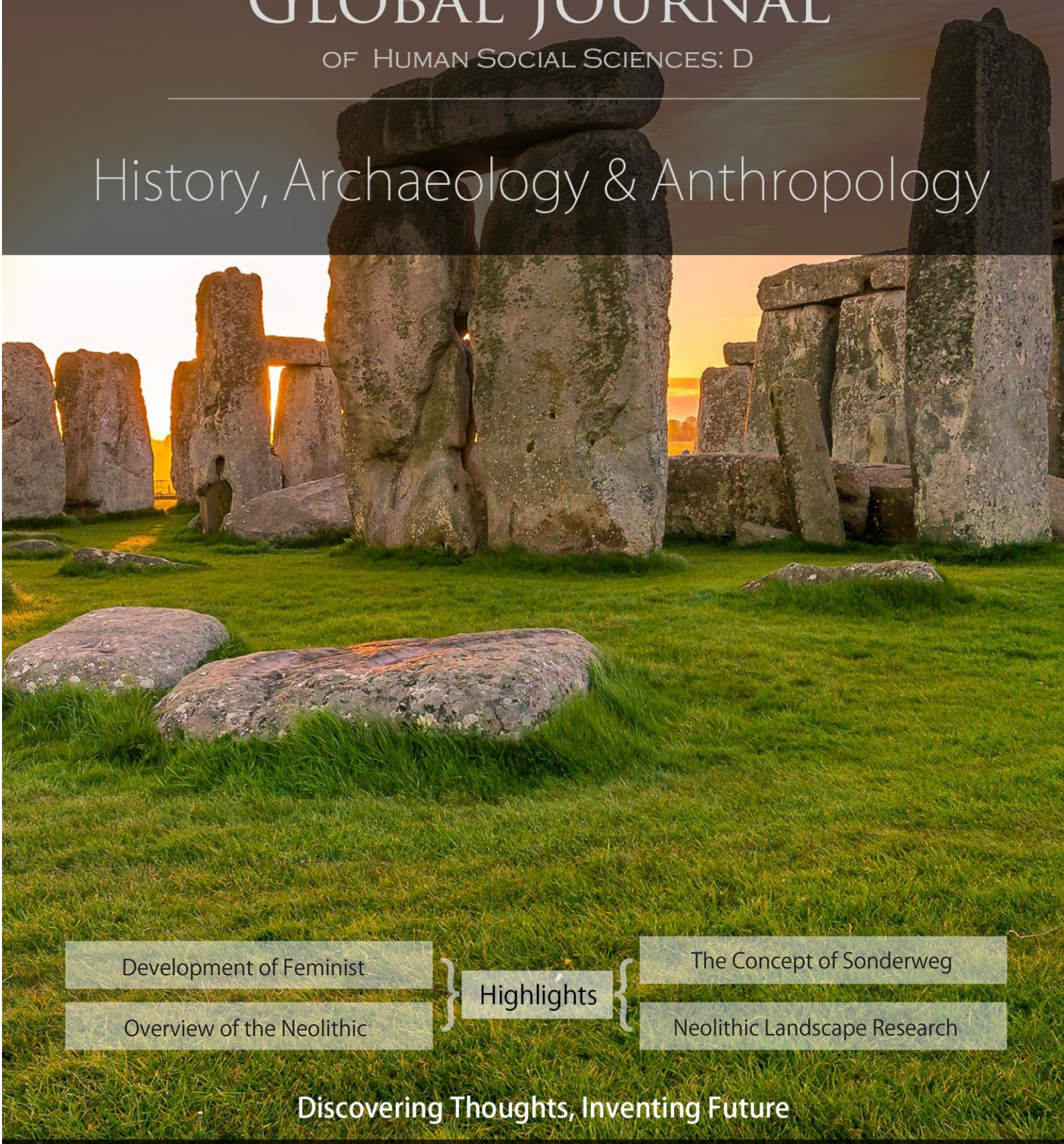
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Development of Feminist

Overview of the Neolithic

Highlights

The Concept of Sonderweg

Neolithic Landscape Research

Discovering Thoughts, Inventing Future

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Overview of the Neolithic Landscape Research and the off-Site Land use in Greece

By Dr. Marie Pyrgaki
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Abstract- The last three decades have produced a wide range of methodological developments in the study of landscapes. The landscape during the Neolithic has been influenced by the interactions of water and human land use. This paper aims to present an overview of the research about the Neolithic off-site land use in Greece, based on old and new data and techniques. Our focus is on the well-known Neolithic record of Thessaly and Macedonia and also the Peloponnese and Attica with decidedly lowest density of Neolithic sites and elsewhere. Land use changes and landscape processes are influenced by multiple bio-physical and socioeconomic factors in a multi-scale system. This paper will answer questions such as: What sorts of activities can be identified? What about the off-site land use intensity? Land use changes should be analysed in isolation or with accounting for both on-site and off-site effects on landscape processes.

Keywords: landscape, off-site land use, neolithic, subsistence activities.

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OVERVIEWOFTHENEOLITHICLANDSCAPERESEARCHANDTHEOFFSITELANDUSEINGREECE

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Overview of the Neolithic Landscape Research And The off-Site Land Use in Greece

Dr. Marie Pyrgaki

Abstract- The last three decades have produced a wide range of methodological developments in the study of landscapes. The landscape during the Neolithic has been influenced by the interactions of water and human land use. This paper aims to present an overview of the research about the Neolithic off-site land use in Greece, based on old and new data and techniques. Our focus is on the well-known Neolithic record of Thessaly and Macedonia and also the Peloponnese and Attica with decidedly lowest density of Neolithic sites and elsewhere. Land use changes and landscape processes are influenced by multiple bio-physical and socioeconomic factors in a multi-scale system. This paper will answer questions such as: What sorts of activities can be identified? What about the off-site land use intensity? Land use changes should be analysed in isolation or with accounting for both on-site and off-site effects on landscape processes.

Keywords: landscape, off-site land use, neolithic, subsistence activities.

I. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of the main interpretative issues and methodological developments in the landscape research bringing together data from the Greek Neolithic record. The main reason for tackling this topic is the numerous of new data that has been collected over the last three decades. This study is a synthesizing research with a regional and diachronic approach from the Early Neolithic to the Final Neolithic period. Many questions and concerns arise when we discuss the interaction between human and the landscape. The landscape is the physical "space" of living and a "place" with meanings and contributions to societal identity. It is the stage of human action and it reflects past activities. This paper focuses on the landscape as a key topic of archaeological research, on the intensive and extensive forms of off-site land use, and on the subsistence strategies of Greek Neolithic groups.

II. Landscape A Key Topic of Archaeological Research

The European Landscape Convention defines landscape as "an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors" (Council of Europe 2000).

Landscape is amazing, fascinating, "attractive, important and ambiguous term" (Meining 1979:1), especially significant for the Neolithic period in Greece. Landscape is a human geographical notion rooted in different disciplines, including archaeology, history, geography, anthropology, and several natural sciences. (Cosgrove, 1984, 1: 269; Fairclough 2008 : 409; Relph 1976: 122) The most important contemporary directions in past landscape research, include settlement archaeology, phenomenological landscape archaeology, landscape biography and path dependency. (Karro, Mägi and Palang 2014: 6).

Since the 1960s the concept of landscape has inspired a great array of different archaeologies.The landscapes have been conceptualized, primarily, as the natural environments determining human behavior or as a scene to human action, drawing on environmental archaeology and using models from the earth sciences as well as cultural ecology. (Kluiving and Guttmann eds., 2012: 9) Several processual perspectives characterize much contemporary research. The theoretical directions of many modern studies have more and more incorporated post processual orientations focusing on social agency and symbolic issues. In combination with enhanced theoretical sophistication, methodological refinements have considerably increased our understanding of the Neolithic. Progress in other disciplines also has very much benefited archaeology, confirming the need for true interdisciplinary collaboration. Particularly, chronological improvements have allowed for better dating of specific entities, sites, and even individual artifacts or ecofacts. The revolution in data recovery has allowed for the retrieval of higher-resolution information. This is notably important in relation to plant remains. Residue analysis from ground stone and other artifacts has provided considerable new insights into specific economic and social patterns. Also, genetic studies of both faunal and floral remains have allowed for a lot more précis comprehension of processes involved in domestication. Especially, DNA studies are opening up exciting new perspectives relating to specific domesticates and their spread. (Bollongino, Burger 2007: 165-187) Similar genetic analyses on human

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remains promise considerable insight into population movement and biological investigations. (Bentley et alii 2003; Papathanasiou 2005: 377-390; Pinhasi and Stock eds. 2011; Triantaphyllou 1999: 128-135; 2002: 829-846; 2004: 613-24) The incorporation of geomorphic analyses into regional models and environmental reconstructions also has resulted in a better understanding of the Neolithic and how land use practices have changed the environment. This more and more includes the use of GIS for modeling settlement behavior. (Alexakis, Astaras, Sarris, Vouzaxakis 2008)

Field-methods aim studying the landscape at a higher resolution than before. The surveys of the decade of 1980s aimed to study the landscape along the route of settlement patterns reconstructions, and explore the changes in population density and land use (example surveys: Megalopolis; Nemea; Pylos Bintliff and Gaffney 1988). All projects in a multidisciplinary level and intensive approach were on revealing hidden rural landscapes. From the 90s the projects to a real interdisciplinary framework of synthetic data analysis aimed in diachronic collections of material. Theoretical and methodological discussions of the 70s and 80s have guided archaeological landscape research till now. The systematic sampling, multi-stage designs, and the relationships of surface-subsurface as well as site-offsite material are discussed (Barker and Lloyd 1991; Bintliff and Snodgrass 1988a; Bowden et al.1991; Dunnell andSimek 1995; Schofield 1991a), cultural-ecological approaches are applied, and a socio-economic interpretative framework is used. Site Catchment Analysis and Thiessen polygons methods have been used in order to explore land resources on a micro and macro-regional level (Bintliff et al. 1988), but also site hierarchies (Moody 1987).

Landscape studies seek to understand the site definition (Dunnell 1992); the discovery of a very complex surface record and the big number of pottery concentrations not easily understood (Bevan and Conolly 2003); the definition of sites in the formation of the surface record (Foxhall 2001; Osborne 2001; Pettegrew 2001); the set of criteria for defining sites (Gaffney et al.1991; Gaffney 2000; Gallant 1986; Plog 1978; Schofield 1991b); a better understanding of the plough zone and the archaeological material recoverable through intensive survey (Ammerman 1985; Odell and Cowan 1987; Reynolds 1982; Shennan 1985). Very interesting in the modern survey is the cooperation with other disciplines from the human and the natural sciences in intensive survey techniques (Argolid; Methana; Boeotia; Laconia; Phaistos; Nikopolis; Kythera; Sphakiaetc). In particular geomorphology (Ammerman 1981) as tool for the reconstruction of past landscapes and their changes, as a study of the surface morphology gives information on water sources, distance to the sea, vegetation and land use, degradation of the landscape and human impact on the environment; Soil studies are used to study land use and subsistence, to identify raw material sources, to reveal humanity's impact on the environment and assess the state of the surface record (Morris 2002; van Andel et al. 1997); Palaeofaunal, palaeobotanical and palynological analyses on sediments for the reconstruction of vegetation and climate are relevant to subsistence studies and an indispensable tool for the understanding of past landscapes (Bailey 1997).

