries, linguist missionaries, intellectual scholars, and government surveyors. Subsequently, the class categorizations under the dominant social and political formations go on relentlessly. Although there are slight variations in the strategies and ideologies that the settlers have adopted to affect the tranquil lives of the tribals and aboriginals yet these tactics share a lot of similarities.

The feudal lords economically exploited the peasant class and marginalised the tribals as savages, laborers, hunters, animal breeders, and domestic workers. This exploitation is further supplemented by the caste hierarchies within their native socio-cultural structure. The colonisers rob the natural resources of the colonised land and in the process assume 'white man's burden' to 'civilize' the savage native tribes of the same land. The capitalist settlers hit hard on the basic occupations like hunting and cultivation of the tribes. The traders and merchants are driven by their economic gains and consequently to run their own business, they meet their need of labourers by recruiting innocent tribals as slaves. The national treaties and projects are signed in the name of progress and development both by the mainstream and the chiefs of the tribes only for the former to exploit the latter. These treaties and projects seldom mean the same in the languages of both, the mainstream and the tribes. The rescue missions in the name of social welfare, growth, and nationalism have their own political or religious agendas. These are the very reasons for the displacement and dislocation

of the tribes and aboriginals. Initially, promises are made and treaties are signed only for the latter to realize that in the name of treaty their land as well as their traditions, beliefs, and values have been exploited for commercial gains of the ever-emerging dominant culture or the mainstream class. The analysis of social formations responsible for the exploitation of the tribals and aboriginals in terms of their identity in the selected texts is duly supported by the contemporary times to which the texts refer. The contextual analysis is supplemented by the real time facts in the cultural history of the referred Nations. Figure 3 illustrates the findings of the study in a visual form:

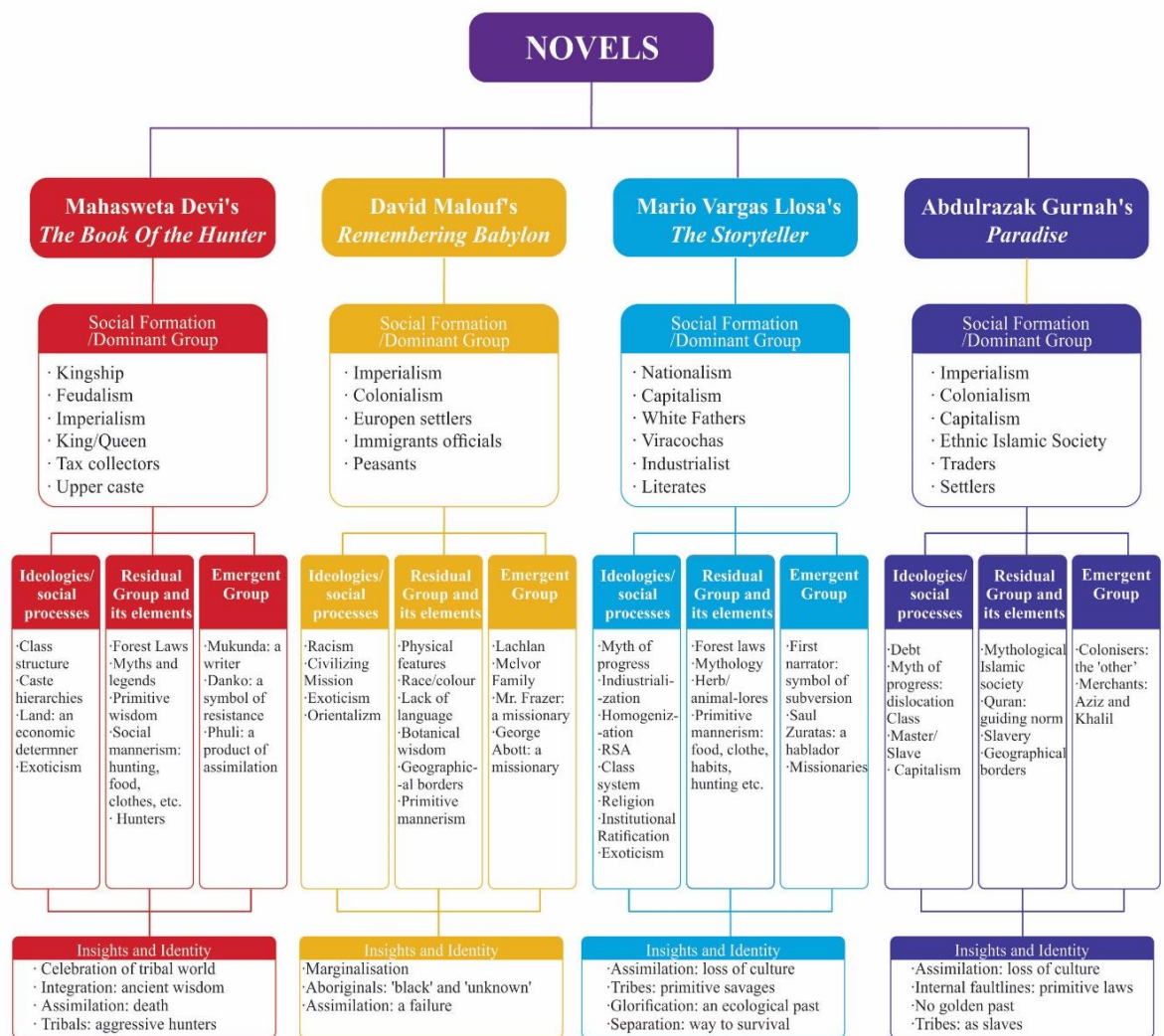


Fig. 3. Social Formations Determining the Identity

The analysis demonstrates that in each text a social formation is being established constituting a dominant group. In Mahasweta Devi's *The Book of the Hunter*, there is an emerging control of the feudal lords on the tribes under the social and political institution, monarchy. The village is reigned by a King whose ancestors invaded the land and captured it adopting imperialist attitude. This imperialist social formation creates a dominant group constituting King and his lords who maintain their position as the dominant by feeding on class and caste hierarchies and by exoticising residual elements prevalent in the society (Devi, *BH* 25, 58, 60, 76, 94, 116, 118, 119). In David Malouf's *Remembering Babylon* the colonial attitude of the settlers forms a dominating class of colonisers exploiting the native land and its resources (Malouf, *RB* 8, 9, 168, 169, 195). This class feeds on racial differences and adopts 'white man's burden' ideology to subjugate the aboriginals (Malouf, *RB* 2, 3, 15, 42, 43, 51). The native culture of the aborigines and their presence is entirely shadowed by the exoticism attempted by the settlers (61). In Mario Vargas Llosa's *The Storyteller*, the degradation of the *Machiguenga* tribe is one of the side-effects of the nationalist tendencies. Increasing industrialization, capital formation, and institutional ratification by the academic intellectuals and missionaries put an end to the traditions, language, values, and beliefs of the Amazonian tribes (Llosa, *Storyteller* 76-78, 98, 97, 82, 84). The myth of progress and homogenizing mission of the mainstream cage the Amazonian tribes into an inevitable exoticism with no escape but to assimilate (160). In Abdulrazak Gurnah's *Paradise*, the dominant social institute of slavery reigns the local tribes driven by the upper-class merchants and traders. This social formation draws its strength from the residual religious implications and ideologies (93-100). There is no golden past with wisdom, traditions, and values on the part of the local African tribes. The tribes survive on debt and later by being slaves (17, 24, 34). The dominant native traders and merchants are further getting absorbed by the emerging

colonial 'other' (1, 5, 62, 72, 83, 86,91, 120, 171, 172). The narrative delves deep into the double layered ever emerging dominant group deserving to dominate the savage local tribes.

The study shows that the colonial experience has destroyed the traditional economies and imposed European economic system. Tribes have lost millions of acres of land to settlers. The land was considered a communal resource for the tribes and aboriginals. These native tribes and aborigines were meticulously disassociated from the land and were forced to live in reserve land. The history of forceful disassociation from the land is common to aboriginals of Australia, tribes of India and African tribes of Tanzania and Amazonian tribes of Peru. The freedom of the indigenes is curtailed to such an extent that they have to restrict themselves only to the land 'reserved' for them and have to act according to the whims and fancies of the dominant class which are not quite obvious but masked.

Exoticism of the residual culture by the dominant culture leads to the misconception of the identity dynamics of the native tribes and aboriginals as analysed in the selected works. The dominant ideological tendencies surrounding the natives prevail in the society and thus result in their ending up at menial jobs like that of weaver, cobbler, butcher, leather worker, bonded ryot and manual labourer. This exoticism gives the dominant culture an upper hand over the residual. The act of exoticism by the dominant unfolds the path for further conducting the mission of 'civilization' and 'homogenisation'. This exoticism is largely based on social mannerism consisting language, food, clothes, colour, physical features, and geographical surroundings. On such basis, the tribes and aborigines get categorized as low or subservient 'other' losing their true identity as natives and 'First People'. In *The Book of the Hunter*, the food habits, clothes, herb lores, and hunting laws of the Shabars are highly exoticised by the mainstream society. In Malouf's *Remembering Babylon*, the aboriginals are highly exoticised on the basis of their color, primitive knowledge, and rituals which turn out

to be horrendous to the settlers. In Llosa's *The Storyteller*, the artefacts, *jungle* abode, geographical locations, mythology, and illiteracy are exoticised to justify the rescue missions of the mainstream nationals. In Gurnah's *Paradise*, besides slavery 'Cultural technologies' are used to showcase a foreign high culture to belittle local culture and traditions to make them look savage. Such a savagery is a cultural construct that works on ideological praxis, used as the way forward to modernization and civilization.

Further, the government policies in the national scenario complicate the plight of the tribals and aboriginals. The ideological state apparatus takes an advance form of repressive state apparatus. A forceful conversion and homogenising assimilation of the native tribes and aborigines. Their children are removed from families to residential schools by force in the name of assimilation under national development schemes and tribal welfare programmes. In *The Storyteller*, missionaries draw their own superfluous motives to homogenise the tribal and aboriginal culture into the dominant one (Llosa, *Storyteller* 34, 80, 95, 156, 157, 161). Exposure to an alien culture brings in a lot of wretchedness which is successful in making these communities feel alien in their own lands. When the evil touches the land, the inevitable loss of the identity by the tribes and aboriginals is accentuated (167-69). In Malouf's *Remembering Babylon*, the official report of Mr. Frazer regarding aboriginal life in North of Australia, the documentation commission of Governor Sir George, and the literacy mission of Abott and Hutchenson play a vital role in the marginalization of Gemmy as 'not white, not black' (129, 130, 132, 168-175). In *Paradise*, history is morphed with the intervention of civilized Germans that depicts the colonized as insignificantly uncivilized people upon whom the colonization is justified as 'white man's burden' of civilizing the non-white world. The act of exotifying the 'other' makes the process of incorporation or exclusion of the 'residual' tendencies smoother and more illusive.

In all the works under analysis, the process of acculturation fails at every level with the absence of 'choice' on the part of the tribes and aboriginals. Wherever and whenever acculturation takes place, it results in death and elimination of the tribal and aboriginal identity. There is only incorporation or exclusion of the tribes and aboriginals by the dominant with loss only on the part of tribes and aboriginals. Resistance in each case ends in further degradation and elimination. First, the dominant creates the 'other' to dominate and then maintains its domination by 'rescuing' the same 'other' in the shadow of varied ideologies and social processes. In *The Book of the Hunter*, the assimilation of tribal Phuli, who adopts non-tribal mannerism too, results in her criticism which she receives from her own community- *Shabars* and ultimately ends in her 'death'. Mukunda's appreciation of tribal mannerism being a *Brahmin* serves only as a superficial gesture towards assimilation coated with urge of self-recognition as a writer (Devi, *BH* 153-54). He does not adapt any of the ways of tribal living. The resistance of Danko and Tejota towards assimilation and integration leads to aggravated displacement of the tribe in search of new forest (Devi, *BH* 147-48). In *Remembering Babylon* Gemmy's entire life is a living proof of consequences of assimilation. He first assimilates into the aboriginal world being a 'white' and then, he tries to integrate himself into the white world being a 'black'. This doubly assimilated existence robs him of his essential human existence as a marginal being (Malouf, *RB* 61, 181). In *The Storyteller*, the process of assimilation has been imposed upon the Amazonian tribes. It is forceful and violent without involving the hegemonic control of the dominant and consensual basis on the part of the tribes (Llosa, *Storyteller* 44-45, 50, 78, 139-40). Such dominance, incorporation and simultaneous exclusion of the *Machiguengas* by the mainstream have resulted in total loss of tribal cultural identity (239-42). In *Paradise*, the process of assimilation leads to dislocation of tribes, their displacement, alongwith diasporic agony and

pain. The tribes have been assigned the designation of savages (59, 62), slaves, and migrants (16, 45, 121, 155).

