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BENGALURU, BANGALORE, BENGALURU: IMAGINATIONS AND THEIR TIMES
Edited by Narendar Pani, Sindhu Radhakrishna and Kishor G. Bhat
Sage Publications, New Delhi, 2010, pp. 290, Rs. 795.00

Narendar Pani. In his introductory essay, states that the book was compiled in the wake of an absence of 'a collective effort to recognize... (the city's past) (4)'. After noting that a dialogue between 'the present and the past'. . . has never gathered momentum in Bengaluru,' he offers an intriguing explanation for it:

And this lack of support for history can be traced to a single fact: all through Bengaluru's often tumultuous history, the emerging dominant groups have had little reason to celebrate the past... As the emerging economic powers put their own stamp on the city, they had no reason to celebrate earlier traditions that they were trying to replace. On the contrary, it helped to ignore the previous avatar of Bengaluru. And the best way to do so was to play down, if not completely ignore, the history of the city (p. 5).

While underscoring the necessity of a dialogue with the past, Pani wishes that presentist concerns do not govern the appropriations of the past and that the imaginations from the past be appreciated in themselves. He also clarifies that the book does not offer interpretations of either the motives or the historical circumstances behind those imaginations. Delegating that task to the readers themselves, the editors only offer framing notes to their chosen texts.

The book gathers a few of the imaginations of Bengaluru seen among 'dominant groups,' i.e., 'of those that were heard at each point of time (pp. 10–11)'. The temporal coordinates of these imaginations lie between the eighteenth and twenty-first centuries. This historical timespan, Pani explains, allows for identifying important 'turns' in the city's history and grasp the shifting identifications of the city from Bengaluru (18th century) to Bangalore (19th and 20th century) and to Bengaluru (21st century).

The past of Bengaluru, and, indeed, that of modern Karnataka itself, have not found more than a handful of carefully researched books. The reasons have as much to do with a languid research culture in local universities as with the lack of a demand for them. (The latter fact comes within the purview of a charged debate concerning the availability of a modern historical consciousness among Indians). Bengaluru, Bangalore, Bengaluru is therefore a welcome effort.

An engaging assortment of texts from the late eighteenth and early twenty-first centuries follow Pani's short survey essay of the historical trends in Bengaluru in this period.

The first section of the selected texts, 'From Bengaluru to Bangalore,' begins with Colonel Mark Wilks's triumphal account of the fall of Bangalore to the British in 1791. Thomas Munro's account of the same military encounter follows. This part closes with Francis Buchanan's fascinating diary entry on Bangalore and its castles composition. We therefore step straight into the colonial moment in the city's history without a sense for the pre-colonial eighteenth century imagination of Bengaluru which the editors identify as the predecessor to the Anglo-Indian imagination of the city.

The next section, 'Cantonment and the Anglo-Indian Legacy,' includes the dramatic defence of a British soldier at a trial for mutiny in the Cantonment in 1810, lovely descriptive notes on the Cantonment and the Anglo-Indian settlement of Whitefield by, respectively, a Wesleyan missionary and B.L. Rice, the compiler of the 1876 State Gazetteer of Mysore and Dewan Kantaraj Urs's warm address to the Muslims in the Cantonment.

The following three sections, 'Educatin Bengaluru', 'In Pursuit of the Modern', and 'Guardian State', consist of lively readings: an address to a liberal alunana education activist, the Maharaja's request to the fledgling Indian Institute of Science to set aside funds for deserving poor students, official discussions on the generation of hydro-electric power and the management of the plague outbreak in Bengaluru, state documents on the labour strife of the mid-1930s, extracts from the Infosys prospectus that accompanied the company's first public share offering in 1993, among others.

The next section, 'Bangalore to Bengaluru' which mostly consists of academic analyses of the city's climate, traffic, urban governance and built environment, inexplicably departs from the book's commitment to only showcase dominant imaginations of the city. The manifesto of the Bangalore Agenda Task Force (BATF), a now defunct state-nominated outfit made up almost entirely of the city's corporate elite, offers a good glimpse into the sinister aspect of the liberal imagination of Bangalore. Similar primary texts should have been found to illustrate the Bengalureans' deep love for their city's climate and daily horror at the worsening traffic.

The book's concluding section, 'The Future in the Past', has excerpts from Gandhi's 1927 speech in Bengaluru reaffirming the importance of sarvodaya ideals and Dewan Mirza Ismail's address at the inauguration of the Indian Academy of Sciences at IISc in 1934.

The assorted texts in Bengaluru, Bangalore, Bengaluru, reveal fascinating dimensions of the city's (and Mysore state's) complex history. But they are mostly imaginations in, and not of, the city. With the possible exception of the entries by Buchanan, Arthur Wesleyan, B.L. Rice, and the BATF, the other texts have little to say about the city itself. For instance, the petition of the Vokkaligara Sangha, a caste association, to the Maharaja of Mysore, asking for adequate representation in state services, and the diary entries of K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, a conservative bureaucrat opposed to the state's reservation policy, are fun to read but offer little by way of capturing the imagination of Bengaluru. This mismatch between the book's express desire to recuperate the shifting imaginations of the city and the work done by the excerpted texts in that regard is stark.