The extensive number of studies during recent years and the abundance of significant new results meant that the choices by me were not very easy or self-evident. It is impossible to describe in detail or discuss the quite extensive archaeological material we have today from the Greek Neolithic; I have chosen to discuss fundamental research perspectives concerning the off-site land use and the subsistence strategies and reconstruct the landscape from the early Neolithic until the Final Neolithic period.

III. Biographies Of Land Use

Greece is a country with very diverse conditions. In the seventh millennium BC, Neolithic people in Greece selected particular places in the landscape and erected structures with long term occupation close to springs, streams and rivers. (Papathanasopoulos ed. 1996; Bintliff 2012) These places were centers of activities where the people with structured way interacted with the other people, animals and the landscape (Bailey 2000). These were the settings for the majority of activities and tasks in a daily, seasonal, annual rotation. (Mlekuz 2010: 196)

The settlements and the houses as places where time and space meet and fuse, give meaning to the cycle of the social life.

It is important to underline the role of the geographical factors in the spread of Neolithic settlements (Perlès 2001). Topography, climate, and soils favored concentrated but isolated groups of settlements in certain regions, with a much thinner cover elsewhere. (Bintliff 2012: 50) Thus, early farmers in Greece preferred occupy areas as open woodland with a semi-arid climate, most comparable in these where the domestication of plants and animals was first accomplished. The vast lowlands of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace reveal unparalleled densities of early farming sites, while the rest of Mainland Greece has until today given more scattered, lower-density Neolithic settlement patterns, and finally the Cyclades have no settlement until the Final Neolithic period.

IV. Settlements

The nucleated tell village with scattered farms and hamlets of non –tell type are the dominated form of the Greek Neolithic settlements. (Bintliff 2012: 52)

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On the late nineteenth and early twentieth century a numerous of artificial mounds, the "tells", "magoulas" or "toumbas", attracted the fieldworkers. The tells dominated in the fertile plains and low hill lands of Northeast Greece. The eminent Greek archaeologist Tsountas (Tsountas 1908: 17-26), the British Wace and Thompson (Wace and Thompson 1912: 4-5) focused the research on the Plains of Thessaly, and the British scholar Heurtley in Macedonia and revealed that these tells-villages were inhabited in the Greek Neolithic. Excavations during the 1950s revealed stratigraphic sequences at the magoula of Argissa, Otzaki, Arapi, Agia Sofia and Pefkakia, which created a diachronic system for regional Neolithic chronologies (Milojčić 1960).

The other form, the flat settlements with relatively short-term occupation and extensive open spaces (e.g. Makriyalos, Stavroupolis and Promachonas-Topolnitsa) are characterized by their large size, up to more than 50 ha and the hiatuses represented at each site (Grammenos 1991; Aslanis 1992; Andreou and al. 2001). They are amidst a small number of tells (e.g. Dikili Tash, Makri and Sitagroi). The striking feature is the several phases of occupation (e.g. Eftstratiou and al. 1998; Koukouli-Chrysanthaki and al. 1996; Treuil and Tsirtsoni 2000).

There is also evidence of complex settlements, tell and flat site (e.g. Galini, NeaMakri) (Toufexis 2005; Pantelidou-Gofa 1991). At Sesklo, in Thessaly, Theocharis recognized an external horizontal settlement around the tell fortified by a stone wall, perhaps represented a complex, "acropolis" and "polis", settlement structure (Theocharis1973: 68, fig. 178). Sesklo has long served as a reference point for research of settlement structure and relative chronology (Tsountas 1908; Theocharis 1973: 68; Kotsakis 2006) and Makrychori. Bailey argues that the association between the tells and the externals non- tells features could be demonstrated as a southeastern European phenomenon. (Bailey1999, 2000:175, fig. 5.8). Geophysical surveys and large –scale excavations have revealed numerous examples showing this "symbiosis" in south –east Europe, including Paliambela (Kontogiorgos 2010).

Moreover, there is evidence for a lake settlement of Dispilio in Macedonia (Hournouziadis 2002) and the lakeside tell Palioskala (Toufexis 2006). In southern mainland Greece and the Aegean Islands the villages tend to be more scattered, small to medium sized up to 1 ha and less long-lived (e.g. Alram-Stern 2005, Cavanagh and Crouwel 2002: 121-158, Davis 2001, Papadopoulos and Malamidou 2002). In western Greece Neolithic habitation levels have been revealed all over the region (e.g. Stratouli 2005, Wiseman and Zachos 2003).

Enclosure walls and ditches from the Early Neolithic appear together with the settlements and continue through the Neolithic. Probably they demarcated the community and acted symbolically (Demoule and Perlès 1993).

There is also evidence of caves occupation and rock shelters (e.g. Franchthi, Alepotrypa).

The tell settlements were created over generations by the remains of the houses overlapped, reworked and incorporated into new buildings. The flat settlements with relatively short-term occupation and extensive open spaces marked for the "sense of ephemerality" (Thissen 2005) the destruction and the displacement of houses, as with most flat sites known in Balkans.

Intensive survey and rescue excavations have registered increasing numbers of flat sites, often 6-20 ha but in some cases as much as 50-100 ha dramatically contrasted to the typical Thessalian tell of 1-3 ha. (Andreouand Kotsakis 1994; Kotsakis 1999)

V. The Off-Site Land Use

Land is the basic resource of human society. The term off-site is used to describe archaeological output outside the area which is regarded as the site or settlement, like ditches, wells and other less detectable archaeological remains.

It should be clear from the discussion of the ideas of Foley and his off-site archaeology, that there is no difference in importance between site and off-site and that both are indications of early prehistoric land use which have to be researched with the same intensity. (Cherry 1983; Cherry 2003; Foley 1981; Gallant 1986; Given 2003; Terrenato 2000; Van Leusen 2002) Land use is the use actually made on any parcel land. The study of the approaches of land use includes Malthusian and Marxian approaches, besides, it deals with von Thünen model of land use intensity (central? city, horticulture and dairying, commercial woodland, intensive arable, extensive arable, livestock rearing). (Wringley 2004)

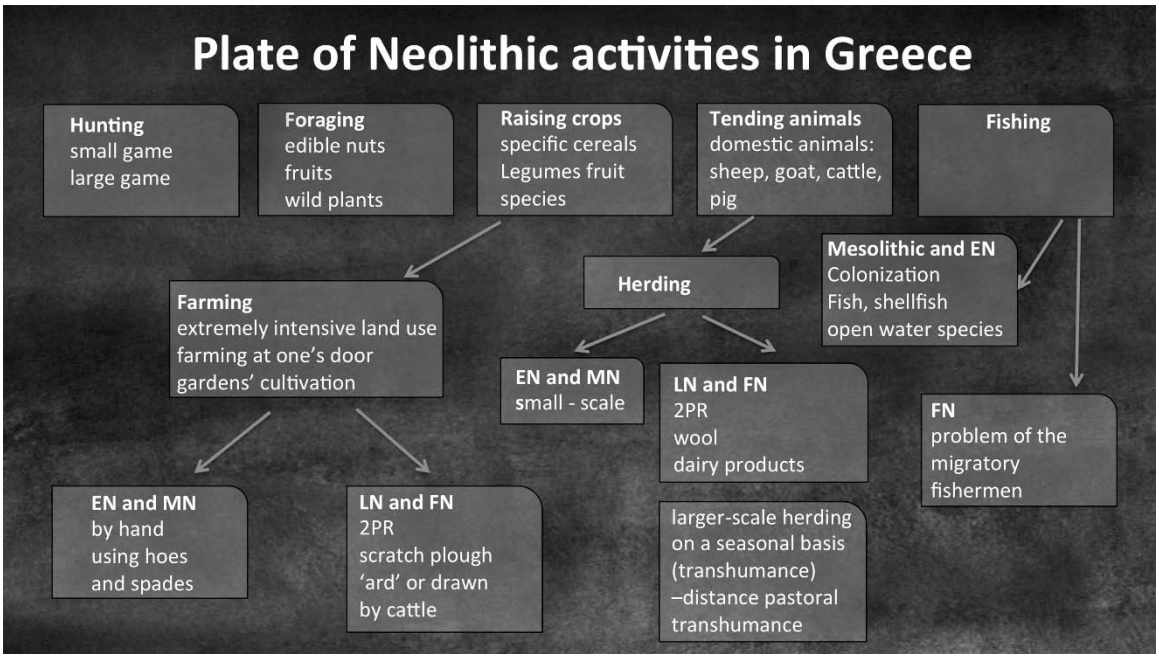
In a case study in Thessaly, where is the well known Neolithic record, more than a hundred Early Neolithic and as many Middle Neolithic sites have been identified most of which were on average 2.5 kilometers apart. The Thiessen polygon (analysis suggests territory packing. (Perlès 2001: 140)All the Early Neolithic villages in the Eastern Plain and Central Hill could have originated in a single pioneer colonizing village, by the process of continual social fission, within a relatively short period of time (on the basis of demographic models used by Ammermann and Cavalli Sforza, 1984) . The majority of the tells are closely clustered, but their distribution spreads regularly across different environments with little respect for their boundaries. (Alexakis, Astaras, Sarris, Vouzaxakis 2008: fig. 1)In Eastern Thessaly almost half the sites do not lie on the Plain at all but in the central Revenia hill land. The small

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size of Thessalian tell territories (average radius is 1.25 kilometers), meant that farming was almost at one's door, allowing extremely intensive land use, and a territory 450 hectars of exploitable fields that feed a mixed farming community of some 200 people. (Bintliff 2012) The cross-cultural study of agropastoral nucleated settlements, particularly that form of territorial investigation called Catchment Analysis(Vita-Finzi and Higgs 1970) has prompted the suggestion that such communities tend to restrict their exploited territory to a maximum radius of about one hour or 5 kilometers in flat terrain. The successive generations of settlements would have territorial radii 5.5, 3.5, 2.5, and 1.72 kilometers. (Kotsakis 2004: 56) The flat sites follow patches of highly fertile soil and consist from the remains of shifting houses and fields, may be fertilized from the spreading of household rubbish onto the cultivation zone, as in the Langadas Basin of Macedonia and with many similarities in South-Central Greece, near Tanagra. (Bintliff et alii2006) The land use is radial on easily worked soils in the Macedonian tells, but the flat sites appear to "burn up" a small part of the land and then move on to a fresher patch and high quality soil. Moreover, the nature of suitable farming land encouraged networks of smaller and larger sites of Middle Neolithic in Nemea as well as in Tanagra. Also, a Middle Neolithic flat settlement well integrated into regional exchange systems at Kouphovouno near Sparta. But the best known flat site is Makriyalos in Macedonia (Pappa and Besios 1999; Kotsakis 2007) with two occupation sectors used at the Late Neolithic, demarcated by ditches defining ones of shifting habitation. The remains of animal bone and pottery debris probably indicate a large – scale community feasting. (Pappa, Halstead, Kotsakis, Urem-Kotsou, 2004) Also, in the Late Neolithic I and II is considered as a period during which caves were being extensively used attributed by certain scholars to specialized economic practices.