Moreover, the texts while representing the politicised identity dynamics too become a part of the identity discourse. Though in each text, the dominant culture is 'represented' as dictating and defining the sub-cultures, the selected texts vary in their subversion of the same 'representation'. As analysed, the focus of Mahasweta Devi is not only to address the mechanics of the dominant mainstream to define the identity of the tribals as the primitive savages relying on the animal meals, herb lores, violence, and hunting. Rather, Devi also subverts such mechanics which have been used by the dominant to re-claim the natural origin and identity of the Shabars as hunters along with their age-old wisdom (Devi, *BH* 84, 97, 100, 117). The ideologies based on class and caste played by the dominant mainstream are challenged too. Though the Shabar tribe represented in the novel is styled as residual of former primitive ways of life, but that representation is captured through the lens of pre-colonial dominant social structure of society which has placed the tribals at the borders within the same society. However, the analysis establishes the argument that Devi's idea is not to romanticise the Shabars using their *jungle* laws, mythological details and folklores, but to understand them as distinguished superior beings who can die to save their cultural values, their mother nature and resist the internal feudal colonisation of their native land, Jungle (61,76,78,95, 109). Mahashweta Devi appears to suggest wilful integration of the traditions and institutions of the tribals into the dominant making co-existence as a solution to the lost identities in *The Book of the Hunter*. But this integration too ends up in either 'death' or disappearance of the tribes (147).

Contrary to Mahasweta Devi's realistic representation of tribals as triumphant heroes even in adversary, Malouf has represented the natives as miserable 'other,' a threat to

the mainstream. His depiction of the natives of Queensland resembles the depiction of African natives of Congo in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. The novel can be seen as an examination of the colonial project by a descendant of the original colonisers (Malouf, *RB* 22, 42, 43, 130, 132).

The analysis of *Remembering Babylon* accuses David Malouf of conveying politics involved in exploiting aboriginal subjectivity despite the identified profound sense of aboriginal history, place, and environment (Malouf, *RB* 171). He can be criticized for exploiting aboriginality as a symbol to be used at the hands of the dominant European settlers as evident in the respective chapter. To the best possible extent, his novel has provided a European view of aboriginals. His accurate representation was considered to be a painful and degrading experience. In *Remembering Babylon*, white Australians are busy in churning out negative stereotypical portrayals of aboriginals (98-99). Aboriginal characters and their culture have not been given any due importance and more so, they are damned with condemnation if appears even symbolically. Some of the expressions like 'wild,' 'primitives,' and 'blacks' evince Malouf's hatred towards the native tribes of Queensland. His description of aboriginals includes the observation that aboriginals have an obsessed interest in the spiritual and the mythical. Their religion is 'paganism'. His description illustrates the overall dominant racial creed of the Whites and exemplifies that perpetuation of aboriginal stereotypes are fabricated by the then dominant colonial social formation. He has dealt with the aboriginal portrayals succumbed to the then prevailing notion that aboriginals are mindless objects of derision and condescension having no 'language' (100). Even, the process of assimilating the residual, in the symbolic gesture of assimilating Gemmy in the mainstream, does not rescue the identity crisis. The identity given to the aboriginals is not of individuals rather of ghosts who do not directly appear in the novel. The aboriginals are treated as 'subject' for creative literary exploitation by Malouf which is better to be relegated.

While literary representation of aboriginal identity is quite damaging and degrading in Malouf's *Remembering Babylon*, the anthropological and ethnological understanding of native and tribal culture by Mario Vargas Llosa in *The Storyteller* is commendable. As critically acknowledged, Mario Vargas Llosa has tried to enhance the reputation of the Amazonian tribe- the *Machiguengas* and has projected their culture as worthy of praise within the dominant National structure. In *The Storyteller*, he has initiated the literary response to the indigenous symbols and environmental values with compassion. Llosa through this novel has proved to be one of the writers who has come to terms with native land with humanistic approach ushering a phase of guilt conscience and investigation.

The analysis of historical, socio-political, and cultural construct of identity of tribals in *The Storyteller* illustrates autobiography and historiography as exemplifications to be emulated by native writers. Apart from this, *The Storyteller* is also projected as autoethnography, as an alternative narrative to autobiographical versions. It contains split identities and dual loyalties in a fusion of autobiography, sociography, ethnography, and transcription. It is a hybridised text with two layers of narration which is analysed to be proclaimed a representative text of nativity by natives. It is due to the presence of hybridized nature of utterances that the text is close to real representation of failure of 'homogenising' and 'civilizing' mission of the dominant societal structure. On one side, the mission of development and progress as a Nation is celebrated reforming the residual primitive ways and simultaneously, the very myth of progress is challenged in the subsequent losses (161-170). Acculturation in any way is responsible for the incessant loss of identity at the part of the tribes. There is an honest and the finest response of a brilliant native himself to the expectations of social, political, and religious national system. He has employed 'tribal language' throughout. He establishes strong tribal presence with the reminiscences of primitive culture, its traditions, beliefs, mannerism, and forest-laws (15, 17, 19, 23, 73, 83,

101). The elements of personal memory, first-hand experience, tribal history, and national context- all are integrated in an unobtrusive fashion.

The survey of *The Storyteller* has explicitly portrayed the paradoxical situation of a man, Saul who tries to reform tribal society while ostensibly celebrating narrative and mythical elements. The attitude of the first narrator as examined in the study predicts the failure of the doctrine of assimilation ending in utter exploitation, oppression, and suppression of the tribals. Through two narrators and their assumed projects, an endeavour is made to pave way for reinstating and duly acknowledging the tribal contribution and intellectuality against fabricated negative perceptions of the mainstream capitalist social formation. There is also an instance of marginal identity as Saul renounced his Jewish origin as well as his role as ethnologist, and becomes a self- possessed seer who manages to adopt the life style of native tribal society. His marginalization indicates the unwelcoming nature of the dominant culture of Peru towards the residual culture or sub-cultures (21-22). Llosa succeeds in presenting the centrality of oral tradition as the unexhausted resource to establish cultural independence of the tribes.

However, Abdulrazak Gurnah brings out an altogether different identity dialogue in *Paradise* where the local tribes are 'savages' defined not only by the colonisers and mainstream traders but also by the assimilated tribals themselves. The study inquires the identity of the natives and the tribes together largely in a pre-colonial and partially in a colonial setting. The study can also be seen drawing similarities between Gurnah's *Paradise* and Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart*. Just like Achebe addresses the internal faultlines in a tribal society where colonisers has knocked at the borders, similarly Gurnah finds faults with the residual as well as dominant structures indicating need for new structures (59, 60, 95, 99). There is no glorious celebration of Nature or its laws, or glorious past of ancient wisdom

which are thought to be idealised traits of tribal society. The analysis brings out the internal loopholes in the tribal society- their rivalries, their slavery system, their betrayals, and their assimilation into the dominant structure for selfish gains (100, 103, 119). There is not loss of paradise, rather there is no paradise for the natives (115, 233, 236). The tribal headman himself keeps dislocating his tribal members under the stigma of loan and turns into a tyrant. The geographical insights and social mannerism of the tribes amplified by Yusuf, Aziz and Khalil as discussed in the respective chapter highlights the ironic identity dynamics. Even the settlers emerging as a new social structure stands as 'the other' for the merchants as per their capital interests. The tribes are lost to the evil of slavery in dominant social formation of capitalism constituting traders or merchants (33, 109, 110, 140). The study underlines ruthless apparatus of 'money-making' and power working at the hands of native and tribes for their own destruction in emerging social formation of colonialism (34).

Both Mahasweta Devi and Mario Vargas Llosa have tried to reinforce native pride in identity and criticize social ills within the tribal community. They underline in their texts the sufferings of the tribes and the reasons of their exploitation and oppression. However, the text of David Malouf fails to give an appropriate identity to the aboriginals. His text does voice the exploitation and suffering of 'a black' named Gemmy, but he becomes 'a black' only after coming in touch with the 'black' aboriginals being born 'a white'. Last but not the least, Gurnah has dealt with the local African tribes with no glorious past. The study shows that Gurnah focuses more on the internal loopholes of the residual tribal culture which are responsible for their sad fate. There is dislocation and displacement of the tribes from pre-colonial setting to emerging colonial setting. The internal social sub-structure of the tribes is not free from evil of slavery which further is being exploited to dislocate tribal identity. So, the texts are polemical. These range from overt political commitment to celebrations of nature expressing and reinforcing a distinctive tribal and aboriginal world view. It also

highlights the pride, dignity and survival of the indigene tribes and natives in the face of unpredictable future.

Besides satisfying its objectives, the current study also brings in its wake further deliberations. The struggle for identity represented in these texts insists that 'lost' groups and their culture should be now brought into focus; their narrative should occupy the position of privilege; and the reality-construct of the dominant group should be unmasked. The tribal movements and uprising in India, the aboriginal awakening in Australia, the protests at Peru, should be given institutional ratification through autobiographies or ethnographies unmasking the dominant master narratives that have kept them in oppression for centuries. The politics of identity rests on the existence of 'the other' and the critical analysis of this politics in this thesis aims to transform the stigma attaches to an oppressed group by conscious-raising which includes rejection of the master narrative of the dominant culture. The narratives of rescue missions of the dominant structure hideously create 'to be rescued other' first, and then in its wake establish and maintain its power in a cultural structure.

The target nowadays should not be to discover the contribution of these texts as part of the discourse of identity rather to push a counter discourse of identity. The tribal and aboriginals should speak on their own behalf in the same vocabulary- treating the mainstream as the 'other' reclaiming their nativity. They have to imagine and build up their own discourse to get rid of political 'double bind' which is the simultaneous individualization and totalization of contemporary power structures. They need literature of their own as 'reverse discourse'.

The study of the texts confirms that for the proper understanding of the ancient people, the dominant structures must never project onto them their own state of ideologies and rational thoughts. Study has shown that ancient people experienced what is called an

undifferentiated state of mind. Their sense of being a separate and independent person was much less than the sense which is commonly experienced in urban emerging social trends. The tribes and aborigines have not separated their religious, social, economic, artistic and sexual life from each other. For them, religion, customs, eating, dressing, and work- all are very much connected. To be banished from the tribe or community is tantamount to death for primitive individuals. There is huge loss of identity.

It is also pertinent to observe that unified indigenous consciousness is articulated in the formation of the tribals and aboriginals in this analysis. At this juncture, the concept of tribal culture circumscribes respect for the native past and for traditional ties to the land; a sense of pride and dignity; an impetus towards reclaiming tribal identity. The analysis has indicated towards the prosperous indigenous knowledge as well the struggle that these people face in this so-called developed and modern world that we live in. Their rituals, their ceremonies, healing, their mythology and beliefs, their relation with the land, nature and towards each other, are all centred around their traditional values and culture which carried forth true biological and ecological diversity. It is time to be aware of things happening around and to have concrete plans to implement them with utmost sincerity. The pride which the countries show while presenting their residual tribal artefacts is not reflected in the quality of life of these people as analysed in the selected texts. What is needed today is not lip-service and quick fix solutions but solutions which endure and ensure a better future for these communities. No number of constitutional amendments, national projects, and considerations would change the situation. This is possible only through attitudinal change which is the need of the hour. The route is long and tough. All that is required is commitment towards the cause and perseverance. If this achieved, the world as a whole would benefit a lot from age old knowledge by fitting it aptly into a modern frame. This can position everyone on an equal plane not forgetting that there is always a scope for further improvement.

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INDIGENOUS PEOPLES, INDIGENOUS VOICES

FACTSHEET

Who are indigenous peoples?

It is estimated that there are more than 370 million indigenous people spread across 70 countries worldwide. Practicing unique traditions, they retain social, cultural, economic and political characteristics that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live. Spread across the world from the Arctic to the South Pacific, they are the descendants - according to a common definition - of those who inhabited a country or a geographical region at the time when people of different cultures or ethnic origins arrived. The new arrivals later became dominant through conquest, occupation, settlement or other means.

Among the indigenous peoples are those of the Americas (for example, the Lakota in the USA, the Mayas in Guatemala or the Aymaras in Bolivia), the Inuit and Aleutians of the circumpolar region, the Saami of northern Europe, the Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders of Australia and the Maori of New Zealand. These and most other indigenous peoples have retained distinct characteristics which are clearly different from those of other segments of the national populations.

Understanding the term “indigenous”


Considering the diversity of indigenous peoples, an official definition of “indigenous” has not been adopted by any UN-system body. Instead the system has developed a modern understanding of this term based on the following:

- Self-identification as indigenous peoples at the individual level and accepted by the community as their member.
- Historical continuity with pre-colonial and/or pre-settler societies
- Strong link to territories and surrounding natural resources
- Distinct social, economic or political systems
- Distinct language, culture and beliefs
- Form non-dominant groups of society
- Resolve to maintain and reproduce their ancestral environments and systems as distinctive peoples and communities.

A question of identity

- According to the UN the most fruitful approach is to identify, rather than define indigenous peoples. This is based on the fundamental criterion of self-identification as underlined in a number of human rights documents.