Although legitimate and exciting as an intellectual exercise, the exclusive focus on the texts of the dominant is puzzling because Pani deplores that 'the overwhelming presence of the imaginations of the dominant groups at each point in history has ensured (sic) the dialogue with the past is entirely one-sided (p. 6)'. And, since a dialogue with the past is what the book seeks to clear the ground for, the inclusion of a few dominated and dissenting imaginations seems necessary.

The book's assemblage of texts that were 'heard' (the editors' criterion for identifying a
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dominant imagination] is slanted heavily towards state actors: the Maharaja of Mysore, the Dewans, bureaucrats, census officials. The elites in other spheres, like the literary and scholarly elite, who were also 'heard', go missing. How did they imagine the city? It would have helped to know. The issue of Kannada language politics figures in the book in relation to the Gokak movement in the 1980s. But the passions for Karnataka's unification, which would have crucial implications for the linguistic identity of Bengaluru, were expressed in the early 20th century itself. Alur Venkata Rao's Kannataka Gatha Vaibhava (The Glory that was Karnataka) (1912), a popular historical work that took a unified Karnataka state as its territorial reference point, or Kuvempu's poem, Jaya He Kannataka Maathre (1928), which is now the official state anthem of Karnataka, are illustrative texts. The activism of literary figures to claim Bengaluru as a Kannada city was seen in the early 1950s itself.

How did the growth of Indian nationalism in Mysore state in the 1930s influence the imagination of Bengaluru? We find only a passing comment that it inspired labour activism in the city. Except for the essay by U.R. Ananthamurthy on the Gokak agitation (which does not qualify, though, as a text of the dominant imagination), the remaining contents of the book are English-language texts. Bringing non-English local texts into view would have allowed for a more complex perspective to emerge on the evolution of the city.

Mapping the shifting definitions of a city is without doubt an exciting intellectual task. And, the editors' preferred method of grasping these shifts only through a sampling of 'primary' texts is a refreshing departure from the usual modes of historical scholarship. A different set of texts ought to have been offered, however, to carry through the book's objective. But the objective can be set aside and the collected texts relished for their own sake.

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**International Migration: Does it Lead to Development?**

Archana Prasad

**INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION: THE HUMAN FACE OF GLOBALISATION**

By Brian Keeley

Academic Foundation, New Delhi, 2010, pp. 167, Rs. 495.00

**GOVERNANCE AND LABOUR MIGRATION: INDIA MIGRATION REPORT 2010**

Edited by S. Irudaya Rajan

Routledge, New York, 2010, pp. xviii + 315, Rs. 695.00

**MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT: THE KERALA EXPERIENCE**

By K.C. Zachariah and S. Irudaya Rajan

Daanish Books, New Delhi, 2009, pp. xiv + 318, Rs. 650.00

The three books under review deal with international migration and issues concerning the impact on the lives of the families and people migrating outside the country. Brian Keeley's book attempts to provide an overall perspective for the study of international migration, while the other two books are on India. The *India Migration Report*, 2010 analyzes the broad framework for international migration including its legal framework and implications whereas Irudaya and Zachariah's book is based on the Kerala migration survey. All three books deal with the central question of the relationship between migration and development.

In the main, the debates around migration and development have concentrated on the ways in which mobility contributes to prosperity and a better way of life for the migrants. It is argued that people move because they can earn more and this earning adds to their social and economic status. Though Keeley's book is sponsored by the OECD and adds to this perspective, it tries to adopt a more nuanced approach by pointing out the challenges that face governments with regard to migration. It admits that there is no conclusive evidence to show the relationship between remittances from migrants and development and discusses the problems associated with the migrants and the need for states to take notice of them. In all this the book assumes that migration has been taking place since the historical past because it is a necessary and inevitable part of the development process. Thus the book calls 'migration' the human face of globalisation and attempts to show how the migration patterns can positively impact on destination countries if migrants are provided language training, mentoring and suitable employment, which is commensurate with their qualifications. By mitigating the problems of the migrants both home and destination countries can benefit. Therefore it deals largely with the different aspects of migration rather than questioning the form of uneven capitalist development that uproots people from their homes and leads to their vulnerable position in other countries. In this sense the framework provided by this book only tells us half the story which hides the exploitative aspects of global migration and leads us to a distorted understanding of the problems associated with migration and the countries from which people are forced to migrate.

The perspective of the other two books under review needs to be evaluated in the context of the observations made above. It is significant that the editor of the *India Migration Report* 2010 writes in his historical overview to the book that migration has been structured by historical, political and trading links between countries, especially between India and the Middle East. He further concludes that migration in the post-Independence era has also to be seen in the light of the pattern of industrialization in the destination countries especially the UAE. It is significant that the author does not identify the global spread of capitalism as one of the main reasons for the historical migration as the growth of capitalism has always required the free flow of labour. For example Jyoti Sarkar's study of Bangladesh immigrants concludes that the main reason for the immigration is the religious divide and personal relations between East and West Bengal. It is surprising that the nature of the Indo-Bangladesh border dispute and the lack of absorption within the home economies is not given sufficient weight in the analysis thus confirming the analysis of Irudaya's opening article. Within this background the book goes on to explore the methodology for assessing the impact on economic growth and private investments in an article by Hrushikes Mallick. He goes on to conclude that since remittances do not have any impact on the nature of private investments of the government which governments need to accept. This preoccupation with the nature of growth and investment is further reflected in some other aspects of the book where the impact of...