These changes can be observed in the use and meaning of material culture and in the significance of landscape, where a phase of colonization of marginal environments is observed, a further expansion to upland landscapes as well as to seascapes (Mavridis et al. 2013). It is also a period when caves, even in arid or semi arid regions such as Lakonia, were used as parts of wider settlement systems (Mavridis et al. 2013). Some caves are considered as upland, even though they do not lie so far away from the coast. What seems to be changing then is that, in opposition to earlier phases, the agrios becomes important again in relation to the domus (for the earlier phases of the Neolithic, see Hodder 1990).

Table 1: Neolithic activities in Greece



According von den Driesch 1987; Cantuel et al. 2008; Halstead 1994, 1996, 2000, 2006;Valamoti et al. 2009; Bogaard 2004a, 2004b; Jones 2005; Kotsakis 1999; Johnston 2005, Sherratt 1980, 1981, 1997; Efstratiou et al. 2006; Perlès 2001; Ntinou and Badal 2000; Tsartsidou, Efstratiou et al. 2009; Willis 1994; van Andel et al. 1990; Isaakidou 2006, 2008; Shampson 2006; Evans and Renfrew 1968.

*Early Neolithic: EN
Middle Neolithic:MN
Late Neolithic: LN
Final Neolithic: FN

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The main economic activities of Neolithic communities were growing crops and raising animals, but also hunting, foraging and fishing. Harris (1996) summarizes the transitional stages from gathering of wild plants to the cultivation of domestic plants: a) Harvesting of wild plants, b)Cultivation of wild plants and, c)Cultivation of domesticated plants-namely agriculture.

The specific cereals such as emmer, einkorn and barley and legumes as bitter vetch, grass pea and chickpea (Valamoti and Kotsakis 2007) and domestic animals such as sheep, goat, cattle and pig and differ from site to site (Halstead 1996). The quantity of charred plant remains and bones is important and I believe as Ingold that "growing crops and raising animals are not just ways of producing food; they are forms of life…" (Ingold 1996, 24)

The gardens' cultivation was a widespread form of crop production in Greece as well as in Neolithic Europe. (Bogaard 2004 a; 2004b; 2005). This cultivation requires working on plots, tilling, protecting crops from animals and mainly bringing together people, animals and gardens (Halstead 1996; 2006) and means the relation between gardens and settlements. (Jones 2005). The remains of middens which were spread on gardens included burnt cereal processing waste rich in phytoliths burned bone fish remains and coprolites and burnt animal foddel, bedding, dung.

On the tells gardens were located outside the settlement. On the flat sites gardens probably located in the interior of the settlement between the houses (Kotsakis 1999: 73) played an active part in the negotiation of social identity within households (Kotsakis 1999; Johnston 2005). We remark many similarities with the Ancestral Pueblo people Waffle gardens. They employ small depressions surrounded by earthen walls to maintain moisture. (Varien 2015)

Until the Late Neolithic phases, farming was carried out by hand, using hoes and spades. This is a har job to accomplish in soils dry for much of the year. Johnson and Perlès present their opinion to clear the contrast based on Sherratt's earlier models (Sherratt 1980, 1981), between Northern plains such as these of Thessaly and the Southern Mainland, as well as the Peloponnese, where hamlets locations to limited sectors of the landscape where fertile soils near springs, lakes or marshes (Johnson 1996, Perlès 2001) The latter villages were few and far between, opposite to those of densely –inhabited Thessaly and similar northern plains.

In the Late and Final Neolithic the agro pastoral conditions changed dramatically. Sherratt supports that the fifth and fourth millennia BC took place a second diffusion of agricultural skills. In his "Secondary Products Revolution" (2PR), stresses that two important improvements to farming and herding arose in the Near East and diffused through contact, and rapidly, across Europe. (Sherratt 1981) Firstly is the innovation of a scratch plough or "ard" drawn by cattle for the farmers so that to prepare their fields more fast and over a larger area using more drier soils even without high water tables. (Halstead 1995b). Also, this innovation helped the farmers in more arid landscapes to move to semi-wetland sectors and open up cultivation on the good but until then dry soils the so-called "interfluves" (between springs, lakes and rivers).

Secondly is the broader use of domestic animals mainly for wool and dairy products. The domestic economy specialized in larger-scale herding encouraging settlement in low agriculturally favorable landscape zones which were more ideal for grazing on a seasonal basis (transhumance). The data support the development of long-distance pastoral transhumance, into the high Greek mountains from the Late Neolithic (Efstratiou and al. 2006), highlighting the radical economic changes.

On the Late Neolithic Europe as a whole and certainly in Greece observed an increasing of the settlements and an expansion into new zones of the landscape. This is the time of the first large-scale colonization of the Cyclades (Davis 1992) and of the expansion of the people in southern Mainland, on Crete (Branigan 1999), and even in Thessaly (Demoule and Perlès 1993), and also into the uplands through the Mainland.

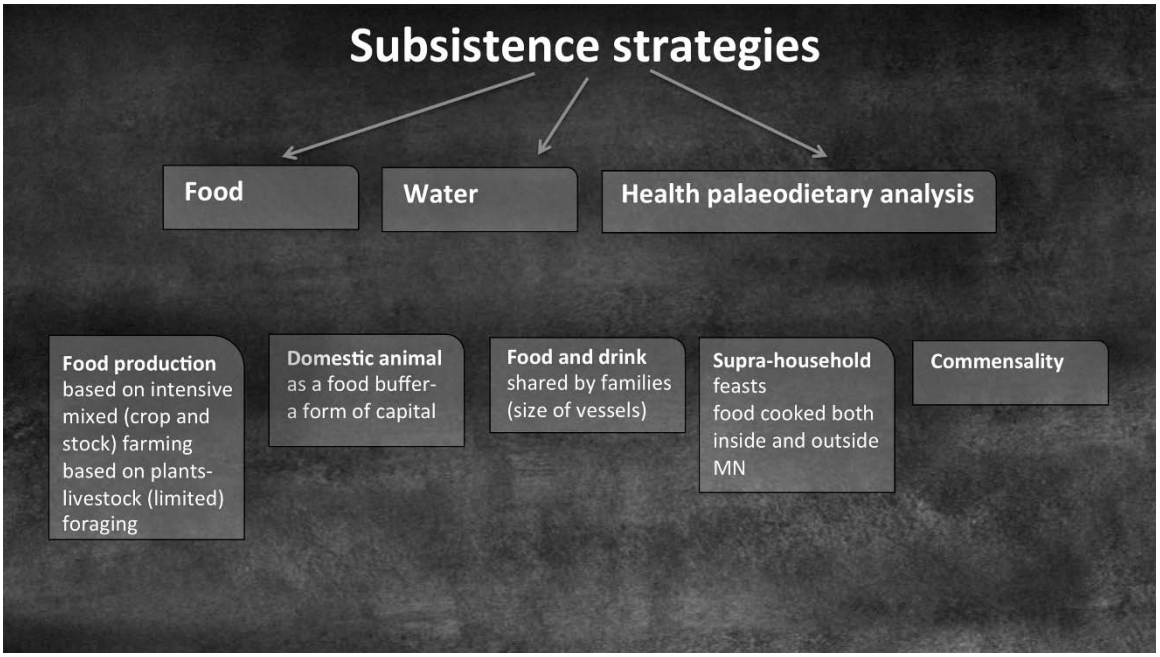
Moreover, the local emphasis on cattle –rearing insinuates that the first development of dairying was with cows rather than sheep and goats. The faunal analysis of domestic animals at different places in Neolithic Europe, including Knossos (Issaakidou 2006, Tomkins 2004, Halstead 2006a) demonstrates knowledge, but limited use of animal traction for carts and of dairying in the earlier Neolithic.

In Final Neolithic and in Bronze Age period appeared large-scale changes to these practices. In the Late Neolithic many caves used and that could means a rise in pastoralism, while Demoule and Perlèssupport that the caves are also taken into use for burial and ritual (Demoule and Perlès 1993).

The problem of the migratory fishermen is a large topic for discussion. The Final Neolithic Saliagos (Cyclades) is a full Neolithic economy, where fish and shellfish were accompanied by a range of domestic plants and animals (Bintliff 2012: 66, Evans and Renfrew1968), while Phtelia (Cyclades) reveals no important fish remains (Sampson 2006). According Sampson Mesolithic and Early Neolithic colonization of the Sporades reveals a great interest in fishing and shellfish, as well as in the open water species. The survival of fish is a problem for archaeology.

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Table 2: Neolithic Subsistence strategies in Greece



According Halstead 1995, 2000, 2004, 2008; Dietler 2001; Mithen et al. 2011, Bintliff 2012; Papathanasiou 1999, 2001, 2005; Papathanassopoulos 1971, 1996; Angel 1966; Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Larsen1997.
*Early Neolithic: EN
Middle Neolithic:MN
Late Neolithic: LN
Final Neolithic: FN

The subsistence is not a new subject. Many publications have been dedicated to it in the past, in studying food production. How people produced their food in the past and how food production was organized in the past is one of the main question in archaeology. The framework for the possibilities for food production is formed by the landscape with its relief, soil types, soil fertility and water levels. Tools were used to process food. The simple querns, mortars, and pestles were employed to crush hard grains before cooking, to break the shells of nuts, and to pulp berries and powder herbs.

The subsistence strategies of Greek Neolithic populations were based on intensive mixed farming based on plants because the livestock was less stable food source and the reduce reliance on foraging (Halstead 2000, 2008). A viable breeding population requires at least 100 sheep, 20 cattle, 100 pigs (Bintliff 2012: 65). The domestic animals as a food buffer against failures in the cereal and pulse economy could lead to stock becoming a form of "capital" (Bintliff 2012: 65) In Late Neolithic households turned to more competitive accumulation. (Halstead 1992) 'The herding and breeding of village stock as a collective, where individuals or few families take responsibility for moving herds to water and pasture on a daily basis' (Perlès 2001). Cattle statistics at Late Neolithic Makriyalos suggest their breeding for secondary products (Collins and Halstead in Halstead 1999a).

Eating is a central routine. It is obvious that the consumption of food is not neutral (Douglas 1996; Gosden and Hather 1999). Food is clearly not just a matter of satisfying the needs of the body. The way in which resources are looked after and brought to the point of consumption is a social matter. Food itself may be consumed in very different ways, either very privately among the immediate group, as among the Dobou in the western Pacific (Bloch and Parry 1982, 28) or very publicly in different sorts of feasts (Hayden 1995). The fact that food was cooked both inside and outside Middle Neolithic houses implies that it was shared between neighbors which would have promoted community solidarity. In the communal longhouses of north-west Amazonia, food preparation is privately done within constituent families, but eating is public and collective.