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- The term “indigenous” has prevailed as a generic term for many years. In some countries, there may be preference for other terms including tribes, first peoples/nations, aboriginals, ethnic groups, *adivasi*, *janajati*. Occupational and geographical terms like hunter-gatherers, nomads, peasants, hill people, etc., also exist and for all practical purposes can be used interchangeably with “indigenous peoples”.
 - In many cases, the notion of being termed “indigenous” has negative connotations and some people may choose not to reveal or define their origin. Others must respect such choices, while at the same time working against the discrimination of indigenous peoples.

Culture and Knowledge

Indigenous peoples are the holders of unique languages, knowledge systems and beliefs and possess invaluable knowledge of practices for the sustainable management of natural resources. They have a special relation to and use of their traditional land. Their ancestral land has a fundamental importance for their collective physical and cultural survival as peoples. Indigenous peoples hold their own diverse concepts of development, based on their traditional values, visions, needs and priorities.

Political participation


Indigenous peoples often have much in common with other neglected segments of societies, i.e. lack of political representation and participation, economic marginalization and poverty, lack of access to social services and discrimination. Despite their cultural differences, the diverse indigenous peoples share common problems also related to the protection of their rights. They strive for recognition of their identities, their ways of life and their right to traditional lands, territories and natural resources.

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List of Publications

Bhatt, Ravi and Parvanshi Sharma. "Mahasweta Devi's "Dhouli" and "Shanichari": A Gender Study in Terms of Sexist, Economic and Cultural Elements." *JETIR*, vol.5, no.12, December 2018.

Bhatt, Ravi and Parvanshi Sharma. "Hansda Sowvendra Shekhar's "They Eat Meat": A Study of Food Habits as Semic Code." *JETIR*, vol. 5, no.12, December 2018.

Sharma, Parvanshi and Dr. Amrik Singh, "Transpiration of Trauma Among Children and its Ramifications on Their Cognitive Development." *PJAE*, vol. 18, no. 8, 2021.

Mahasweta Devi's "Dhouli" and "Shanichari": A Gender Study in Terms of Sexist, Economic and Cultural Elements

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Abstract: In the post-independence India, where the movement of feminism is still paving its way and the women empowerment projects are adopted by the contemporary authors, Mahasweta Devi, a Bengali writer, is determined to put the focus on the sufferings and exploitation of women, particularly, the tribal women. Through her literary writings, she is dedicatedly giving voice to the otherwise unheard section in the social order of signification- the voices of the tribals of India. She is concerned for tribals who are forced to live at the fringes and further she is tracing the plight of women who are bread-earners, bonded labourers, victims of male sexual violence and ill-treated wives. In the present paper, an attempt is made to study two stories written by Devi "Shanichari" and "Dhouli" underlining the complex relationship between women's oppression and the socio-political, economic and cultural power structures operative in society. She has depicted and represented at length the nexus between the social mechanisms and natural 'sex' which are responsible for establishing patriarchal order and gender categorization in a society and which further contribute in the multi-facet exploitation of the tribal women in that society. Rape and prostitution are the recurring motifs in these stories. Along with the theme and cause of oppression, Devi has depicted a sense of outrage in women. There are images of women who have courage and determination to serve as role models. She has portrayed tribal women in a new way as assertive individuals. Although, the expressions of melancholy, disquiet, and anger appear to be responses of individual women characters in the stories, these expressions have roots in the society to which they belong- the specific mode of production, the governing economic structure which regulates the activity of men and women in a decisive way.

Key words: exploitation, gender, nexus, patriarchal, sex and tribal.

Yes, a woman is the poorer class, she suffers because of her class, she suffers because of her body
(Collu, "Speaking" 145-146).

Mahasweta Devi needs no introduction when it comes to regional Indian literature. As an eminent Bengali writer, Devi has tried to give voice to the dissidents: the native tribes of India through her prose. Her works are extensively translated into English celebrating those indigenous/tribal groups that are branded natural criminals,

marginalized, 'subaltern' and 'the other' by post-independence critics. Devi's feminism is ingrained in her writings which strive to free women from the stereotyping they are subjected to in the dominant patriarchal social structure.

Mahasweta's canvas is vast- from the places of the Queens depicted in the *Mahabharata (After Kurukshetra)* to the urban middle class women ("Chinta," "Breast Giver") and to the bonded labourers as *rejas*, and *kamiyas* of Plamau ("Douloti," "Plamau," "Gohuan"). In her fiction, she often laments the fate of the tribal girls, specially, young Santhal girls (tribals in Bihar) who are forced to peddle themselves due to abject poverty faced being women. The present paper is an endeavor to examine the patterns of the domination of patriarchy combined with sex, religion, caste and class. The selected stories, "Dhouli" and "Shanichari" are the tales of exploitation of the tribal women who are considered 'the other' by the mainstream caste and class conscious society. In "Shanichari" and "Dhouli," Devi deals with the practice of the trade (prostitution) in which women are used and abused by the mainstream patriarchal ideologies. These patriarchal ideologies are reflected in the nexus of contractors, the brick kiln owners and the intermediaries who scout the poverty ridden villages to entrap these poor unsuspecting girls. The areas which are proposed to explore for the study of tribal women's exploitation include the sexual exploitation of tribal women as bonded labourers, exploitation on the basis of caste, exploitation as domestic labourers and exploitation caused by the repressive state-machinery by using the parameters of radical feminism (sex), marxist feminism (economic dependence and class) and cultural feminism (ideological gender categorisation) based on the social construction.

The most common form of victimization in Devi's stories is that of women succumbing to male sexual violence. Rape is the recurrent metaphor in these stories. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony asserts: "the history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her" (Castle 94). In each of the stories, sex, the biological difference between man and woman, the absence and presence of 'phallus' becomes fundamental and foundational element in the oppressive structure which explains how women's bodies are used and thought of by the men. Toril Moi explains that the root of sexual exploitation lies in the Phallogentrism which denotes, "a system that privileges the phallus as the symbol or source of power" (211). This biological determinism is best

represented in the philosophy of Aristotle who categorizes woman as “body,” man as the “soul,” therefore she is inferior to him as animals are to humans . Freud and Lacan, the French philosophers, too define woman as a castrated state, as lacking or deficient by comparison with the masculine and depict civilization as the “Law of the Father” (Kotwal 79).

In “Dhouli,” the main character Dhouli becomes a victim of patriarchal sex ideology. She knows, “it was because of her tremulous eyes, her slender waist, her blossoming breasts” (Devi, “Dhouli” 7). This is not for the first time that a girl belonging to tribal community received such a treatment. Many more girls have been ruined and raped by the high-caste men. These girls have borne their children. In fact, biological reproduction becomes the root cause of oppression in this case. Firestone argues that the root of female oppression lies in the identification of women with their sexualized bodies because women can bear children. The sexual ability of reproduction makes them more easy victims of rapes, of sexual male oppression (Scholz 21).

Dhouli was too young when she had her *gouna* (the ceremony to mark a girl’s attaining puberty, when she is sent to live with her husband). She was a victim of child marriage in which she was abused and beaten by her husband and fell as an easy victim of domestic violence. Her body became a site of physical abuse. Her husband soon died of fever and Dhouli became a widow. But her troubles did not end rather triggered to another level of genital mutilation. At her in-laws’s place, her husband’s elder brother began eyeing her. So, she left her in-law’s house and saved herself from sexist oppression. Such violence against women, whether in the form of domestic abuse, ritualized social practices and genital mutilation, is the physical manifestation of sexist oppression on women’s bodies. Dhouli’s escapism did not work for long. When she came back to her native village, another tale of sexual violence awaited. She started working as a domestic servant at the Misras’ place. There, Misrilal fell in love with her. Although Misrilal did not rape her, but eligibility of the woman to be raped is because it is believed that a woman’s honour lies in her inviolated body (Sen, Nivedita 244). In this case, Dhouli was already married which incorporated the idea that she was not a virgin. More so, when her husband was dead, she was impregnated by Misrilal after being seduced. Misrilal eventually left her under his family’s pressure. This behavior of Dhouli, where she continued struggling, retaliating and seeking love from Misrilal, provoked the men of the village to further molest Dhouli, to convert her into a mere body to seek sexual pleasure.

Her resilience acting as an independent woman in a male-dominating community further aggregates the process of exploitation.

One night, while sleeping, Dhouli could hear someone pelting stones at her door. She verbally retaliated. But the other day she was caught by a head coolie who made obscene gestures in front of her. He had all the intentions to molest her. Then, Dhouli realized “this was her fate” (Devi, “Dhouli” 27). Dhouli is forced to prostitution by the male community because of her body’s availability that no longer belongs either to her husband or to Misrilal. She is forced to welcome every male’s sexual urge because of her attractive ‘body.’

In “Shanichari,” the story of Shanichari takes the level of sexist oppression to another level. The need to cover the body with clothes becomes the cause of getting stripped off every day. The idea of being raped and being without clothes bound her into forced-prostitution at Rahmat’s brick-kiln. In the story, Shanichari is a *dusad* girl who is about to marry Chand Tirkey, a tribal man. But the shots of Bihar Military Police while suppressing the Adi Jati Raksha Morcha of tribals in Rata village kill Chand Tirkey. Here, the reference to the real incident by Mahasweta Devi confirms the role of the unidentified contribution of the state machinery in the sexual exploitation which Shanichari would face. Shanichari too, during the shooting by police, becomes the victim of Military force. Although not killed by a shot, she is raped by the protectors of law:

The reign of terror that was unleashed in Rata after Raksha Morcha meeting continued unabated, forcing the young women to flee to the forest. They didn’t have any clothes. The BMP had burnt down their huts along with the saris . . . the BMP took the young girls into the forest and raped them. (Devi, “Shanichari” 46)

Without clothes, the girls accompanied by Shanichari, are forced to hide in the forest where Gohuman Bibi lures them to go to Kolkata to work in the brick kilns. Gohuman Bibi seems to appear like an angel to rescue, but the notion is nullified when she puts all the victimized girls into another hell of sexual abuse. Bibi promises these girls to give them clothes. Obviously, “Don’t some of you buy saris worth thousands of rupees every Puja” (46)? At the brick-kiln, ‘body’ of the tribal girls becomes the site of oppression and this oppression continues due to economic needs, to satisfy the pangs of hunger, and to meet the body’s requirement of clothes. The rape scene is

again natural, quite familiar as if it is a daily routine matter. The narrator sarcastically describes the familiarity of such sexist oppression:

Imagine the scene. Familiar to you, no doubt, from innumerable story books—the lush green forest and a group of Ho-Oraon- munda girls who look as if they have been exquisitely carved out of black stone. Only, the bestial howls of BMP would have been left out such a picture-book scene.
(46)

Such “familiar’ description shakes the feminist sensitivity. Later in the story, Shanichari is turned into a *reja*, a bonded labourer in Rahmat Khan’s kiln. Many *rejas* are introduced in the brick kiln of Rahmat Khan. Josmina, Lughri, Jhini, Parai and Phulmani— each one has been raped by *mastaan* and *munshi* within the high walls of kiln. There is a different world of oppression within the kiln which is quite beyond the outer world. Everyday, after laborious labor in brick making, the *rejas* are tired to keep their eyes open. But their labour did not end, neither physically nor mentally. They are called by the *mastaans*, *munshi* and drivers in the claustrophobic walls. Then follows the tragic tale of mutilation: “They force liquor down your throat till you pass out. Pull off your clothes. What happens next, only your body knows” (51). Beauvoir says:

Humanity is male and man defines woman not in herself but as relative to him . . . She is called “the sex,” by which is meant that she appears essentially to the male as a sexual being. For him, she is sex – absolute sex, no less. She is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her; She is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the subject, he is the Absolute – she is the Other. (xvi)

To believe in the biological difference between man and woman as the cause of woman’s oppression, does not mean to support Darwin’s theory of evolution that women are less evolved than men.

Now, this whole analysis of body and sex in terms of radical feminism has neglected the lives of women who are ‘invisible’ or ‘marginal.’ Women are subaltern to men and tribal women are doubly subaltern who manifest gendered politics based on caste (religion) and class (economy) to establish patriarchal order. In

contemporary culture there are two assumed sexes, men and women, and the biology, at least in part, dictates the attributes associated with each.