Sometimes this commensality must have had a formal or ceremonial character, hence the fine pottery, and Halstead believes that the feasts will have served 'to mobilize additional agricultural labor, to negotiate and affirm social relationships at both an intra- and inter-settlement level, and to convert agricultural surpluses into symbolic capital in the context of social competition'.

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Also, the water is important ingredient for successful agriculture and ensured the survival of small crops in tiny fields and gardens and for herds on a daily basis.

It is evident that the health of Early Neolithic populations after an inter-site comparison in specific period had allow indications. Stable isotope analysis indicates that the earliest sample had adequate diet and protein intake as compared to the later populations.

The palaeodietary analysis is very important and informative for the very poor southern European isotopic record for this period, and a valuable evidence for a swift and complete shift from foraging to farming. (Pinhasi et al. 2011)An increase in population size and density, as well as constraint viable subsistence and descending communal cohesion (Halstead 2008, Kotsakis 1999) created the conditions for violence but as a sporadic event. (Pinhasi et al. 2011) Subsistence represents the base of all human behavior. Subsistence includes the means of human survival and a potent source of meaning and metaphors.

VI. Conclusion - Discussion

In conclusion, I talk about the domestication not only of plants and animals, but also of the landscape, with an assumption that with the advent of the Neolithic nothing was "natural" anymore.

I note that it is difficult to comprehend the different ways of daily, seasonal and annual live without evidence. In addition, I note that not all periods or areas are equally well represented by archaeo botanical or zooarchaeo logical remains. For example, although approximately 79 sites from Greece are represented by archaeo botanical remains (e.g. Hansen 2000, Megaloudi 2006), those with many samples, retrieved by flotation and fully published, come mainly from northern Greece (Valamoti 2009).

I strongly emphasize the concept of the taskspace as one that allows us to talk about dwelling in the land where tasks are the constitutive acts of dwelling. Taskscape for this reason seems to recognize the creation of the landscape as it was occupied, a creation that was drawn out through time in such a way that our understanding of it cannot be expressed in one moment, but must trace the threads of movement and the temporal rythms played out as people traversed the land. (Ingold 1993; 1996; 2000)

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Politics of Resistance among Shako during Imperial Ethiopia: Historical Perspective

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Abstract- Modern Ethiopia, with its borders and its dozens of nations, nationalities and peoples, came into being as a result of relentless campaigns of conquest which was accomplished by the Abyssinian state and its military might under Menelik by the late 19th century. The subjugation of Shako peoples was part and parcel of this process. By the conquest dozens of nations, nationalities and peoples (including Shako) were subdued to the Amhara hegemony. The historical experience of cultural and political domination, economic exploitation and social discrimination under the Amhara dominated Ethiopian empire obviously caused the Shako people to start resistance. Adopting the historical method of narrative and analysis, and interrogating available primary and secondary sources on the subject, this study argue that the patterns and natures of both domination/power and resistance changes in historical time and space as they are not mutually exclusive. The past offer us understanding in terms of contemporary new phenomenon which is still in its initial stage, and thus contributing in increasing the historical awareness, comprehend contemporary problems and impacts thereof.

Keywords: imperial ethiopia, domination, politics of resistance, historical perspective, shako people.

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Politics of Resistance among Shako during Imperial Ethiopia: Historical Perspective

Bisrat Lema Bergene

Abstract- Modern Ethiopia, with its borders and its dozens of nations, nationalities and peoples, came into being as a result of relentless campaigns of conquest which was accomplished by the Abyssinian state and its military might under Menelik by the late 19th century. The subjugation of Shako peoples was part and parcel of this process. By the conquest dozens of nations, nationalities and peoples (including Shako) were subdued to the Amhara hegemony. The historical experience of cultural and political domination, economic exploitation and social discrimination under the Amhara dominated Ethiopian empire obviously caused the Shako people to start resistance. Adopting the historical method of narrative and analysis, and interrogating available primary and secondary sources on the subject, this study argue that the patterns and natures of both domination/power and resistance changes in historical time and space as they are not mutually exclusive. The past offer us understanding in terms of contemporary new phenomenon which is still in its initial stage, and thus contributing in increasing the historical awareness, comprehend contemporary problems and impacts thereof.

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I. Introduction

Ethiopia had unique position among African nations, both by successfully defending European colonialism and participating in scramble for Africa. Although the so called Abyssinia, with its Christian state on the northern plateau, claimed to have a long and continual history of many centuries, modern Ethiopia which is three or four times bigger than traditional Abyssinia with its borders and its tens of nations, nationalities and peoples, came into being as a result of brutal military conquest in the late 19th century (Hamesso and et.al, 1997; Hamesso, 2001). The philosophy behind the actual welding together of different peoples and eventual unequal yoking of same into an administrative framework from which modern Ethiopia emerged has markedly been political and economic; with motives of primarily empire-building (imperial ambition for expanded territory and power consolidation) and wealth acquisition (resource exploitation).

It is important to note that the Abyssinian conquest was coincided and encouraged by the Europeans' scramble for Africa in 1880s; the Abyssinian empire building project was started and completed by king Minilik of Shawa, the later emperor Minilik II of Ethiopia. Tibebu even considers Minilik II as "the only black African leader who effectively participated in the scramble for Africa" (Tibebu, 1995). Several other writers also (Jalata, 2005; Habteselassie, 1980; Markakis, 1974) view the process as colonial conquest. Triulzi (1983) stated that "Ethiopia is cited as a de facto colonial power and that colonial violence was used in incorporating adjacent territories and colonizing its peoples in spite of some obvious but not crucial differences with European Colonialism". Moreover, Habteselassie (1980) invoked connotation used by the imperial regime itself in using terms that relate to colonization and wrote: "The Southern region was referred up to the last days of Emperor Haile Selassie as yekignhager (conquered or colonized territory). Moreover, Addis Hiwet (1975) describes the whole socio-economic structures of post-conquest Ethiopia by using the term military-feudal colonialism. Hence, the march of the traditional highland Christian kingdom of Ethiopia towards the South, Southeast and Southwest (which includes my study area, Shako) is termed as colonialism. For the purpose of this study, the terms colonialism and conquest are simultaneously employed. By the conquest, the dozens of nations, nationalities and peoples were subdued to the Amhara hegemony and were left marginal to the political, social, economic and cultural privileges.

The subjugated peoples were not however simply passive objects of Abssynian conquest and Amhara domination. There was resistance but depending on the definition of power, different types of activities will count as resistance. Moreover, the patterns and natures of both domination and resistance changes in historical time and space. However, within resistance studies across the globe (Vinthagen & Lilja, 2007) there exists a plurality of concepts and definitions of resistance. On the other hand, the documentation and scholarly analysis of imperial policies watershed years of conquest and consolidation of Abssynian rule has not been properly done; they do not indicate the response of subject people like Shako as they only focus on the analysis of power structure. A few of the resistance studies conducted in Ethiopia focus on a few case studies and some forms contain much by way of explanations behind motives. Consequently, misconceptions of resistance prevail; often connecting resistance to reactionary ideologies, unusual and sudden explosions of violence and emotional outbursts.

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This particular study is dedicated to the resistance of the Shako, one of the ethnic groups of Ethiopia, against imperial (Abssynian) conquest and Amhara domination after 1898. This imperial conquest under Amhara hegemony and the local Shako resistance were of vital historical importance for the following reasons. First, it represented one of the most bitter struggles against domination in the Horn of Africa. The human and material losses it provoked was very huge. It even led to atrocities and mutilations which none of the contemporary European colonial powers practiced in the Horn of Africa. Second, from historical point of view, this study makes a very comprehensive insider and outsider observation from conflicts perspective, which helps to well understand contemporary historical-political dynamics and conflict generating experiences and tendencies in Shako region and in the greater Horn of Africa today. Thus it derives from a concern with the contemporary situation in Horn of Africa. It delves into the past only because otherwise it would be impossible to understand how the present came into being and what the trends are for the near future. Third, Shako resistance has turned out to be instructive in the sense that when any group of people face domination, they did not remain silent rather engage in various types of resistance, which may be open confrontation or the hidden one.

Fourth, the sacrifice of thousands of fighters and martyrs in defence of their dignity and freedom seems to have become a rallying point, a symbol of ancestral struggle against domination and a source of inspiration in the quest for the political identity of the Shako nation. Last, but not least, attempting to write at least some aspect of the historical experience of one of politically submerged and colonized peoples seems to have a challenge (and one way of correction) to the mainstream position of Ethiopia historiography, which is established on the premise of ignoring the history and culture of the oppressed and peripheral peoples such as the Shako. It will also provide a case-study from which resistance studies may fruitfully build to develop valuable concepts, insights and theories for understanding contemporary conflicts. This is because it provides or suggests the distinguishing elements of resistance while maintaining its plurality of forms in different contexts (by initiating a list of resistance types) through time and space. “Date here here"

II. The Conquest of shako: Aspects of Domination and Resistance, 1898-1941

By outlining further the historical process and context itself in this section, this research paper considers the dimensions of economic, social and political domination from an external as well as internal point of view, emphasizing the resistance of the Shako with the larger Abyssinian social and political system. Thus the resistance of local Shako ethnographic and, ultimately the global level can be analytically integrated.

The imperial soldiers that were sent for the conquest of Shakoland and people were commanded by Tessema Nadew. Tessema’s expeditionary force started its campaign from a place called Gore that is near Sheka (Abbink, 2000; 1996). Before launching the campaign Tessema sent a message to the Shako demanding their peaceful submission without giving any room for negotiation; it was rather presented as an order directed by the Emperor. At the time of conquest there was no centrally organized political authority in Shako but rather divided into several chieftaincies. As a result, the Shako failed to cooperate against the incorporation, they failed even to agree on how to respond to the request of Tessema demanding their submission. Owing to this, some clan leaders proposed to submit peacefully while others rejected the request and waged a resistance. When Tessema's soldiers intruded into Shako, the clan that was on the head way of Tessema's army accepted his rule realizing that it was their clan who would become the first victim of the invasion whereas others like Arshyab and Tuzyab refused and individually tried to defend themselves. However, because of the military superiority of the expeditionary force, Tessema was able to defeat the resistance and established his first garrison at Silale, which is said to have been the first garrison town in Shako. But the Shako did not fully accept alien rule and they were preparing to oust it.

Tessema's stay at Silale was precarious as a result of which he could neither subdue the population nor exact tribute. The Shako refused to come nearby his encampment and continued to wage sporadic attacks against the expeditionary force, which was forced to withdraw without much success as a result of which the Shako stayed for about a year without being subdued. It was in the late 1898 that, Ras Tessema completed the mission of conquering the Shako to the extent of using Shakoland as a base for launching campaigns against the neighbouring territories. Ras Tessema came to Shako with a far more superior and organized army than before and the people also tried hard to resist the invasion of the Ras than before. Nevertheless, because of various reasons the attempt of the Shako to defend their territory was easily suppressed. The first reason for the poor resistance on the part of the Shako against subjugation is attributed to a host of weaknesses. Militarily, Menelik's army, the first Ethiopian army that was fully equipped with modern weapons, was superior to the traditional instruments of war that the Shako had. This enabled the army of Menelik’s regime to easily overcome the resistance of the Shako. Moreover, internal disagreement and disunity among the Shako became an obstacle to design a unified resistance strategy to repel the incorporation.

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After the conquest in 1898, the Shako area was given to Ras Tessema Nadew's follower Dejazmach Mulugeta. Shortly following the establishment of garrison towns in the Shako territories, every clan of the indigenous communities was required to provide annual tributes of two large oxen and a pot of honey and grain. This form of tribute was shortly discontinued, and the neftegna/melkegna-gabbar system was simultaneously imposed on the conquered people with far reaching consequences lasting over a longer duration (Abbink, 2000). In short, the new rulers introduced an alien social and economic relationship expressed in neftegna/melkegna-gabbar system, which turned the indigenous people into tenants. The system was explained not only in terms of confiscation of land belonging to the indigenous society (Markakis, 1974) but also the settlers partitioned the local people and made them render corve´e services by working on the farms and in the households of the settlers. Moreover, the system aimed at imposing the supremacy of the settlers over the Shako by virtually destroying their culture and traditional institutions altogether. The local elders state that the economic and political oppression was more harsh and unbearable than the military measures taken during the conquest. The predatory nature of the newly established socio-political order is evident not only from the forced restructuring of the day-to-day socio-economic relations of the indigenous groups in the area, which destroyed the fibber of their society, but also from the common practice of wholesale pillaging of the natural and human resources of the area whenever a governor departed.

Slave raiding was also intensified in the region after conquest. Tessema Nadew's troops captured as much cattle, gold, ivory and slaves as possible and this was either taken as spoils to the north or distributed to his followers. This customary practice continued up to the last governor, Ras Getatchew Abbate, in the 1930s. This was true not only in a vital economic sense, but also in a demographic sense because the Shako could not escape the effects of the slave raids (Abbink, 1996). These raids threatened the integrity of their kin-ordered work units, and caused a perpetual social disequilibrium within their corporate groups and those of their indigenous allies.

Notwithstanding this, the Shako did not completely accept defeat and voluntarily embrace the newly imposed socio-economic and political system. They resisted domination in different ways during the subsequent periods. One way of resistance was in a camouflaged form in which some gabbars left their land and fled to the bush in the remote highlands where the reach of the neftegna/ melkegna was minimal. The other ways of resistance was direct and open opposition to new arrangements on the part of some gabbars. In this regard, Shako people engaged in direct confrontation by forming alliance with their neighbours (with various rebellious Bench and Kafa groups). Through trade they had already secured a substantial amount of firearms at a relatively early stage, which is before 1910 (Garretson, 1986). Raiding and counter-raiding between the Amhara and the Shako, despite the apparent defeat of the Shako in 1913 continued in the area throughout the 1920s and 1930s.

In the first years after the conquest, the indigenous population had no fire-arms and were powerless to engage in open confrontation. Every time northerners appeared to collect taxes (in the form of grain and honey) or to capture stock and people, the Shako retreated into the dense forests then covering the highland area. Occasional ambushes of small parties of northerners provided their first fire-arms; they forced their captives to show them how to use them (Abbink, 1996). Further, the Shako people were joined by armed rebels from the Bench, Me'enit, Mejenger, Dizi and Kafa people, and guns were introduced as payment for ivory and slaves. In the earliest days, three to five slaves were exchanged for one gun; but in the 1920s when slaves had become more difficult to obtain, the ex-change was one for one.

The first open Shako resistance after their arms build-up came from a group under a chief called Aybera. He set the pattern of Shako resistance to the encroaching northerners by instigating hit-and-run ambushes: travelling parties of traders or soldiers were attacked and killed, the Shako making off with their trade goods and livestock. Isolated military outposts were also attacked and wiped out. All of this made the Shako area with its important trade route to the north dangerous to cross despite the fact that, as sources states, the first open Shako resistance put down around 1913. It was with the involvement of the government force from the centre under the personal leadership of the emperor himself that the resistance was crushed. Nevertheless, the Shako territory was not completely pacified; new Shako leaders emerged and on several occasions the garrison town of Shako itself was attacked.

Whenever a governor departed Shako, leaving behind the familiar devastation of the countryside, the Shako retaliated with attacks on northern out-posts, and increased their raids on weaker neighbouring groups to make up for their own losses. These attacks and raids provoked a massive response from the northerners under the new governor Fitawrari Taye, a resistance which have been crushed in 1925. This same pattern is also evident in later periods, particularly in the late 1920s, so that Shako resistance could not be stamped out as new and strongly armed groups in Shako were in open rebellion and refuse to pay tribute to them, and the local governments are afraid to tackle them. Then in the early 1930s, the Shako revolted anew against their exploitation and dominance by the Abyssinians. Throughout the following years, the Shako maintained

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this stand against the Abyssinians and resisted forced subjection to political domination and serfdom. Thus, armed conflicts and slave-trading continued up to the arrival of Italian troops to the Shako area in 1936 to 1937.

It was in this context that Italy occupied Ethiopia, which stayed until 1941. During the early period of the Italian Occupation, there was cooperation between the Italian forces and the Shako. Moreover, there seemed to be a form of appreciation among the Shako concerning the Italian Occupation. This was because they abolished the slave trade and the inhuman neftegna-gabbar system. Informants of one of the Shako clans, the Tureta, stated that the Italians were, initially at least, hailed as liberators by them because they abolished the slave trade and the neftegna-gabbar system. However, the collaboration with the Italian forces did not last long. After a lapse of two years when the Italians began to implement their policy of colonial exploitation and oppression, the people began to oppose the Italian colonial forces and begun to rebel against them. In other words, the people became disenchanted with the rigid measures and the continued requisition of cattle to feed the troops and resented the Italian proposal to appropriate land. On the other hand, the balabbats who benefited from the Ethiopian imperial system firmly opposed and resisted Italian rule from the very beginning and most of them spent the occupation period in the bush with other members of the resistance during which they fought against the colonial forces.

III. Patterns In Imperial Rule And Shako Resistance, 1941-1974

a) Dimension of Domination

As explained in forgoing sections, the adverse impact of the Neftegna-gabbar system was considerable and highly pronounced on the economic, socio-cultural and political life of Shako society. The conquest and the attendant entrenchment of alien rule resulted in a radical transformation of the socio-economic structure and political life of the people. Moreover, until the 1975 revolution that abolished the neftegna-gabbar system, the cash economy that became so important after the conquest was entirely controlled and monopolized by settler groups in the main rather than the local population (Markakis, 1975).

The conquest and attendant subjugation of Shakoland and the population at large also affected the viability of the Shako language and culture. This has, therefore, been seen as the main obstacle to promote and develop the Shako language and culture. In this connection, Markakis (1994:225) argues: "In Ethiopia no other indigenous language was allowed to be printed, broadcast or spoken in public functions… and the attempts to study the culture and history of other groups were decidedly discouraged." Thus the system of the regime had played a significant role in discouraging practices of the different aspects associated with cultural values and traditions. However, absence of integration into urban life on the part of the Shako and lack of social interaction between the urban settlers and the Shako inhabiting the rural areas minimized the degree and extent of acculturation as a result of which the Shako were able to retain their culture and traditional values by default. Disengagement in urban life and urban economic activities on the part of the Shako was caused by different factors. First, economic problems that did not allow the local population to build houses and settle in urban centres necessitated the confinement of the large majority of the Shako in the rural areas and eke their livelihood from agriculture. Moreover, the settlers did not want the Shako to settle in the urban centres and engage in urban-based economic activities. This could be for fear on the part of the settler ruling classes that settlement in urban centres would create opportunities for the local population to access modern education that could lead to acquiring political consciousness regarding the nature and workings of the oppressive neftegna-gabbar system. Indeed, it is one aspect of resistance. This form of Shako's resistance adopted as the survival practices in "third spaces" against effects or aspects of power. It also shows that resistance is not only a response to power, power might as well be a response to resistance, a response both to its construction of new social structures which negates power logics and a counter-response to the resistance against power. In a fundamental sense power and resistance need each other to develop and expand.

However, some of the Shako groups who wished to hold power later opted to assimilate and integrate to urban settlers by changing their names (accepting change of Shako name to Amharic) and professing Orthodox Christianity as their religious creed (Gudina, 2003). In this regard, Amharic became the lingua franca, state-backed Orthodox Christianity became the only legitimate religion in the empire, and all forms of Amhara culture were imposed on the subjected peoples of the south as the only legitimate and 'civilized culture' (Tibebu, 1995). During this time, one has to be "Amharized" to get some privileges. John Markakis (1994) argues that "in imperial Ethiopia for instance, it was easier for a non-Christian, who also did not speak Amharigna, to pass through the eye of a needle than to enter the charmed circle of power and privilege" Such trends resulting from subjugation of the Shako continued up until the revolution. Indeed, with the policy of reinvigorated centralization drive and consolidation of state-machineries, the oppression and domination of subject people increased in magnitude and dimension in post_1941 imperial.

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b) Resistance Against the Neftegnas and Restoration of Imperial Rule

At the time of Emperor Haileselassie's return from exile following the defeat of the Italians in 1941, there was conflict between the returning settlers (Neftegnas) and the Shako especially those who were known as arbegnas led by Diko and others. Arbegna is the term used to identify members of the resistance against Italian occupation but this was used in Shako in a different manner. The Shako arbegna firmly opposed and struggled against the reoccupation of Shakoland by the neftegnas/ melkegna, representing the settler landowners. Indeed, the attempt to reassert their former supremacy over the local people started first by the former neftegnas in the last days of resistance against Italians. A spark that lit a fire was the action of Fitawrari Gezahegne. In other words, his action increased the grievance of the local people and precipitated the condition. He ordered the Shako patriots to stop their struggle against the Italians, at the last days of the liberation movement, while they want to continue the resistance until the final days. Moreover, Gezahagn attempted to disarm the Shako people. The Shako people, on their side, also reacted against this action because they knew that Gezahagne's action was intended to open the way for reasserting the neftegnas' former supremacy over the Shako people. The result was then conflict between the Shako people and the restored elites and neftegnas of the imperial regime who reclaimed their status, land and tenants as well as power following which the local people and their rulers become victories.