In these stories, there is a very subtle form of constructed subordination which has roots in gender ideologies based on stereotypes, religious myths, economical dependence, and so on cultural factors. Similarly, in some cultures women perform domestic work only, and are associated with the home and family. In other culture, however, women perform paid work and are religious leaders, healers, and warriors in the public sphere (Wells 411). Such variety of cultures can be seen in Mahasweta Devi's select fiction where on one side there is dominant non-tribal mainstream culture where women, especially tribal women, become the victims of sexual oppression and on other side, tribal sub-culture where they are given respect although by their own community only and also they do domestic chores as well as work outside their homes. Kamal Misra and Lowry in their combined study in *Recent Studies on Indian Women* assert that a critical perspective on examining gender relations in tribal areas in the Indian context is missing (63). This is primarily because gender relation is considered a non-issue since tribal women supposedly has a higher status compared to their non-tribal counterparts. But, it is important to mention that all freedom of the tribal women is exercised only within tribal culture which is losing its existence in dominating patriarchal non-tribal culture and the same has been represented in the selected stories. The dominant culture has dictated and established a stereotypical image for woman to reconfirm her submission to the patriarchal ideology. Ideology, in any of the Marxist senses, is "a system of meanings and values" which is "the expression or projection of a particular class interest," (Williams 108) particularly a class which controls the primary means of production. The classical indicators of measuring status of women are influenced by the Hindu customs and ideology. The same indicators define the status of tribal women as tribal world is dominated by the mainstream Hindu culture. Hinduism has elements of patriarchy which describe women's role as primarily or solely pertaining to the family. . Often, they also include fairly explicit statements about the inferiority of women. Such description of women inculcates power in men over women and shame in women to accept men's dominance. To the psyche of the Indian men and even women, there exist certain clear role models of an ideal woman derived from the folk models and myths and religious literature. As Gregory Castle says, there is "the construction of femininity and masculinity in ancient literature, philosophy, mythology, religion, or art" (191). Deepsheekha Kotwal explains that these "myths, legends and

history are in fact politically motivated narratives controlled by dominant discourse to perpetuate its ideology. The subjugated are either silenced or made complicit (97). For instance, no girl in India is ever named as Kaikeyi, because in Ramayana, her husband king Dasarath had cursed her saying that no father is going to name his daughter after her. However, one comes across numerous Sita and Savitri and Sulochanas in Indian homes (Misra 41).

Stereotypes, class and caste system contribute to the oppression of Shanichari and Dhoulis. In “Dhoulis,” Dhoulis’ non-confirmation to the stereotypical image of a woman belonging to her father or husband becomes the cause of her exploitation. When a woman does not belong to a man, she belongs to all men. This is the ideology maintained to strengthen patriarchy which finds its origin in religion as discussed above. Dhoulis is a low caste, a tribal, the dominant Hindu culture enforces the patriarchal ideologies to exploit Dhoulis and other tribal girls in every possible way. Dhoulis is a widow and works for the upper caste Misras.

After becoming a widow, a *randi*, you were not supposed to look into the mirror. Not supposed to wear shellac bangles, a dot of sindoor on your forehead, anklets of cheap metal . . . She couldn’t marry again . . . (Devi, “Dhoulis” 7)

What matters only is “dot of sindoor” which she does not possess. But Dhoulis overcomes this image by making love to Misrilal claiming her free will to choose a life partner. She also gives birth to a child without getting married. If Misrilal would have taken her by force, she could get mercy of the Misras and get a piece of land to till to bring up her child. But Dhoulis is punished “for not considering a brahman’s owner” (13). A tribal girl can be raped by the high caste man, but she is not allowed to love a high caste man. This is against the mainstream patriarchal ideology. Mostly the upper caste males, under false promises or greed, tempt the tribal girls to involve sexually with them either willingly or willy-nilly and then leave them for they regard it as their right (Misra 48). Misrilal’s elder brother Kundan Misra exemplifies this. He has his children born in the houses of tribal girls because he thinks it is the right way to keep them in control. To upper caste men, the tribal girls are meant to this only. Sometimes the upper caste males actually fall in love with tribal girls but do not marry them because of their respect in the so called upper society. To them, marrying a low caste would bring stigma to their reputed upper caste families. Such is the case with Dhoulis. But the irony of the situation is that on one side they regard

tribal girls low born creatures whom they should not touch or marry; and on the other side, they seek physical pleasure out of them. Consequently, deserted women have to surrender in the male chauvinist society and have to earn their living on prostitution.

In Hindu scriptures woman is always shown having her identity in relationship to man alone and Indian women have been expected to follow the role models of Sita, Savitri and Draupadi who always suffered and sacrificed for the comforts of their husbands as if they have no individualities of their own. They are supposed to exhibit only commendable forbearance. Tejinder Kaur in her study notices how *Manusmriti* also known as *Manav Dharamsastra* spoke of the dependence of women at every stage of her life on her father, husband, and son (Kaur 71). In the story, Dhooli belongs to none of the males. So, she is supposed to suffer the stigma of prostitution. Similarly, in “Shanichari,” constructed ideology does not allow her to think of herself worth-living. Shanichari is about to marry Chand Tirkey out of free will. But he is killed by the shots of BMP during Morcha. Then, being raped by BMP, Shanichari is not allowed to lead a normal life. She belongs to none of the men. In the beginning of the story, Shanichari along with her grandmother enjoys the train ride to Tohri and listens to the folk-tales narrated fragmentarily by her grandmother:

Don't you know the one about the carpenter who carved a girl out of wood and became her father? The weaver who gave her clothes and became her brother? The goldsmiths who gifted her jewelry and became her uncle? Didn't the sindoor wala bring her to life by giving her sindoor? (Devi, “Shanichari” 35)

In Shanichari's life, Chand Tarikey is “Sindoor wala” that could bring her to life. The absence of “sindoor wala,” implies her total destruction. One can understand these ideologies of stereotyping, Hinduism and caste as part of the ideological state apparatus (ISA) as defined by Althusser. He suggests that ISA functions by passing along, and passing off as natural and unchallengeable, the fundamental belief system of a society. The ideologies mark and assign proper roles to the individuals or groups or communities and these ideologies have roots as well as circulation in religion, educational institutes, legal system, political parties, media, arts and literature. Althusser remarks, “All ideological State apparatuses . . . contribute to the same result: the reproduction of the relations of production, i.e. of capitalist relations of exploitation” (22-31)

Another glaring factor is that the mainstream patriarchal structure has succeeded in establishing its hold on women particularly because of the economic dependence of women on men at the first place. Marx says:

In the social production of their existence, men inevitably enter into definite relations, which are independent of their will, namely relations of production appropriate to a given stage in the development of their material forces of production. The totality of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which arises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. (173)

It seems to legitimate the priority of the economic over any other mode, to suggest that all forms of experience will be determined by the prevailing economic mode of production. This determination is visible in the representation of the economic dependence of Dhoul and Shanichari. Class is an economic status which also determines social status or social mark. Misra avers in his study that a tribal woman is more empowered and independent both socially and economically. *Adivasi* women are self-reliant. They have capacity to work harder than their male folk and are as independent as the males. The most visible aspect is their contribution to the subsistence economy. The principal economic activities in the village are centered around agriculture, both on the hill plots and plain land. Every “individual cultivates around 37 decimal of plots” (Misra 63-65). All the female members contribute and help their male counterparts in agricultural activities. On the contrary, in the mainstream society, the girls are also supposed to be dependent for food, clothes on the male member of the family whether it is father, brother, or husband. To understand this, one has to begin with the possible connection of feminism and Marxism. Michele Barrett’s *Women’s Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis* attempts “to formulate a materialist aesthetics and insists on integrating Marxist class analysis with feminism in analyzing and influencing gender representation” (Habib 670). Friedrich Engels in “The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State” uses Marx’s critique of capitalism and the method of historical materialism to trace the emergence of the oppression of women. He asserts:

“The man took command in the home also; the woman was degraded and reduced to servitude, she became the slave of his lust and a mere instrument for the production of children” (Scholz 17).

Dhouli is economically independent, a working woman. She is right hand of her parents. Like any tribal girl, she takes the *mahajan's* grain to the market, earns money. When she returns to her native village, she starts working as a bonded labourer for Misras. Her father has taken loan from Misras for Dhouli's *gouna* and then he died. So, Dhouli and her mother start working at Misra's place. They graze cattle, sweep their orchard. Her boldness, her economic independence can be seen as a criminal bent of mind and a threat to the patriarchal set up. So, she is punished and humiliated for her offence. Her practice of prostitution hurts his male-ego. She is not under his control. She is supposed to be dependent on the mercy of the Misras or die either. So, Misrilal threatens Dhouli, "I will show you that I am both a man and a Brahman's son too!" (Devi, "Dhouli" 31). Dhouli is given two options. Either she will be burnt alive, or she has to adopt the path of prostitution at some other region. Hanumanji announced, "Dhouli cannot practice prostitution in this village. She can go to some town, to Ranchi, and do her whoring there. If not, her house will be set on fire and mother, daughter, child will be burned to death" (31).

In "Shanichari" too, Mahasweta Devi has provided us the information how tribal women fall prey to the false promises made by the middle men or middle women who assure them a prosperous future in economic terms but indeed destroy their very existence. The story says, "The pangs of empty stomach are hard to resist. If they worked in the brick kilns of Kolkatta they would get enough to eat, wear dazzling clothes and see the sights of the city" (40). Tribal women are equally hardworking having same strength as their men possess. Even, they are more efficient in baking and carrying bricks in kilns. Due to this reason, the tribal women from tribal regions are often considered a better choice of labours. Such regions include Santhal and Chhotanagpur of Jharkhand from where these women are transported as luggage to be used in different corners of India as labourers and sex workers at a meagre wage. The states of Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, and Haryana are known for such exploitation of daily wagers and the same has been depicted by Devi in "The Fairy Tale of Rajabasha."

In other words, one type of oppression, in this case material oppression, carries the weight of another sexual oppression. Such exploitation gives rise to the trade of human trafficking. Women and girls are recruited on the promise of a large payoff, sold into servitude by parents or guardians, or stolen from their homes.

Thus, there is a clear-cut distinction between a natural sex (restricted to bodies) and a cultural “gender” (defined by social factors) and in both the processes, women become a site of suppression, oppression and exploitation. The present study of stories explains that the differences between the sexes are produced and constructed by social mechanisms in the form of gender categorization only to reinforce, reconfirm and re-establish the patriarchal order in the society.

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Hansda Sowvendra Shekhar's "They Eat Meat": A Study of Food Habits as Semic Code"

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Abstract

The present paper invites a semiotic analysis of one short story "They Eat Meat" at two levels: semantic order and semiology order. An attempt has been made to bring out the organization of the syntactic artifice in the narrative. The significant order of signs has been analysed through the linear progression of events embodying deep existential strains where the identity of a tribal family comes into question. Performance of such a task requires the breaking down of the narrative into sequences incorporating many ensembles and further sub-ensembles wherever needed. The paper is divided into two main parts followed by a conclusion. In the first part, the linear progression of the events in the narrative is analysed along with the important 'signs' especially reference to food habits as semic codes as they appear in human situations. In the second part, different incidents lying at the different parts of the text are related to bring out the thematic concerns. In the narrative, identity crisis arises when the mainstream society of modern India look at the tribals and discriminate with them on the basis of their petty native food habits. At the surface level, the story "They Eat Meat" seems an engrossing tale of a tribal family (Santhals) who are recently been shifted from their rural habitant in Ranchi to the urban Vadodara and glorifies their struggle in getting themselves adapted to their new surroundings. However, at deep level, this glorification is soon questioned when this adaptation gradually converts into humiliation.

Keywords: Semantic, Semiology, Semiotic, Sign, Syntactic, and Tribals

Semiotics is a radical development in the field of humanities. It is a method of study concerned with the production of meaning in society. It is defined simply as "the study of signs" (Chandler 1). In semiotics 'sign' does not mean only linguistic sign but anything which 'stands for' something else a sign. It includes various disciplines like linguistics, psychology, philosophy, sociology, anthropology, aesthetics and literature. So semiotics is known as a multi-disciplinary science which aims at "better understanding of our own meaning-bearing behaviour" (Elam 1). Its objects are thus different sign systems and the codes at work in society and the actual messages and texts produced thereby. When we apply semiotic approach to any text, we analyse it at three levels i.e. semiotic level, semiological level and the level of mediate on. But keeping in mind the brevity and limited scope of this project, first two levels have been attempted to be analysed here.

(a) Semiotic Order

The semiotic organization is the organization of form. At this level we study syntactic organization or the linear progression of events which are interlinked logically. The narrative is decomposed into its signifying ensembles having existential significance. In syntactic order, arrangement of events acquires semiotic significance. It is the stage of “heuristic reading” (Riffaterre 5) where the first interpretation takes place and thereby the meaning of the text is comprehended.

(b) Semiological Order

It emerges at the level of content. It is the stage of “hermeneutic reading” (Riffaterre 5) where the second interpretation takes place. The semiotic process really takes place in reader’s mind and it results from a second reading. As the reader progress through the text, he remembers what he has just read and modifies his understanding of it in the light of what he is now decoding. Thus he connects certain preceding and succeeding incidents and sequences through the theme or common motifs. It is the complex ideological phenomenon where reader’s imaginative faculty plays a very important role. At this level, “we try to comprehend the process of psychic generation. It is superposed level of existential reflection” (Gill 131). Semiotic level is the stage of textual decoding and semiological level is that of structural decoding. Both these levels go side by side. “Without a semiological direction the theorist will always tend to consider the work of art as a purely formal construction...” (Corti 16). It is only hidden semantic meaning that makes the syntactic organization possible.

In this paper an attempt has been made to analyse the complex identity crisis in the life of a tribal family in the story “They Eat Meat” by Hansda Sowvendra Shekhar. Hansda Sowvendra Shekhar is a medical officer with the government of Jharkhand, India. When he is not busy treating patients, he reads, and writes. His stories and articles have been published in *The Statesman*, *is stories H Indian Literature*, *The Times of India*, *The Four Quarters Magazine* and elsewhere. His short fiction is included in the anthology, *Alchemy: The Tranquebar Book of Erotic Stories II*. Hansda Sowvendra Shekhar’s novel, *The Mysterious Ailment of Rupri Baskey*, is remarkable for a deep and masterful observation of lives and descriptions of a tribal village.