The regime tried to solve the nationwide crises and problem through introducing some measures by enacting administrative regulation known as Decree No. 1/ 1942. The Decree dealt with the reorganization of administrative territories and establishment of a tightly structured and formal administrative system that is intended to unify the country and centralize power under the emperor. Nevertheless, the mechanism that sought to implement the Decree was strengthening the centralization drive mediated by the doctrine of the Orthodox Christian Church. The aim was to build a centralized bureaucracy and thereby to increase its presence in the peripheries. However, the Haillesilasie's government did not establish its central rule immediately after the evacuation of the Italians; it did not establish until 1943 in Shako area which created administrative vacuum. The administrative vacuum enabled the local traditional chiefs to assert their power in their respective areas. In other words, all of the Shako chiefs tried to take advantage of the situation and reasserted their hereditary privileges and their region's former political autonomy. They held political authority and ruled their own people on their own ancestral land based on their indigenous administrative system. The holding of power by the native chiefs in this area also gave the people a relief from payment of onerous tribute and other exaction and land grabbing.

When the imperial government began to restore power in Shako area in 1943, the Shako, together with other indigenous groups, fiercely resisted. This was because the people knew that the restoration of imperial rule means the restoration of oppressive and exploitative system of pre-1935 period; They feared that the restoration of imperial rule might reinstitutes the previous oppressive neftegna-gebbar system, and the slavery and slave trade of pre-Italian period which were still fresh in the minds of the Shako people. On one hand, the period of administrative vacuum enabled the local chiefs to reassert their political autonomy and to consolidate their authority in their respective region and to organize their people. Large amount of arms held by the local people is another factor in their struggle against the establishment of imperial government. The Shako people like other people of the region, possessed huge amount of weapons. They acquired it both from Italians and British. The Italians had initially distributed large number of arms to let they fight the patriots of the region who were fighting the Italians. Later on, the British also trained and distributed weapons to the local people at Boma, part of the British colony of Sudan which borders the study area. Thus, this had built the confidence of the local people and also helped them to put a stiff resistance against the restoration of the imperial government.

The responsibility of crushing the resistance and restore the imperial authority in the region was given to Ras Mesfin Sileshi, governor of Illibabur province which included the Sheko people. Mesfin Sileshi in return sent Captain Alemayehu Filate (later Fitawrari), one of his war commanders, to the region to carry out the task. Of course, there was a military preparation and intense propaganda before the actual fighting broke out; Alemayehu tried to persuade the Shako people by sending repeated messages in which he promised to avoid confrontation if they would submit peacefully. For instance, the letter written on July 14, 1942, says, "**ዘጠኝ ወር ሙሉ የስብከት ደብዳቤ በመላክና በሌላውም የሰላም መንገድ ስንደክም ፍሬ ሳናገኝ ቀረን**", "Aimed at persuading them to submit peacefully, we sent letter of pursuant and other peaceful mechanisms for about nine months. But we laboured for such long period in futile as it bore no result" (IES/WMTMC: Folder No., 2177, File No., 5548).

When such strategy failed, Alemayehu marched to the Shakoland from his base area at Gore with contingent force consisting of four battalions, under the leadership of Shalaqa Hayle Ayano, Fitawrari Mulugeta Ashine, Shalaqa Gezimu Siyum and Fitawrari Kebede Demissie in January, 1942. From the four Battalion force, three were sent to Temengayaz (to garrison there) and the remaining one Battalion sent to Gurafarda. Five days stay at Temengayaz, on 25 January, 1942, the

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Sheko people led by Shiferaw Mengesha, Mura Urgu and others opened fire on the garrisoned government soldiers. Although there were casualties on both sides, the number of people died on the side of local people of Sheko was great; the archival material mention that about 10 men died and injured from the side of government force, whereas 80 people died and 130 were surrendered from the local people (IES/WMTMC: Folder No., 2177, File No., 5548; Folder No., 2181, File No., 2881). But it is difficult to accept this figure as face value. In spite of the defeat, the resistance continued in this front, mainly under the leadership of Mura Urgu, who reorganized the local people to continue the struggle.

One Battalion force that was sent to Gurtafarda has been garrisoned in the camp at Birhan which was built by the Italians. After four days stay of the government forces at the camp, the local people led by Diko, one of the Shako chiefs at Gurafarda, suddenly attacked the soldiers. After fighting for four days the government soldiers were defeated and began to retreat back. The Shako fighters take the offensive and followed the government soldiers until they were totally driven out of Shakoland; after expulsion from Shakoland, the government soldiers stationed at Yeki. And the fighters of Shako of Gurafarda marched to the area around Boqo River and stationed there. Unable to crush the resistance, Fitawrari Alemayehu requested Mesfin Sileshi for additional force. Accordingly, additional government forces arrived on May 1942. After consolidating his former army with the newly arrived one, Alemayehu started to invade the Shakoland from all directions. After fighting the combined forces of Alemayehu for about nine days, Shako people were heavily defeated; the final and decisive battle took place at Boqo on June 26, 1942. Alemayehu expressed his victory to Ras Mesfin Sileshi through the letter written on July 14, 1942 which reads as, "**እስከ ሰኔ 19 ቀን ድረስ ከተታኮሱዋቸው በኋላ በሸኮ . . . ያሉ ባላባቶች ሁሉ እጃቸውን መስጠታቸውንና ታማኝነታቸውን ማረጋገጣቸውን አስታወቁ::**", "After fighting until June 19 [June 26], all balabats of Shako announced their submission and confirmed their loyalty" (Folder No., 2181, File No., 2881). Other sources however show that all balabats were not submitted and stopped the resistance.

The success of Alemayehu's army was due mainly to the superiority of his force both in number and armaments. The tactic which he employed in the course of fighting had also helped him. That is, he captured Shako women and children and detained them at "Mocha" [Sheka]. Then, he announced that anyone whose wife and children have been detained could get them back by surrendering or submitting weapons. Since the Shako people normally love their wife and children, the majority had submitted their weapons. This system helped the government by reducing the number of armament (there by reducing the means of fighting for the Shakos) and facilitating the future control also. In addition, Alemayehu's army captured the influential balabats of Shako and detained them, first at Gore and then at Addis Ababa. After that they informed the Shako people that the government would kill the balabats if they did not stop fighting and refuse to accept the restoration of the imperial regime. Since the Shakos had a great love and respect for their balabats (as the traditional bondage was still exist and also consider their traditional chiefs as sacred), most people hesitated and failed to continue the war. All this factors contributed for the defeat and submission of the Shakos. This does not mean that the government soon assured its hegemony over the people at least until 1947. There was also variation in this regard; while most of the Shakos people were engage in protracted and open struggle until the late 1940s, some of the Shako people continued to make the most vigorous and open resistance at least until the late 1950s by changing the place and organizational level of resistance. Individual acts of resistance by some Shako fighters, or individuals with courage like Dikko was dominant in the latter case as points that will be discussed below indicate. All in all however the resistance of Shako people in all regions of the Shakoland continued until the 1974 Ethiopian revolution, changing its nature and pattern (MoCT/ NALA: Folder No., 242, File No., 12-□1; Folder No., 242, File No., 103; Folder No., 299, File No., □-7).

c) Individuals with courage: Dikko of Gurafarda and His Contribution in the Resistance

As mentioned above, some of the Shako groups continued to make a fierce and open resistance even after the resistance of larger Shako groups have been crushed by government force. A man behind that resistance was one of the Shako chiefs at Gurafarda whose name is Qegnazmach Dikko. As was discussed in the preceding section, he resisted the restoration of the imperial government and fought the imperial force together with other Shako groups. Even he was much more active in resistance and politics than his contemporaries, providing ideological and organizational base for resistance. For example, Fitawrari Alemayehu repeatedly sent him a letter requesting a peaceful submission but Qegnazmach Dikko refused to do so. Dikko even sent a message expressing his conviction. One of the letters written on February 25, 1942 explains the response of Qegnazmach Dikko as, "**አሁን አገሩ. . . አርሶ የራሱን የሚበላ ከሆነ እንቀበለዋለን ያለዝያ በጦርነት እንቀበላዋለን**", "If the country [the Shakoland and its people] will be allowed to till its own land and consume what it produced, we will accept it [the restoration of the imperial regime]; otherwise we prefer war" (IES/WMTMC: Folder No., 2177, File No., 5548; Folder No., 2181, File No., 2881). This indicates that Dikko's intention was to resist the restoration of the imperial regime if this means the restoration of the pre-

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1935 period oppressive system that denied the local people the right to hold their ancestral land, in addition to denying their political and cultural identity.

When Fitawrari Alemayehu requested for submission of weapons, Qegnazmach Dikko responded as follow: "**ለኔም ላንተም ጠመንጃ የሰጠን እንግሊዝ ነው ስለዚህ ከእንግሊዝ ወረቀት ካልመጣ አልቀበልም**", "Since it was England [Britain} who provided both of us with the rifle, I will never submit the rifle as per your request; I will submit the rifle if England sent a letter of order to me." This vividly indicates ideological and organizational degree of Dikko and his soldiers. He has got several rifles and ammunitions from Britain just like Alemayehu's soldiers so that he consider himself and his fellowmen as equals than inferior to the former. Thus, he has no intention of submitting peacefully except by war.

Following the refusal of Dikko to submit peacefully, despite the repeated request, Fitawrari Alemayehu (as mentioned earlier) sent one battalion force under the leadership of shamble Temesgen to Guraferda. The force was stationed at the camp of Birhane which was built by the Italians. Soon, the war broke out between Dikko's force and that of the government. The war was initiated by Dikko himself. After four days confrontation at the battle of Birhane, the government force was defeated by Dikko's force. Following the defeat, the government force retreated back and Dikko's force followed them until they fled to Yeki. After the battle of Birhane, Dikko's force marched to Boqqo River that border Shakoland and that of the Bench, and garrisoned there preparing to attack the government force when it crosses the river. Alarmed by this, Dejazmach Mesfin Sileshi sent additional Battalion force from Gore as per the request of Fitawrari Alemayehu. Dikko's force faced a huge army at the battle of Boqo in which his force (together with other groups) defeated by the government force. After the decisive battle of Boqo, Dikko fled to Bero, located in Maji area which is near to Sudanese border.

Although Dikko was defeated, he did not stop resistance. As documents as well as informants indicate, he continued resistance from his base area of Bero until 1950s. There, he organized other groups and continued to challenge the government, making sporadic attack on government forces stationed at Guraferda. This indicates that he changed his war tactic from conventional war to guerrilla war. He also terrorized the officials by sending a message that threatens them with murder if they do not stop taxing the people; he also instigated the local people to expel the settlers.

The major reason for the strength of Dikko and his force was moral and material support provided by the Shako people and their neighbours. The support provided by the British officials, for their own advantage, from the Sudan also helped Diko and his force; also supported later by Sudanese government. They provided armaments to the rebels to destabilize the Ethiopian government so that they could exploit the goldmines of the area. The rebels had also strategic and tactical advantage over the government forces. Since most of the rebels' base was in the area that border Sudan, they cross to Sudan when the government force wage a planned attack. Then they came back and attack the government forces and officials suddenly. In other words they employed hit-run tactic. Moreover, the jungle of Maji area makes it difficult for the government forces to control the rebels, who were fighting on the soil which they knew very well.