In “They Eat Meat,” the author depicts the co-existing modern world of the tribes and the main elite upper classes. The setting of the story is Vadodra in 2000. The tribals have accepted the globalisation and have already left their jungle ways of living. They have joined the so-called civilised ways and are being educated. But still, the people of the mainstream, the upper Hindu classes, in one way or the other tend to reduce them into, the other, as part of creating subjugation. The protagonist in the story Panmuni – Jhi asks, “How can people dislike those who eat meat?” (8). Thus, the tribals who have been now settled down with the upper classes are reduced to only meat- eaters. The mainstream forced the protagonist to move back to the original world of his tribes in Odisha with his family. Thus, there is a final return to “freedom,” to eat meat in “our land” (27).

This paper is divided into two main parts — presentation of the text, and major themes and motifs, - followed by a conclusion. In the first part, the linear progression of the events in the narrative is analysed

along with the important senses and signs as they appear in important human situations. Performance of such a task requires the breaking down of the narrative into sequences incorporating many ensembles, and sub-ensembles, wherever needed. In the second part, different incidents lying at the different parts of the text are related.

Presentation of the Text

In this part an attempt has been made to analyse the progression of narrative on the syntactic axis.

1. Summary of the First Sequence

The story began with the reference to the recent migration of Soren family- Biram-Kumang, his wife Panmuni – jhi and two children Rabi and Hopo. Biram Soren was a director with the Gramin Vidyut Nigam, a central government enterprise which provides electricity to villages. He had been transferred from Bhubaneshwar (Orissa), where he was staying with his family in a village outside Ghatshila, to Vadodra (Gujrat) in 2000. Now the main concern of the family in Vadodra was their food habits which they consider an important part of their lifestyle and existence. Especially, Panmuni – jhi was worried about her survival as she declared to Biram, “If I don’t get food cooked to my satisfaction, I will not eat” (2). She also made call to cousin, Jhapan – di before moving to Vadodra who was staying at Central Industrial Security Force campus in Vadodra. Jhapan – di informed her that “food habits here are very different” (3).

1.1 Apprehensions Relating Food Habits

The first ensemble is about the apprehensions of Panmuni – jhi regarding the need to change their food habits.

1.1.a

This sub ensemble indicates the rigid nature of Panmuni – jhi’s cooking habits. During her stay in Bhubaneshwar, she has practised her traditional and old ways of cooking with the new techniques taking cues from “Vanita” and “Meri Saheli” (2) to cook dosa, chowmein, chilly chicken as her tummy would rumble if she eats food from restaurants.

1.1.b

This ensemble indicates the immediate concern of Soren family when Biram gets the order of his transfer.

Panmuni- jhi wondered aloud,

“What are we going to eat?”

“They don’t eat jill-haku in Gujrat, do they?” (2)

1.1.c

Family and friends of Soren family in Ghatshila also enquires about how would they manage in Vadodra.

The survival demands change in food habits that would ultimately “disrupt their lives” (3).

1.1.d

Panmuni – jhi calls her cousin in Vadodra to ask how is the place. Jhapan informs her “. . . , people don’t eat meat here. No fish, no chicken, no mutton. Not even eggs” (3). She also says, “People here don’t like to mix with those who eat meat and eggs. It is like that” (4).

2. Summary of the Second Sequence

In the second sequence Biram is introduced to Mr. Rao who lives with her wife Mrs. Rao at Subhanpura colony in Vadodra. The couple is of Telugu origin, from Andhra Pradesh. Mr. Rao in his first meeting with Biram enquires about his caste and his land of origin. He requests Biram not to eat meat if Biram wants to stay on rent on the first floor of his house.

1.2 Tribal Surname Equated With Dalits and Muslims

This ensemble presents the Hindu perspective of looking at the tribals.

1.2.a

Mr. Rao's concern that his tenants are from Jharkhand indicates Rao's suspicion of Biram's tribal identity. He asks Biram, "Is not Soren a tribal surname?" (5). To this, Biram shockingly accepts, "Yes, we are tribals" (6).

1.2.b

Rao declares Vadodra, a "strongly Hindu city" and equates being Hindu with being pure who do not eat "meat, fish, chicken, eggs" (6), indicate that caste is playing as an important 'sign' to figure out the identity of a person. He says, "Tribals, even lower- caste Hindus, they are seen as impure" and "Muslims and Christians, they do not stand a chance here. He indirectly tells Biram that his family as a tribal one, a non-Hindu, won't be accepted easily in Vadodra as they eat meat. He also uses vegetarian food as a symbol of his superiority over Biram.

1.2.c

Biram's agreement to Rao's condition that he won't eat meat symbolises the beginning of identity crisis in his life. Mr.Rao himself sacrifices eating non-veg because Subhanpur colony is "so neat and tidy" (7). The conversation indirectly refers to those places where people eat meat as impure, untidy and dirty.

1.2.d

Rao, while pointing out to "the Mohammeds" (8) living in Subhanpur colony, warns Biram of his stay assuring they won't eat meat. His act takes away the roots of Panmuni's identity too. She "clutched her head in her hands and kept silent . . . for a long time" (8).

3. Summary of the Third Sequence

Sorens, especially Panmuni – jhi, She have started making adjustments with her food habits. She starts eating vegetarian food. She eats meat with her family only in "Santhali-lunch afternoons" (12) organised by Jhapan-di. She compares the clean roads and greenery of Vadodra to Odisha and Jharkhand. Jhapan-di recalls Gujrat was also a "dirty" place. Only after "a plague epidemic here, . . . six-seven years ago" (11), towns and cities of Gujrat have become clean.

1.3. Shifting of Loyalties: Loss of Identity

This ensemble capture the efforts of Panmuni – jhi and her family to adapt themselves in the new city.

1.3.a

Panmuni- jhi imbibes the ideological fact that Vadodra is cleaner thus putting her origin in Odisha and Jharkhand in sharp contrast with cleanliness. she praises the hotels of Vadodra as “they are not like the hotels in Bhubaneshwar. They are different. Cleaner” (10).

1.3.b

Sorens more or less stops eating non-vegetarian food. Even a simple egg curry is sufficient in parties of Santhals. Such change or suppression of food desires with time enable Soren family to co-exist among Hindus.

4. Summary of the Fourth Sequence

In this sequence, Sorens recall their days in Odisha. They were free to cook anything. they even invited Santhals living in other places in Odisha, like Cuttaack, Paradip, Rourkela, Baripada and Koraput. They were once adivasi but now they have lost their identity conforming to Hindu norms. On the other hand, Mrs. Rao also makes an effort to give vent to her tastes. She is a non-vegetarian. Mr. Rao does not let her eat meat. So she asks for help to Panmuni and make her cook meat for her. Panmuni remains stunned with the fact. She has recently dealt with her identity crisis in adjusting with the Hindu city, but Mrs. Rao once again make her think of her real origin, her being a tribal who eats meat. The sequence also witnesses a friendship between a tribal and a Hindu who have adapted and exchanged each other’s cooking ways.

1.4 Nostalgia: re-assertion of tribal identity

This ensemble brings out the true self of Panmuni – jhi as she wants to go back to her tribal ways of cooking.

1.4.a

In the entire market of Subhanpur colony, only one shop sells eggs. Biram and Hopon struggles hard to buy such stuff as “familiar eyes spying on them” (13). Buying is not the only task, cooking itself is a mission as there is much odour when eggs are being cooked. . “Disposing eggshells was a problem.” The mission of cooking was a sign of existential struggle.

1.4.b

Panmuni – jhi miss her days of freedom of Bhubneshwar and the cool breeze of the Bay of Bengal. She used to cook two-egg omelettes and “regular chicken and mutton” (14) for Rabi and Hopon. This indicates that although she has suppressed her taste buds yet she craves for freedom of eating food.

1.4.c

The demands to conform to the society she is living in make her feel constricted. The Sorens are Adivasi conforming to the norms, going to mandirs, celebrating Hindu festival, lit dhhop batti in their house. This

draws a sharp contrast with tribal cultural norms where pagan elements dominate. Their conformation to norms is the sign of imposed identity, they have become someone, which they are not.

1.4.d

The desire of Mrs. Rao to eat meat and asking Panmuni – jhi to let her fry an egg in the kitchen further questions the imposed identity of Panmuni – jhi and triggers her desire to befriend Mrs. Rao as she shares a part of her tribal identity. This sub-ensemble uses the semic code ‘food’ to reassert the identity as well as points out a faultline, a loophole, in the contrasted worlds of Hindus and tribals.

5. Summary of the Fifth Sequence

“On the morning of Wednesday, 27 February 2002” (16) Soren family whelming with nostalgia presented in sequence 4, reserved tickets for Ghatshila at Vadodra Railway Station. Suddenly, there was a chaos and news of “a train burned” travelled through the station. Biram – kumang told Hopon who was accompanying him to move quickly towards the car. There was a riot somewhere. Both of them wanted to reach home to panmuni – jhi as she won’t listen to the news on TV. Reaching home, they informed Panmuni about the riots and checked for the supplies at home. The culprits were identified as Muslims on TV channels. In the middle of of this sequence, Biram – kumang describes his predicament as prisoners. Vadodara is no more a city they could live in. Panmuni called up Rabi and told him to move to Ghatshila, their home. The only house of the mr. mohammed became victim with four women inside the house. A lighted petrol-bomb was hurled into the Mohammed’s living area. The Hindu mob “shouted obscenities, rejoiced and spat at their victims” (23).

1.5 Riots: Impact on Life of Soren Family and Mohammed Family

This ensemble refers to the riots; the communal unrest that happened in 2002 in Gujrat. The details are quite realistic and contain the effects of the religious and patriarchal ideologies on the life of people in general, and Mohammed and Soren family in particular.

1.5.a

After reaching home, Biram – kumang checks “everything in stock” (19) as curfew is expected. Even in riots, the Soren family is concerned about ‘food’ to survive.

1.5.b

The report says, “Some pilgrims had been returning from Ayodhya by the Sabarmati Express” (20), some people set fire to the train. Fifty-eight people dies. And the culprits are Muslims. The riots in this sub – ensemble proposes a communal set back and would put the life of Muslims living in Subhanpur colony at risk.

1.5.c

Panmuni - jhi made a call to Rabi who was in Cuttack. But Rabi responded the state there as “peaceful.” Still, they want him to go back to Ghatshila. Here Ghatshila signifies their home, the only safe place where they could live peacefully. The sub-ensemble establishes the significance of association to one’s land.

1.5.d

There were the only Muslim family in Subhanpur colony, Mohammeds. The only Muslim family draws an analogy with the only tribal family too. The situation seems to be replaceable and thus, forms a paradigm.

1.5.e

The slogans of “Jai Shri Ram!” and “Mussalmano, Bharat Chhodo!” (22) signify the revenge seeking Hindus that might involve genocide in the name of religion. Stones and bricks in combination with the abusive/obscene language “Motherfucking Mussalman! Hiding inside your mother’s cunt” (22) symbolises the degradation of a society where religion becomes a bigger sin than using abusive language. The entire community of Muslims is blamed in the game of identity politics.

1.5.f

The victims of the riots come out to be Muslim women of the house of Mr. Mohammed. The Muslim male members are not present, and the Hindu male mob try to snub the women under patriarchal ideologies of subjugation along with the religious ideologies.

6. Summary of the Sixth Sequence

In this sequence, the women of the Mhomed family start fighting back the Hindu mob of the sequence 5. Suddenly amidst screams for help, there is a “Clang!” (23). All kind of kitchen utensils start showering at the below standing mob. “vessels,” “spatula,” “steel degchi,” “sticks,” (23-24) and household items start coming from other rooftops too. There is display of womanhood and sisterhood. Panmuni – jhi too joins and start attacking the mob from her rooftop. Soon, there is exhibition of manhood and brotherhood too. Mob of forty fifty men want to kill Muslims but the Hindus of Subhanpur challenge the mob to kill them first. Mr. Rao along with Biram –Kumang join the men of the colony downstairs and their attack as a ‘sign’ of resistance confound the rioters. Ultimately, the rioters leave. Onwards, every evening, young men armed with sticks and whistles guard their respective houses. At night, there is police patrol. This guarding continues for a month.

1.6 Resistance: Element of Sisterhood Preceding Brotherhood

This ensemble contains the bounce-back of the residents of Subhanpur Colony.

1.6.a

Panmuni – jhi gathered some cooking utensils and stole out to help her friends (Muslim women) who had started to throw iron, steel, aluminium, tin and wooden implements to fight the rioters. Her action can be interpreted as a result of her empathy. The desire to revert back, and to reclaim identity, both as a female against men and as a tribal against ideologies of Hindus.

1.6.b

When the men shouted in anger and called the women “Cowards” (24), the women shouted back, “But if you are your father’s sons, you will come for the men” (24). Such words of subversion, put the patriarchal superiority in question.

1.6.c

Later, the men gathered and made the rioters board their trucks and they left. The men got together and mobilized a human chain, organised water and sand, and managed to contain the fire in the living room of the Mohammeds. This chain is a sign of unity in diversity which would ultimately serve the purpose of abolishing discrimination on the basis of caste. As caste is the extension of discrimination on the basis of food habits, the unity would end that discrimination too.

1.6.d

The members of the colony started to guard their respective houses with sticks and whistles. The curfew returned every night and continued up to a month. This guarding is a sign of resistance; an effort to re-claim and assert the existence, and identity of a group or an individual.

7. Summary of Seventh Sequence

The Soren family remains in Gujarat for two more years till 2004. Hopon after his board exams leaves for Bhubaneswar with her mother. They take a house on rent. Biram applies for the transfer and ultimately gets Ranchi as new station. The whole family reunites in “a nice, sprawling, three bedroom apartment in Doranda” (27)

1.7 Re-claiming Identity

This ensemble (without having any sub ensemble) simply carries the essence of all struggle of the Soren family which starts with the conflicting food habits being tribals. Towards the end, Panmuni – jhi reaches her true home in Ranchi and exclaims “our area” (27). This phrase is her final reconciliation with her identity. She can be what she is at a place “where no one minds what we eat” (27).

MAJOR THEMES AND MOTIF

The process of structuration can be understood properly only by positing both horizontal and vertical axis together. After discussing horizontal axis, it is the vertical axis which would be the focus in this section. In the analysis, ‘food’ is the motif which has diverse thematic extensions and configuration. ‘Food’ in each sequence is the semic code that decides the discourse of identity.

The first sequence revolves around the significance of food in the life of the main characters. ‘Food’ acts as a sign of their existence, their identity. They are those people who eat meat.

The second sequence validates caste system as a sign or indicator of one’s identity. In post-independent India of year 2000, discrimination is being made on the basis of caste. Even when tribals are not low-caste, such a discourse raises issues regarding the predicament of their minority. They are considered ‘impure’ whereas only Hindus are pure who do not eat meat.

In third sequence, Panmuni – jhi deals with her identity crisis which initiated in sequence 2. There is loss of identity with reference to ‘food’ and further with reference to place and caste. Now tribals are co-existing with Hindus, with purity and cleanliness. This sequence creates a contrast between the predicament

of tribals in tribal regions and Hindus in urban cities. The narration explains the entire existence of tribals in terms of opposition to ‘What Hindus are.’

In the fourth sequence, nostalgia as a sign symbolises a desire to go back to original roots --- tribal identity, tribal food, tribal market, tribal land, and tribal “breeze”. There is a reassertion of identity not in the course of events, but in the course of thoughts of Soren family.

In the fifth sequence, the complexities of living as a minority (in numbers) are represented indirectly. There is Soren family, Mohammed family and Women of the Mohammed --- all represent minority that is further equated to marginalisation. The fate met by the Mohammeds, refers to the fate that could be met by the Sorens. Identity of ‘being a marginal,’ at the hands of the religious and communal ideologies, is established and the aftermath of this politicised identity bears thematic concern of loss of identity. There is also imbrication of caste and gender.

In the sixth sequence, the resistance in the middle of identity crisis take the shape of sisterhood and brotherhood. Discrimination and separatism, which has started on the basis of the semic code ‘food’ and further extends to religious and gender discrimination, is subverted with an equally powerful anti-identity discourse.

In the seventh sequence, the reconciliation of the family at Ranchi signifies the reclamation of tribal identity where they are free entities – free to eat and to live their own ways.

Conclusion

The paper explores a short story “They Eat Meat” with the help of the semiotic method. In the narrative, the author has woven a story around ‘Food’ as a sign, a semic code or motif (recurrent theme) of identity with further extensions of class, caste, purity, place (land), and time (history). The syntactic analysis brings out all the thematic concerns related to food. In scope, the paper opens up queries in cultural studies and subaltern studies with the contemporary context of Delhi riots.

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TRANSPIRATION OF TRAUMA AMONG CHILDREN AND ITS RAMIFICATIONS ON THEIR COGNITIVE DEVELOPMENT

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ABSTRACT:

The paper discovers that trauma supervenes in young children and it affects the lives of its victims afterwards. There are several traumatic factors such as rape, public humiliation, police interrogation, racial discrimination, loss of family members, friends and property etc. that can cause trauma. It has been found that due to trauma, children experience innumerable psychic corollaries such as awful perception of death, initiation of sobs, submissiveness, abusive language, loss of sleep, hunger and self-respect, psychical tiredness, numbness, visualization of countless dead bodies in dreams, fright, hysteria, addiction to alcohol, disinterest in music, ennui for liaison, loss of temper, grubby outlook, loss of consciousness, feeling of anxiety, uncertainty, and suicidal tendencies. Furthermore, it is observed that there has been very little critical research on traum

a anent cognitive development to ameliorate the mental and physical condition of the affected children. There have been a lot of interventions that target psychological trauma, but they are not sufficient to meet the developmental needs of children. There is still a paramount need to provide safe environments; support children and caregivers to understand the links between traumatic experiences and cognitive difficulties; develop positive relationships among children, parents, and caregivers; offer the targeted trauma-specific interventions to the affected children; maintain the interventions throughout childhood and adolescence; and to ensure that the developmental issues and difficulties are addressed properly.

INTRODUCTION:

It has been observed that trauma emerges due to a number of harrowing factors such as butchery of humans, trumped-up murder charges, brutal interrogation, conspiracies of the police and other involved authorities, verbal abuse, the scene of burning corpses, the perception of death in childhood, teasing, abductions, rapes, gang rapes, desecration of religious places and scriptures, sadism, killing of one's family members, stillbirths, scene of the execution of lathi charge, exploitation of natives, their cultures and resources, scene of stabbing, scene of shattered corpses, scene of burning property, looting, scene of attacks, scene of the mutilation of human limbs and skeletons, abductions, negligence, illnesses, medical ill-treatment, racial discrimination, gender discrimination, early marriage, elopement, news of the murder of family members, adultery of a parent (s), and conflict between parents. The aforementioned reasons push the victims to undergo trauma and then repetitive trauma (Singh, 2019). The paper provides an overview of what we know from research about cognitive development in children who have experienced trauma and provides principles to support effective practice responses to children's trauma. The exposure to trauma is common among children who have been placed in care (Gabbay et al., 2004), and there is increasing interest in the necessities for such children. Trauma is thought to have significant implications for the development of children's cognition, language and self-identity. The present paper provides an overview of the state of the evidence that links trauma with deferred cognitive development.

The children who are quite vulnerable, are likely to have been exposed to trauma, as they are often exposed to a range of upsetting factors that impact their cognitive development. The early-life adversities for such children include exposure to tearfulness, incommunicability, collective trauma, resentment, exasperation, abrasive language, deep-rooted abhorrence, feeling of defeat, numbness confusion, duality, perennial timidity, uncanniness, restlessness, frightening and demoralizing appearance, mournfulness, sleeplessness, religion conversion, transfixion, despondency, motionlessness, indecisiveness, hesitancy, nostalgia, defencelessness, schizophrenia, loss of thirst, hunger and sleep, homelessness, bleakness, coldness, gloominess, feeling of guilt, pusillanimity, confusion, anxiety, depression, dysfunction of psychological structures, acute fear, fear to see the place of murder of family members, feeling of tearing of flesh from the body, feeling of drain of blood from the body, inability to flicker eyelids, convulsive reaction of muscles, enmity between friends, violent behaviour, revivification of the death of family members, fright of death, hallucination, loneliness, acute pain, tremble, psychic deadness, propensity to kill others, animosity for the parents, utter sickness, alienation from the outer world, ceaseless quest for the loved ones, self-harm, demented frenzy, self-accusation, feeling of bleeding heart, oblivion, restlessness, inertia, loss of the self, emergence of the second self, wails of anguish, suffocation, hesitation to meet the family members after getting raped, hiding of truth, tragic appearance, soulful burden, fear of divine retribution, resuscitation of brutality, violation of laws, anger and threatening behaviour (Singh, 2019).

The potential impact of all the upsetting factors need to be considered for developing a strong support for the children who are being looked after in the care homes and orphanages. This supportive practice outlines what empirical research unearths about cognitive development in line with the adversities encountered by the children placed in out-of-home care, and what it might mean for supporting them. It will also detail the limitations to current knowledge about the impacts of trauma on cognitive development while emphasising the significant impact of antenatal alcohol exposure on later cognitive development. The practice summarises current evidence about the likely ramifications of trauma and other common adversities on children's cognitive development. By summarising up the empirical evidence and linking trauma with cognitive difficulties, it is confirmed that

the technique provides a perspective on the current state of evidence while highlighting the need to further develop the evidence for interventions. It also suggests some principles that can be applied to facilitate children's cognitive development in practice. Although the focus of the technique is on children in care, the principles stated in the paper are applicable to other children anent child protection services and other similar services.

Children who are placed in out-of-home care are likely to experience a range of early-life adversities. The range and complexity of these adverse circumstances are well known to practitioners, and they include trauma, abuse, neglect and antenatal substance exposure in the traumatic intricacies. The Adverse Childhood Experiences study (Anda et al., 2006) has shown that this kind of exposure is associated with a range of adverse physical and mental health outcomes in adulthood (Price-Robertson et al., 2013). The current research suggests that the behavioural difficulties of many children in care are underpinned by the cognitive vulnerabilities related to exposure to adverse and traumatic events in childhood. Indeed, children who are placed in out-of-home care experience higher levels of behavioural and mental health issues than children from similar backgrounds who are not placed in care (Ford et al., 2007).

There has been a paramount research on the corollaries of traumatic events (Atkinson, 2013; Cook et al., 2003; Cook et al., 2005; Perry, 2006, 2009; Van der Kolk et al., 2009). Many of the assumptions made in the above mentioned works have not been subjected to critical review despite the influence of these ideas in influencing the service delivery for children in out-of-home care. Similarly, there has not yet been any rigorous evaluation of the interventions that are being developed in line with these assumptions. While the broad symptoms of complex developmental trauma reflect clearly the experiences of many children in care, other difficulties can't be related to trauma but to adversities such as antenatal alcohol exposure, placement instability, poverty, neglect and pervasive developmental issues (De Jong, 2010; Zilberstein & Popper, 2014). In other words, interventions that target complex trauma may be necessary but not sufficient to meet the developmental needs of children in care (Zilberstein & Popper, 2014).

Many policy documents highlight the potential for 'trauma-informed' interventions to affect the change in cognitive functioning and the other areas of development. There has been a confined criticism of this paradigm as a basis for the treatment of children in care. The criticism is based on the three arguments: the way in which brain development is represented in line with trauma; the claims regarding the plasticity of the brain and what it means for therapeutic intervention, are not justified by the available science, and the therapeutic interventions that are based on singing, rhythmic drumming, and spinning have not yet been subjected to the systematic evaluation that other trauma-specific therapies have (Bisson & Andrew, 2007). The next factor that retards the psychic development of children is a complex developmental trauma. Working with developmental trauma requires a different framework of treatment than work with trauma experienced later in life. Unfortunately, not all therapists appear to be up-to-date with current research and practice essential for effective treatment.

The complex trauma refers to the impact of children's exposure to traumatic events on their development and long-term outcomes in the context of interpersonal relationships with caregivers (Cook et al., 2003; Cook et al., 2005). It is thought that in this context, the neurological development of the brain becomes distorted in such a way that the 'survival mechanisms' of the brain and body are more dominant than the 'learning mechanisms' (Atkinson, 2013). It results in wide-ranging impairments in arousal, cognitive, emotional and social functioning. Although the description of complex trauma resonates with many practitioners, the lack of rigorous evidence in support of complex trauma as a construct and paucity of evidence in favour of interventions for complex trauma has meant that it has not yet been accepted as a formal diagnostic category by mental health professionals (APA,

2004). Unfortunately, the published studies demonstrating the impact of complex trauma tend to have included children who meet criteria for discrete Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) rather than those children raised in the context of maladaptive care (De Bellis et al., 2009; Gabowitz et al., 2008; Teicher et al., 1997; Teicher et al., 2004). It does not mean that the complex trauma is not a valid construct, but there is a lack of empirical research in the area. Researchers have yet to develop agreed ways to define and measure the complex trauma so that the evidence based for intervention can be established.