To overcome the problem and maintain stability in the region, the government sent additional army to the area; for instance, one Battalion force was sent in 1949 in addition to the already existing force there. Their main target was to capture Dikko as he was the moving spirit of the resistance and also served as a uniting figure, providing a lenient leadership as well as organizational and ideological tool for all the rebels. However, government failed either to capture Dikko or crush the rebels and maintain stability in the region. Although documents as well as the informants do not mention the final fate of Dikko after mid-1950s, the insurgents or rebels continued to exist in the region. Due to this, the government sent additional forces (about three Battalion force) to the area in the 1960s. However, such a huge force did not assure security in the region. Therefore, the security problem continued unabated in the region throughout the imperial period.

d) The Continuities and Discontinuities in the Resistance

After the second half of 1940s, petition was the main means of open resistance to most of the Shako people. For instance, opposing land eviction from their ancestral land, tenancy and land alienation (which increased in the area after the mid-1940s), the Shako people together with Bench made several petitions to provincial and central government offices. The prominent personalities from Shako who spoke the grievance of their people (representing the Shako people) at Jimma (provincial capital) and Addis Ababa (the capital of the imperial government) in 1950s were Jabi worgu and Tessema Aybara. Although the resistance resulted in deposition of Fitwrari Alemayehu Filate from his governorship, it did not halt the spread of tenancy, sufferance of the peasants from land alienation and eviction. It was continued unabated throughout the regime. For example, on the eve of the revolution, almost all of the local people of Shako like that of Bench and others in the region were tenants. The resistance was also continued until the downfall of the regime with variation in some form like change in leadership.

For instance, opposition reached to the climax in the early 1970s. During this period, the students took a forefront in the opposition movement. The main leader

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of the movement among Shako was Dejene Wotango. They used several mechanisms but the major one was through making petition to central authorities, expressing the grievance of the local people. Of which, the petition letter that they wrote to Lij Endalikachew Mekonen, the prime minister of Imperial Ethiopia, was the major one (MoCT/ NALA: Folder No., 299, File No., □-7). In this letter, they expressed their dismay with the condition as, "Although we expected a significant change to their people after the reorganization of the government [with the appointment of Lij Endalkachew and his new cabinet], nothing is so far changed". And they longed for radical reform in the region. Students blamed the whole system and officials of the administration in particular. Although they blamed all government officials of the administration, including the governor, they boldly blamed the then governor of Sheko district, Girazmach Ayalew Yirsaw for he was bogged down in corruption, bribery, and was disrespect of the local people including elders. Nevertheless, such petitions bore no result and things continued without change until the downfall of the regime in 1974. Of course, the imperial regime introduced several reforms, pretending to solve the problem, by enacting administrative, legal and economic regulations through various Decrees in post-1941 periods. One of the Decrees dealt with the reorganization of administrative territories and establishment of a tightly structured and formal administrative system that is intended to unify the country and centralize power under the emperor. Nevertheless, the mechanism that sought to implement the Decree was strengthening the centralization drive mediated by the doctrine of the Orthodox Christian Church. It was experienced by Shako people as domination from the centre and subjugation under its local representatives and neftegnas (drawn from Amhara ethnic group) who wielded almost absolute power over the local people. The practice of neftegna-gabbar rule was also persisted unabated until 1974. Thus the imperial monarchy developed into an absolutist state with a power structure based on feudalism and ethnicity. By the same token, the resistance of the local people of Shako continued, changing in nature and patterns, up until the revolution, in which the Shako people actively participated hoping to regain their land and associated rights as well as to revitalize their cultural and political identity.

IV. Conclusion

The Shako people, like other subordinate groups in Ethiopia and even across the world, engaged in the resistance in response to power, challenged that power, and consequently undermined power by the act. In this regard, resistance is not only a response to power, power might as well be a response to resistance, a response both to its construction of new social structures which negates power logics and a counter-response to the resistance against power. It indicated that the types of resistance would vary according to who acts, where, with what means and organizational forms and against what through analyzing historical changes of resistance. It varies also according to what motivating ideas and ideologies that guides the resistance. By doing so, it briefly indicated what implication resistance studies might have to our understanding of contemporary political conflicts.

Accordingly, the types of resistance by Shako people witnessed historical change in different times but two major types of resistance were dominant as the discussion made indicate. Firstly it was characterized by the open and public challenge against power including conventional war, revolts, petitions, refusal to pay taxes and the like. The second one takes the form of hidden, circumventing forms of camouflaged resistance like work-slow. This form of Shako's resistance adopted as the survival practices in "third spaces" against effects or aspects of power; for example running away to forests and other safe places where the neftegna's influence was minimal and also becoming indifferent towards the conditions.

The above forms of resistance "corresponds to different forms of domination (material, status and ideological), which in return resulting in various features of resistance". Shako's resistance take the first form as public declared resistance (through open revolts in both pre and post 1941 period, and also through petitions, predominant after the late 1940s) against material domination by neftegna; assertion of worth or desecration of status symbols against status domination by neftegna; or, counter-ideologies against ideological domination as the case of 1941-1943 indicate. And, the second form of resistance occur simultaneously as "everyday resistance" (e.g. stealing the property of dominant, desertion of landlords by tenants, evasion like withdrawal from destructive power relations (e.g. by escape to other countries or areas) and thus refusing to take part in the system).

Shako's resistance also vary depending on social space; sometimes occurring in an established and recognized public arena, in an informal and emergent political space (e.g. in a neighbourhood) as the Diko's action after 1943 from Bero indicated, making that space a space of political contest. And Shako's resistance was also varied according to what social category is resisting/resisted and the relative size and power of contending groups (for example in time of conquest a clan under Arshyab and Tuzyab resisted while others were submitted). Shako's resistance also vary in terms of what historical context resistance is played out and what values or ideologies that guides the resistance (e.g. in feudal state until 1930; autocratic state (1930-35); authoritarian colonial state (1937-1941) and absolutist state (1941-1974).

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Their resistance would also have a variation of consequences depending on all these factors sometimes leading to chaos or increased repression as events of 1920s, 1930s and post-1941 cases indicated or equity in terms of land reform after 1974 revolution, etc.). The dimension could also differ between individual-collective, and type of social category or ideological groupings doing resistance. Individual acts of resistance, e.g. "robbing" and "raiding" of rifles and slaves from northern traders, governors and neftegnas by some Shako fighters, or individuals with "courage" like Dikko. It also witnessed the majority mobilizations, e.g. the Shako's struggle in the post-1941 period based on ethnicity.

Having explored various features of resistance and dominance and some of its broad variation of types in the case of Shako through history, it is possible to accept Vinthagen & Lilja's (2007) assertion that "resistance studies is a necessary companion to all critical theory and other research interested in agency or social change, yes, probably also if we are to understand power, since power is not, it is exercised in historical and contemporary relationships". The dynamic traits, patterns and creativity of power, resistance and social change are connected. If we focus only on one of them, say on power, we may miss significant issues and even we overstress the role of one of it.

Moreover, resistance is not usually destructive and anti-social. As the case of Shako indicated mostly resistance can be productive, at least, both ripping down some elements in society while generating new. Through resistance, the Shako's broadened the room for making choices, paved possibilities by discouragement or restructuring such power relations which limits and produces their (possible) identities, action space or bodies.

The various strategies of resistance by Shako was a response to their articulation with the expanding frontier of the Abyssinian empire. As a result of this process, the traditional economic and cultural patterns of Shako society were reshaped. The new pattern of social reproduction tied them increasingly to wider political and economic processes in the region. Their remarkable population growth despite their heavy losses in slave raids and repeated military retaliation is evidence of the fact that they succeeded in adapting themselves to changing circumstances and in absorbing various non-Shako speaking groups into their society. They also continuously re-adjusted their strategy as survival strategy which is conditioned in various historical formations and processes. These processes received their `meaning' from such culturally mediated groupings. Moreover, the case of Shako shows that the traditional cultural ideology stemming from the earlier days is maintained in the process of adaptation to new situations. Their cultural ideology is in the form of conditioning new social alignments in the regional `ethno-system'. This was possible because of the socio-cultural definition and workings of their kin-ordered mode of production, which proved to have political-economic advantage in times of crisis.

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A Profusion of 'Special Paths': Unraveling the Concept of Sonderweg

By Cody Franchetti
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Abstract- This short essay examines the notion of Sonderweg, which emerged as historiographers attempted to make sense of the creation of the Prussian Nation State from a handful of provinces within the Holy Roman Empire in the stunningly short compass of one generation, and its rise to prominence. The idea of Sonderweg was nonetheless doled out to a variety of characteristics of Germany's evolution, coiling together far too many aspects, ensuing confusion. The essay's task is to disentangle the hitch and provide the reader with a criterion for understanding as well as considering the plausibility of the fascinating yet often vague concept called Sonderweg.

Keywords: European history, Prussia, Holy Roman Empire, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe.

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A Profusion of 'Special Paths': Unraveling the Concept of Sonderweg

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Abstract- This short essay examines the notion of *Sonderweg*, which emerged as historiographers attempted to make sense of the creation of the Prussian Nation State from a handful of provinces within the Holy Roman Empire in the stunningly short compass of one generation, and its rise to prominence. The idea of *Sonderweg* was nonetheless doled out to a variety of characteristics of Germany's evolution, coiling together far too many aspects, ensuing confusion. The essay's task is to disentangle the hitch and provide the reader with a criterion for understanding as well as considering the plausibility of the fascinating yet often vague concept called *Sonderweg*.

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I. Introduction

The concept of a German *Sonderweg* is one that needs a certain degree of unraveling before assessing its validity, for it has been used in various contexts to explain a variety of theses. It is thus crucial to distinguish its different meanings before considering its defensibility. Originally used in the early days of the Prussian Empire, the term arose from the pride felt by Prussians who looked back at their country's rapid rise to an imperial power from a small, scattered, agglomeration of Hohenzollern holdings immersed in the great territory of the Holy Roman Empire; in their understanding, *Sonderweg* was a 'special course', different from that of other European states, since in only a generation, from a non-entity Prussia ascended among the most prominent nation-states in Europe. (The word itself implies a Prussian exceptionalism, for *Sonderweg* is a coupling of the German *Sonder*—'special, particular'—and Weg—'path'.) Another definition for the concept of *Sonderweg* is tied to Prussia's bracing industrialization, which, by the late nineteenth century, secured Prussia into a manufacturing power and a war machine quite unrivalled in Europe. The latter two were a favorable call of the *Sonderweg* thesis. The other, more controversial and fatalistic use of *Sonderweg* is a teleological view of Germany's convergence to Nazism; this latest variant of the term was employed by German historiographers after 1945—a theoretic outlook that flourished particularly in the 1960s—in an effort to make sense of the horrors of the war, who sought in German history the elements that lead to Nazism.