One of the popular descriptions of the impact of complex trauma and early adversity in the context of neglect and abuse links the environmental events to chronic disruption of a child victim's stress hormones that lead to chronic hyper-arousal and ongoing sensitivity to stress (Perry, 2006; Perry, 2009). Chronic stress hormone dysregulation is thought to lead to changes in the sequential development of brain structures and brain functioning, through the process of 'use-dependent synaptic pruning' (Perry, 2009). These changes can be addressed though to some extent by regular and intensive intervention that regulates the more 'primitive regions' of the brain through repetitive and rhythmic activities in the context of continuous therapeutic relationships (Perry, 2009; Perry & Dobson, 2013). Though animal studies have supported the basic premise of a link between early stress and hormone dysregulation, there isn't yet a parallel research that demonstrates the impact of early adversity on human brain development (Moffitt, 2013; Shors, 2006; Teicher et al., 2006), nor does the research that demonstrates the impact of interventions target brain development. The collaboration between practitioners and researchers is needed to advance this field and to document the effectiveness of services based on the chronic disruption of child victims. An ample research is needed to establish the relationship between the wide range of early life stressors including changes in brain and hormone functioning and child development (McLaughlin et al., 2014; Moffitt, 2013). There is great potential to focus on practitioner-research partnerships to better document, evaluate and inform emerging models of intervention for children in care. This will be an important step in developing and justifying interventions directed towards children in care (McCrary et al., 2011; Moffitt, 2013).

It has been observed that an inadequate research has explored the link between trauma, cognitive development and the interventions that are effective in helping affected children. Some of the reasons for such a lack are: methodological and conceptual issues in defining and monitoring the impact of trauma; the absence of a suitable measure for assessing outcomes of interventions for children in care; and the need to better integrate neuroimaging and neuropsychological studies into a program of research that tracks cognitive development over time. The research in this area is conceptually under-developed. The attempts to explore the aftermath of different types and subtypes of abuse and trauma on brain development have been inconclusive (McLaughlin et al., 2014; Wall et al., 2016). This is unsurprising, as many children have experienced multiple forms of abuse and neglect, but the research is still universally inadequate. Despite this, the research has typically used the abuse subtypes as selection criteria. Recently a dimensional model based on childhood experience has been proposed. In the model, the children who have predominantly experienced deprivation are distinguished from those whose predominant experience has been of uncontrollable danger. This could help with better understanding children's expected and required needs. It also makes intuitive sense: experiences of deprivation indicate the need for interventions that focus on intensive learning and input whereas experiences of uncontrollable danger may be better addressed through intervention targeting safety and cognitive integration (McLaughlin et al., 2014). Unquestionably, the dimensional model of childhood adversity could lead to new insights in the aforesaid area.

The existing research focused on the transpiration of trauma among children and its ramifications on their cognitive growth is methodologically under-developed. It relies on

categorical, cross sectional and retrospective designs: this makes it difficult to disentangle the relative contribution of trauma and adversity, pre-natal influences, genetics complexities, mental health issues, and normal developmental changes in brain development (Pineau et al., 2014). This means that there is still relatively little empirical information about how the impact of abuse depends on the developmental stage(s) at which it occurs, or about which regions of the brain are vulnerable at different stages of development (McCrary et al., 2011). Such questions can only be answered by developing longitudinal research designs. Further, there is also a lack of rigorous evaluation of interventions for affected children. One reason for this is that there is no single screening tool that can capture the full range of cognitive and behavioural difficulties found among children in care (De Jong, 2010; Oswald et al., 2010; Perry & Dobson, 2013; Schmid et al., 2013; Tarren-Sweeney, 2010; Van der Kolk et al., 2009). This makes it difficult for services to capture the cognitive difficulties that children experience and to evaluate if cognitive interventions lead to an amelioration in children's functionality.

Studies that address the relationship between trauma and cognitive development generally take the form of either neuroimaging studies or neuropsychological studies. Neuroimaging studies focus on the growth of important brain structures, and on how efficiently the brain responds to emotional stimuli. Studies in the field of neuropsychology use performance on well-established tasks to infer brain functioning (McCrary et al., 2010; McCrary et al., 2011). Collectively, the paper suggests that the brain development of children in care is likely to be affected in some way by their early experiences. The neuropsychological impact of adversity can vary widely, however, and not all children that experience adversity go on to develop difficulties related to learning, memory and attention. The impact of adversity on brain development depends whether children primarily have experienced traumatic experiences during their pre-care life. It results in either delayed cognitive development or dis-integration of cognitive skills (McLaughlin et al., 2014). This area of research is not well developed and is conceptually and methodologically underdeveloped. For instance, antenatal alcohol exposure frequently affects later cognitive functioning (McLean & McDougall, 2014; McLean et al., 2014), but studies of children in care rarely report on history of antenatal alcohol exposure.

It has been observed that trauma and adversity usually lead to a hyper-arousal of the hypothalamic-pituitary-adrenal axis that results in the changes in brain development. In reality, this is almost certainly an oversimplification of the relationship between trauma and the stress hormone system (Frodl & O'Keane, 2013; McCrary et al., 2011; McLaughlin et al., 2014). Although there is consensus that early stress leads to an ongoing dysregulation of the body's HPA axis stress response system (McEwan, 2012), the exact nature of this dysregulation is debated (Frodl & O'Keane, 2013; McCrary, De Brito & Viding, 2010; Sapolsky et al., 1996). The research findings suggest that the stress response system can either become chronically over-activated or under-responsive over time (Frodl & O'Keane, 2013; McCrary et al., 2011; McEwan, 2012; McLaughlin et al., 2014) in response to a complex mix of factors that are currently vague. Therefore, while the findings support the idea that childhood trauma is associated with a disruption in the HPA axis response, they do not uniformly support the idea of chronic hyper-activation. Although dysregulation of the stress response system is associated with changes in the development of key brain structures, the association is not as straightforward. At present, the evidence in support of the link comes predominantly from the studies of adults that retrospectively report the history of abuse rather than from the normal studies of children. The precise relationship between timing, nature of adversity and impaired brain development is blurred, and it can only be determined through the ongoing longitudinal research (McCrary et al., 2011).

Most of the trauma studies investigating the relationship between trauma and changes in the development, regulation and responsiveness of a child's brain over time are based on studies of adults who report a history of childhood abuse rather than studies that track children's development over time (McLaughlin et al., 2014; Teicher et al., 2012). Contrarily, neuropsychological studies generally provide solid evidence for the link between trauma and neurological function. Neuropsychological studies are more useful than neuroimaging studies in assessing children's everyday functioning because they provide more direct insight into the difficulties that children experience. On the whole, neuropsychological studies tend to show that children who have experienced or witnessed violence, trauma, abuse or neglect experience more cognitive difficulties as compared to children who haven't experienced these adversities (McCrary et al., 2011; McLaughlin et al., 2014). For instance, children exposed to neglect are more vulnerable to general delays in cognitive and language development (De Bellis et al., 2009; Hart & Rubia, 2012; McLaughlin et al., 2014). Neglected children and poverty afflicted victims are comparatively at higher risk of general cognitive delay than those exposed to abuse (Hilyard & Wolfe, 2002; McLaughlin et al., 2014). Among the abused children, increasing severity of abuse is associated with less intelligence and creativity (Carrey et al., 1995; Hart & Rubia, 2012; Prasad et al., 2005; Pollak et al., 2010). These studies don't generally control other factors that can affect IQ scores such as education level and presence of Post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) or depression. It means these findings can't necessarily be generalised to all child victims in care. In other words, the evidence suggests that there are multiple factors such as neglect and poverty which affect general intelligence development.

The presence of PTSD affects cognitive execution. Studies show that children with PTSD subsequent to abuse have lower verbal intelligence quotient (IQ) when they are subjected to assessment. It suggests that the presence of PTSD rather than abuse itself is more relevant (Saigh et al., 2006; Hart & Rubia, 2012). One of the trauma studies has examined the relationship between IQ and exposure to domestic violence, using an ample sample of twins to tame genetic influences on IQ (Koenen, et al., 2003). In this study, exposure to domestic violence was observed linked to less IQ. That's the more severe the traumatic exposure, the bigger the repercussion. The IQ scores of tested children exposed to domestic violence were found eight points lower than those of the children who were not exposed to violence after controlling the effects of genetics and other forms of maltreatment (Koenen et al., 2003). This suggests that the history of exposure to violence and PTSD have arcane influences on cognitive development. The next corollary has been observed as the loss of memory. There is reasonable evidence that memory is affected by trauma and adversity. The brain structures that are associated with memory consolidation have been found to differ in adults (but not among children) who report a history of abuse. For example, adults with the history of abuse have been shown to have smaller hippocampal volume – an area of the brain associated with memory consolidation (Hart & Rubia, 2012; McLaughlin et al., 2014; Teicher et al., 2012). As compared with non-abused children, abused children reflect less effective activation of this area of the brain during a memory recall task (Carrion et al., 2010; McLaughlin et al., 2014). Neuropsychological studies of children also support the idea that memory is affected by the exposure to trauma and other adversities. Trauma studies of children who have been diagnosed with PTSD in the context of abuse also suggest that the afflicted experience memory difficulties, but the findings depend on the way memory is measured. Some of the studies have found no difference in memory performance between children with and without abuse (Beers & De Bellis, 2002) whereas the other studies that practised regular tests of memory reveal that children with PTSD have shoddy memory as compared with those without PTSD (Yule & Dalgeish, 1999). It has been observed that children who have

experienced abuse-related PTSD, have difficulty with a wide range of memory tasks (Cicchetti et al., 2010; De Bellis et al., 2002; McLean & Beytell, 2016).

The reverberation of trauma among children is linked with social and emotional information that is processed differently. The area of brain (amygdala) associated with the automatic processing of emotional information, has been shown over-responsive to emotional stimuli in some of the trauma studies (McCrary et al., 2011; McLaughlin et al., 2014; Pollak et al., 2001). Traumatized children make angry faces more quickly than non-traumatized children (McLaughlin et al., 2014; Pollak & Sinha, 2002). The children who have been exposed to traumatic conditions also have less thickness in amygdala responsible for emotional processing of social information (De Brito et al., 2013; Kelly et al., 2013; McLaughlin et al., 2014), and it suggests that amygdala is less developed in affected children as compared to non-abused children. Further, there is also evidence that executive functioning difficulties can develop as a result of early adversity. Executive functioning is a coordinated set of cognitive skills that include two broad domains: metacognitive skills (planning, organisation, and cognitive flexibility) and skills of behaviour regulation including response inhibition and emotional regulation (Goia et al., 2002).

The next affected area is that of metacognitive skills. Neuropsychological research suggests that children who have experienced neglect and physical abuse can experience problems in auditory attention and cognitive flexibility including problem-solving and planning (Nolin & Ethier, 2007). Children with abuse-related PTSD have been found extensively insignificant in attention and executive function as compared to children who were never subjected to maltreatment. The affected kids made more errors in tasks of sustained attention, and they were more easily distracted and more impulsive than their matched peers (De Bellis et al., 2009; Nolin & Ethier, 2007). The study has next found that experiencing PTSD in the context of familial trauma has more severe impact on executive functioning than non-familial trauma (DePrince et al., 2009). As compared to safe children, emotionally neglected children have impecunious psychic functionality during tasks that require inhibitory control which indicates that neglect is associated with poor ability to self-regulate and inhibit responses (Mueller et al., 2010; McLaughlin et al., 2014). This is also resistant to intervention (McLean & Beytell, 2016).

The present research suggests that affected children are more likely to experience cognitive difficulties due to trauma and PTSD. Additionally, an advanced research is required to explore the impact of the timing of abuse; familial or non-familial trauma and to detect whether cognitive difficulties are due to abuse itself or the PTSD that arises due to traumatic experiences. In the research, PTSD is commonly linked with cognitive functioning which necessitates an urgency to address cognitive vulnerabilities among children showing signs of PTSD. In general, the evidence based on abuse and cognitive impairment is not as strong as it is for other factors including the impairment arising from foetal alcohol syndrome (McLean & McDougall, 2014). Taking into consideration the range of factors impacting cognitive development, the broader literature on cognitive functioning among children in care suggests several areas that can be affected by childhood adversity. As a whole, the literature suggests that children in care are likely to experience debatable executive functioning, difficulty regulating arousal levels in response to emotional and sensory stimulation, difficulty with attention and memory, distinct patterns of social information processing, reactivity to sensory stimuli, disruptions to sleep and rest, compromised language development including difficulty in the grasp and social use of language despite apparently adequate verbal abilities (Cook et al., 2005; De Lisi & Vaughn, 2011; Lansdown et al., 2007; McCrary et al., 2010; McLean & McDougall, 2014; Noll et al., 2006; Ogilvie et al., 2011; Perry & Dobson, 2013.)

The paper further underlines some suggestions that could be useful in supporting the development of cognitive skills in children who have been exposed to trauma and other

adversities. The suggestions are based on the empirical research methodology implemented in the paper. There is relatively inadequate research on interventions to support the recovery of cognitive skills in children affected by trauma and adversity (McLean & Beytell, 2016). Studies have started to include ameliorations in cognitive skills as a part of outcome measurement (Pears et al., 2013; Tordon et al., 2014). Consequently, the existing knowledge is limited though the field of trauma studies is an emerging one. The National Child Traumatic Stress Network has produced practice guidelines for addressing trauma as it emphasises the importance of providing physical and psychological safety for children, creating and maintaining safe, positive and stable relationships among parents, children, caretakers and concerned authorities, supporting the child to develop emotional regulatory skills, and enlisting coordinated support and self-care for personal and professional stress. It has been observed that the guidelines are useful for supporting recovery of traumatised children, but they do not necessarily address the other needs that children require in out-of-home care. The next guiding principles are aimed to support the cognitive development, to respond to the diverse experiences of children in care. These experiences include neglect, antenatal substance exposure, disrupted relationships, unfamiliar incidents, threatening environments, unexpected invasions and complex mental health issues (DeJong, 2010; Zilberstein & Popper, 2014).

The six principles for supporting the cognitive development of children in out-of-home care are observed to: provide safe environments and rich experiences that stimulate and enrich brain growth, support children and caregivers to understand the link between traumatic events and cognitive difficulties, develop and support positive relationships and connections in children's lives, maintain targeted interventions throughout childhood and adolescence, offer targeted and trauma-specific interventions to all affected children, ensure that specific cognitive difficulties are addressed directly.

The cognitive development will be supported by stable caregiving. An uninterrupted caregiving will support brain development by fostering psychological safety. The experience of psychological safety reduces the need to engage in constant vigilance, enabling children to make the most of learning and developmental opportunities. There are often barriers for children who need psychological safety. It is important not to equate physical safety (resident care) with psychological safety which may take time to get developed. Children may not experience psychological safety when they are placed in care homes due to the belief that adults are dangerous. Out-of-home care environments also inadvertently undermines psychological safety through adjustment with strangers or other abusive children, placement in volatile residential care facilities or placement without sufficient transition planning. Children placed with people whose behaviour is frightening or dangerous may not experience the necessary psychological safety. Thus, their capacity for new learning will be diminished.

The carer takers and the child victims need a full-fledged understanding of the difficulties the sufferers encounter. An explanation for deficits in learning, organisation skills and memory can empower both children and caregivers if it leads to more realistic self-identity and a more optimistic outlook on the possibility of learning new skills. Linking pre-care experiences and poorly developed cognitive skills can help carers to persist in the face of challenging behaviour. The social support for the caregivers is also an important way to support the child victims. The caregivers who raise children with cognitive difficulties can experience significant strain that can impact on their emotional availability and the quality of the care they provide (Octoman & McLean, 2012). The caregiving has been observed vital to recuperate children's cognitive functioning (Dozier et al., 2012; McLean & Beytell, 2016). The foster parents trained in the program focused on responsive caregiving, were able to improve cognitive skills such as perspective-taking in children (Sprang, 2009). The emotional regulation has been linked to children's capacity for cognitive flexibility which is de facto an

ability to rapidly respond and adapt to changing circumstances in children exposed to intimate partner violence (Samuelson et al., 2012). Further, it is also unearthed that positive parenting is linked to children's capacity for organisation and planning which suggests that children's interaction with caregivers can be central to the development of their cognitive skills though they are victims of neurotic trauma.

It has been exposed that any transfer of a traumatised child victim should ensure the child's safety, his/her connect with positive influences and relationships in the home, school, and broader community. The positive family functioning, safe living environments and positive relationships in school and community are likely to facilitate cognitive development. A special attention is required to maximise the positive aspects of family contact or to protect the child from ongoing exposure to trauma due to domestic violence. The proper placement stability will ensure continuity of relationships and a necessary foundation for recovery through facilitating predictability and safety. The certain placement stability will increase the likelihood that there is a person who understands well the impact of trauma on the child. Such a caregiver can help the child, the child's statutory caseworker and other significant players to make sense of how trauma and adversity have affected the child, and what the requirements to move forward the case are. Interventions with young children in care demonstrate that continuous, consistent and responsive caregiving can change brain stress hormone levels (Dozier et al., 2008; Dozier et al., 2009) and improve their capacity for self-regulation (Pears et al., 2013). A positive and stable connection with education services is also important. The child's school can provide an environment in which intensive and continuous interventions can be delivered. A program that has combined 'foster parent training' and 'school-based training' that focussed on literacy and self-regulation skills shows that consistency in approach between the foster parents and the school has resulted in the improved behaviour, inhibitory control and emotional regulation in young children (McLean & Beytell, 2016; Pears et al., 2013). It is suggested that schools should offer the stability and continuity which is needed to address some specific difficulties (McLean & Beytell, 2016; Tordon et al., 2014).

Now-a-days the opportunity for addressing underdeveloped cognitive skills is greater than the previous times. The children aged between 14 to 16 are the most affected victims of abuse (McCrory et al., 2011). It implies that the brain is malleable, and it can be benefitted from the targeted interventions. The executive function skills get matured over a more prolonged period than the other cognitive skills (Hedges & Woon, 2011; Pechtel & Pizzagalli, 2010). It reflects that there is a long period of time during which interventions are possible. There is evidence that trauma-specific interventions can undoubtedly improve the aspects of cognitive functioning (Matulis et al., 2013). It contradicts the often-expressed view that it is difficult to support older children. Longitudinal research is still needed to clarify the exact windows during which targeted interventions may be most effective, but there is every reason to believe that improvement in discrete cognitive skills such as memory and attention is possible for most children throughout adolescence.

It is explored that the children in care experience neglect, trauma and adversity. There is an urgent need to develop tailored interventions for the difficulties faced by the afflicted children. In the meantime, the children in care should be offered interventions based on the best current evidence that target trauma symptoms and cognitive skills. The targeted strategies can include: Trauma-Focused CBT (Cohen et al., 2011); Dialectical Behaviour Therapy (Matulis et al., 2013); and interventions that focus on the development of specific cognitive skills (Rasmussen et al., 2010). At present, Trauma-Focused CBT is the approach that has most empirical support (Cohen et al., 2011). This trauma-specific intervention has also been observed to improve the broad aspects of executive functioning such as cognitive skills and emotional regulation (Cohen et al., 2011; Matulis et al., 2013). Therefore, until

more tailored interventions are developed for the complex needs of children in care, trauma-specific therapy should be offered as part of the support plan for children who have been exposed to traumatic events. Ideally, this input will occur in the context of a trauma-aware organisational framework (Wall et al., 2016).

It has been observed that children in out-of-home care will experience some degree of cognitive difficulty and discrete trauma symptoms depending on their respective experiences. Although safe and consistent caregiving will create the necessary conditions for recovery, it is not sufficient to meet the needs of many children. Studies of children in care and related populations including children with neurodevelopmental issues or acquired head injury (Melby-Lervag & Hulme, 2013), children affected by fetal alcohol spectrum disorders (McLean & McDougall, 2014), and children with PTSD – all suggest that cognitive skills can be improved with specific and targeted interventions delivered in the context of a safe and nurturing relationship. Caregivers also need to provide a structured and predictable environment in order to accommodate children with cognitive vulnerabilities. A recent review (Melby-Lervag & Hulme, 2013) of interventions for children with neurodevelopmental difficulties suggests that it is beneficial to develop specific approaches to address cognitive difficulties such as poor memory, attention, or language skills. In this context, deferred speech and underdeveloped vocabulary mean that affected children struggle with verbally mediated counselling approaches (such as narrative therapies and restorative justice approaches) that rely on oral language competence. Children get benefitted from the use of simple language, the repetition of key concepts, visual strategies such as cartoon social stories and visual prompts to support the comprehension of ideas from therapy or discussions with caregivers.

It is also further unearthed that children often struggle with adapting behaviour to suit different settings, to transition from task to task, and to plan, initiate or complete school work. The children with this kind of difficulty can benefit from highly structured environments where expectations are transparent. They can benefit from prompts to stay on task and the use of pre-arranged strategies to let them know when a transition is pending. These can include advanced warnings, timers, and visual cues (such as paper chain links, a timer to count down to the end of an activity). The difficulty with behavioural regulation and impulsive control can be supported by the use of prompts to remind the child to monitor its behaviour. The visual cues and reminders of the steps between impulse and action can also be accommodating. The children in care can experience a range of difficulties related to the ability to identify, recognise, experience, tolerate and to express emotions. Depending on the difficulty, children can benefit from training in the recognition of emotions and support with learning the names of emotions to increase their emotional literacy. The positive role modelling is also an important method by which children can learn socially acceptable ways to experience emotions. The children who have experienced trauma have difficulty in fully experiencing some emotions. Therefore, providing an environment in which the child can begin to safely experience such emotions will be advantageous. If caregivers can tolerate trauma-related emotions, then children can learn that it is safe to express these emotions over time. The interventions such as Dialectical Behaviour Therapy that support children and adolescents to tolerate strong emotions are helpful. They can lead to improvements in self-control over time (Bohus et al., 2009; Steil et al., 2011; Matulis et al., 2013).

The children having learning difficulties don't comply with instructions. Sometimes, they are wilfully disobedient. Caregivers need assistance in adapting the way that they can give instructions and make requests to children. Caregiver need support with strategies to gain children's attention prior to engage them in conversations. Rehearsal and repetition techniques can improve children's difficulties with attention and short-term memory (Loomes et al., 2008; Manji et al., 2009). Verbal memory can be strengthened by instructing

children and caregivers in the use of written reminders, cue sheets, diaries and electronic reminders. The computerised programs have been detected to ameliorate memory and attention skills in clinical populations. The Amsterdam Memory and Attention Training for Children program (Rasmussen et al., 2010) have shown promising results although they have not yet been evaluated with children in care settings. Children's automatic reaction to social stimuli is likely to get biased towards fear or hostility. Caregivers can support children in re-appraising social situations by teaching and modelling the appropriate reactions to social situations. This way, they will develop trust in other adults and model appropriate social interaction skills. Children can sometimes display poor social discrimination leading to poor choices regarding social interactions. The appropriate social boundaries can be reinforced using visual teaching aids such as circle diagrams that can be used to distinguish family from non-family and friends from strangers. There is also evidence that computerised programs that target social anxiety may be helpful in addressing eye contact aversion in children and adults (Steil et al., 2011).

It has been found that children experience PTSD symptoms after they encounter upsetting incidents in which sensory information and emotions become disconnected. Later reminders of trauma can cause fragments of the memory or sensations associated with the out of context trauma. The child victims will learn to avoid reminders of traumatic events in an attempt to avoid experiencing unpleasant emotions associated with trauma. PTSD symptoms can be minimised by providing the opportunity to children for talking about unpleasant events, thoughts and feelings. During trauma therapies, children are encouraged to learn to recognise and tolerate the strong emotions associated with trauma. This helps minimise avoidance and other symptoms over time. The child victims can find it encouraging to know that an adult can tolerate their strong emotions without becoming overwhelmed. The aforementioned therapies and some more apposite relaxation trainings and mindfulness strategies can also be helpful to calm heightened revivifications and to tolerate strong feelings associated with the past harrowing events. Moreover, the sleeping strategies are also unquestionably significant to normalise heightened flashbacks and disturbed sleep-wake cycles of child victims.

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CHHAJU RAM MEMORIAL JAT COLLEGE, HISAR (HARYANA)



National Seminar on

RE-PRESENTING THE RURAL : LITERATURE, CINEMA & FOLKLORE

Organised by : Department of English

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Certificate

This is to certify that Mr./Ms./Dr. Parvanshi Sharma, Assistant Professor


Chandigarh University, Mohali participated in

One Day National Seminar (Online) on Re-presenting the Rural : Literature, Cinema & Folklore organised by the Department of English, C.R.M. Jat College, Hisar (Haryana) on November 13, 2021. He/She presented a paper titled :

Negotiations Between Rural Setting and Urban Lens : A Study of a Web-series, Panchayat


Krishan Lal
Convener


Dr. Suman Rani
Co-convener


Dr. Parvinder
Organising Secretary


R. S. Dhangar
PRINCIPAL & PATRON



Certificate of Presentation

This is to certify that

Mr./ Ms. Parvanshi Sharma

Designation Assistant Professor, Chandigarh University has participated in **"2nd National Conference on Contemporary Perspectives (NCCPE-2022) in English Language, Literature & Cultural Studies"** from

15th-16th July, 2022 conducted by Department of English (University Institute of Liberal Arts and Humanities), Chandigarh University, Gharuan, Mohali. The participant presented the paper entitled

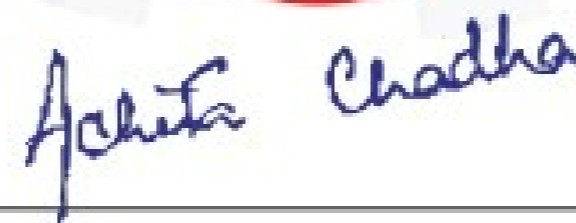
Understanding The Representation Of The Paradigms Of Rural Identity: A Study Of The Web Series Panchayat, Season 1 And 2

We appreciate your efforts and dedication and wish you the best in your future endeavours.

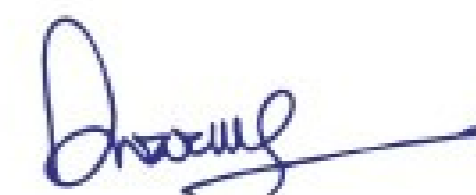
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Dated 20 February 2020

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.....*Parvanshi Sharma*..... presented a Research Paper
at the seminar on Cultural Studies organized at this Department on
February 20, 2020.

Deepti Gupta
Chairperson
Chairperson
Deptt. of Eng. & Cul. Studies
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Assistant Professor, Department of English

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