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II. Discussion

The first meaning of the *Sonderweg*, in my opinion, has a patent historical basis for it has manifest evidence. As Jurgen Kocka justly pointed out, "[the] *Sonderweg* is rooted in German historical self-understanding."[1] As such, we ought to regard it as much as possible from such a point of view to discover its justification: after a long-yearned-for liberation from Austria's thrall at last delivered by the Austro-Prussian war of 1866 and the resulting dissolution of the German Confederation, the satisfaction, the relief, the pride, the jubilation that filled Prussians in the early empire must be appreciated. The German Confederation had been a displeasing compromise for Prussia; although Austria had received a major blow with the abolishment of the Holy Roman Empire by the hand of Napoleon in 1806, the formation of the Confederation discontented Prussia, since during its whole duration Austria stifled Prussian nationalistic aspirations, in part due to Metternich's influence, which lasted until 1848, and, because Austria still had the prestige and supremacy of being an imperial power. But all changed in 1866. After the battle of Königgrätz, the century-old struggle with Austria was finally and unequivocally resolved in Prussia's favor. More crucially still, the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war just a few years later, the shattering defeat of France, the elevation of Prussia to her own imperial status in 1871 at Versailles—of all places—was an undeniable demonstration of Prussia's supremacy as the German states united under Prussian leadership and henceforth were known as Germany, whose inauguration with the Treaty of Versailles decked it in the most regal robes conceivable.

It was then that the idea of a *Sonderweg* first appeared; indeed, those looking back in the early days of Prussia's hegemony to its uncertain beginnings, saw Prussia's advance to be far brisker than that of any other European nation, whose history of consolidation from immemorial dynastic struggles to the creation of a state and eventually a nation, spanned, in some cases, almost a millennium. With respect to other German potentates, too, Prussia's different course was plainly evident: in 1701 the elector of Brandenburg Frederick III

[1] Kocka, p.10

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was raised to 'King in Prussia' by the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I in recognition of the former's aid in the wars of Spanish Succession. And although Prussia was the first electorate to be raised to kingly status, Saxony, Bavaria, and Hanover soon followed. That none of them even remotely experienced the dazzling future of Prussia provided a credible argument for those who believed in the *Sonderweg*.

The second implication of the *Sonderweg* is linked to Prussia's swift modernization. As stated earlier, Prussia's industrial and military might in the nineteenth century proceeded at a surprising pace, and thus, a 'special path' was more than plausible. But the concept of a '*Sonderweg* to modernity' is not as convincing; Georg Iggers pointed out, "This conception of a 'separate [German] path' *Sonderweg* to modernity […] oversimplifies the political and social development of the West in general and Germany in particular and fails to recognize that there is no one path to modernity."[2] Iggers's consideration is sound, for to posit one, sole path toward modernization is ill-contrived: Britain's equally astonishing industrialization occurred during a longer time span, proving that the paths to modernity are multifarious especially when keeping in mind that in the same period Britain was the only nation whose power stood with that of Prussia. The thrust and the engine for the astonishing pace of Prussia's commercialization, were the territories of Königreich along the Rhine, which ironically were a product of Metternich's efforts to keep Prussia weak, divided—a simple buffer state buffer state between its classic borders with Russia and a new border with France. On the other hand, as the Austro-Hungarian Empire focused on its eastern possessions, it increasingly became an agricultural territory, which hindered its industrialization. In relation to Austria, thus, the argument for a Prussian *Sonderweg* to modernity may have some validity. And yet, Robert Moeller raises a sound question: "has the Sonderweg been transformed into one path to capitalist development, hardly discernible from others?"[3] Moeller's point is compelling; and it seems that though Prussia experienced a peculiar path to industrialization, one could say that it was only peculiar inasmuch as each state had its very own distinctive path to modernity as well.

We must now address the 20th century thesis of the Sonderweg as a predestined trajectory to Nazism. The subject, naturally, is one that cannot be exhaustively treated here (or in any single monograph for that matter), yet a few considerations are opportune. Historians after 1945 sought for early tendencies that in their estimation lead to Hitler's National Socialism, looking back as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century: but too often even plain signs of patriotism were erroneously looked upon suspiciously as early sprouts of Nazism. Others rejected what seemed a teleological, even eschatological, view of the rise of Hitler's regime.

Historians who sought a '*Sonderweg* to totalitarism', might be tempted to start that path with one of the circle of Jena's most illustrious members, Fichte, who in 1807-8 delivered his *Address to the German Nation* in which he proclaimed that "Germans had a peculiarly important part to play, for they had retained their language untainted by alien influences […] They had shown their moral earnestness by the Reformation and were therefore best fitted to lead the regeneration of mankind."[4] But this slogan was formulated during the wars of liberation, at a time when Napoleon's invasion of Prussia urged a pervasive nationalist sentiment. Fichte's stance was not that of a radical: the budding pride and patriotism of any Prussian intellectual is easily understood if we take into account that until the eighteenth century, German was regarded a coarse and primitive language; and that only after the *Sturm un Drang* period (1770s) its language *and* culture acquired an equal footing with the rest of Europe by virtue of its unique contributions in all fields, ranging from music to literature, philosophy to classical philology, linguistics to hermeneutics bestowed by all German-speaking states to the rest of Europe.

However, it is true that in Prussia, nationalistic fervor grew into extremism all too soon. Though it is impossible to isolate exactly its turning, Fritz Stern, in trying to isolate the first wave of this frightening direction, referred to a current around 1860, which he termed 'Illiberalism', or, a cultural style of "obedience and the uneasy adulation of authority: it embodied the new faith in nationalism and the supreme value of the nation-state."[5] Stern's 'Illiberalism' makes a glaring appearance in Heinrich von Treitschke's writings. In a series of essays written in the 1870's, later collected under the title *Doctrine of German Destiny and International Relations,* an exalted and sinister tone emerges. In describing the importance of a powerful army, Treitschke's declares, "We have learned to recognize the moral majesty of war just in those aspects of it which superficial observers describe as brutal and inhuman."[6] In the next few chapters he stresses the importance of German colonization to counteract the neighboring "parasitic nations" because "all our neighbours, at some time or another, grew at Germany's expense […]"[7]; the idolatry of violence, the hatred of all foreigners, the obsession that the latter are an encroachment to one's security and stability are indeed proto-Nazi biases.

[2] Iggers, p.69
[3] Moeller, p.666
[4] Paraphrased thus by G.P. Gooch, p.17
[5] Stern, p.xxviii
[6] Treitschke, p.139
[7] Treitschke, p.236

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But these, and many more examples, cannot support the idea of an uninterrupted path to Nazism. In other words, to think that totalitarism is engrained in Prussia's essence is parochial. In fact, in this regard Kocka's words in this regard are valuable: "Probably no serious historian would argue that the peculiarities of German history stressed by the *Sonderweg* thesis—late nation-building, illiberal cultures, blocked parliamentarization, etc.—led directly and necessarily to 1933. There is no doubt that many other causal factors were involved—from the consequences of the lost war to the person of Adolf Hitler."[8]

Where does this leave the *Sonderweg* thesis? In relation to this third meaning of it, Kocka again provides with an appropriate frame to view *Sonderweg*: "The *Sonderweg* thesis may help to explain why there were so few barriers against the fascist or totalitarian challenge in Germany. But the *Sonderweg* thesis is much weaker in explaining fascism as such and what happened after 1933. National Socialism was part of a European phenomenon, an aspect of a more general challenge to liberal democracy in the inter-war period."[9]

III. Conclusion

In conclusion, the validity of a German *Sonderweg* seems to me only arguable in its original meaning: after all, Prussia was the last, great European power to consolidate and the fastest to do so—though the recognition that, "in a certain sense, every country and every region has its own *Sonderweg*"[10] weakens the thesis even in this connotation. As to having a special path to modernity, though impressive, Prussia was not unique. Finally, to use the *Sonderweg* thesis to explain Hitler has a Hegelian whiff of predestination, which careful historians should beware of. Otherwise, history, as a purely a-posteriori explanation for not-so-hidden agendas, can be manipulated unfittingly and dangerously.

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[8] Kocka, p.11
[9] Kocka, p.25
[10] Jurgen Kocka, "German History before Hitler: The Debate about the German Sonderweg." Journal of Contemporary History 23 (1988): 3-16, p.10

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"Development of Feminist Experiences in Colonized and Non-Colonized World During 1900-2000"

By Basit Habib & Ushna Tariq
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Abstract- The history of the struggles of women for obtaining their legal, social, ethical, economic and political rights to change their lives in a dramatic sense equal to men is a long one in its perspective. The term "feminism" has been evolved in English since the last decade of nineteenth century when women campaigned against the oppression in relation to men and highlighted major issues of this nature. Then the term second wave of feminism adopted in response to student's protest movements, anti-war movements, and in United States movements emerged for the rights of black along with rights of women. Feminism is considered to be brought up by Europe and United States mainly a west agenda to bring women on the page of equality like men. Researcher divided this research into two parts. First part deals with "Development of Feminist Experiences in Colonized world" which further categorized into Pre-Partition and Post –Partition. The second part deal with '"Development of Feminist Experiences in Non-Colonized World" which further divided into two parts as 'Muslim World' and 'Non-Muslim World'. Three countries will be enlisted regarding development of feminism in Muslim World which are Turkey, Iran and Egypt while Non-Muslim deal with Europe and USA. Feminism emerged differently in these different world but with the same.

Keywords: feminism, colonized world, non-colonized world, islamization, westernization, waves, movements, reforms.

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Keywords: feminism, colonized world, non-colonized world, islamization, westernization, waves, movements, reforms.

I. INTRODUCTION

The history of the struggles of women for obtaining their legal, social, ethical, economic and political rights to change their lives in a dramatic sense equal to men is a long one in its perspective. The term "feminism" has been evolved in English since the last decade of nineteenth century when women campaigned against the oppression in relation to men and highlighted major issues of this nature. Then the term second wave of feminism adopted in response to student's protest movements, anti-war movements, and in United States movements emerged for the rights of black along with rights of women. A British sociologist Sheila Row Botham's in '*Women in Movement*' (1992), wrote some major influential developments across the world about women during the revolutionary phase of enlightenment and discussed the struggle of women against their identification of self, and organization of women's rights movement to abolish slavery. The status of women's rights had been started to change with a landmark in history named Marry Wollstonecraft by writing a book "*A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*" (1992). She stated that individuals had their natural rights to determine the nature of their self and the reasoning by which liberal Enlightenment opposed the divine rights of kings (husbands) should be used against them in "*The Divine Rights of Husbands*" (1967:78). She insisted that the so-called inferiority of women should be challenged and removal of male dominant society could be possible only through educating women. Marry was known to be the mother of feminism. She focused on educating girls because she was of the view that girls should be educated to know their equal rights like men. She argued that women deserve the same fundamental rights like men, and should be educated like men to participate in the social matters of society, to educate her children in a well-mannered way, to participate in the progress of society in an independent way.

Then seventy-three years later, this concept of inferiority was discussed by a male feminist scholar John Stuart Mill in his book "*The Subjection of women*" (1869) by arguing against the inherent inferiority of women over men. He discussed that women should be educated enough to demonstrate for their equal rights, should hold public offices and should participate in politics too like their male peers. Neither Mill nor Marry had any wish to take women away from their families, rather they wanted to educate women in the same sense as men was educating, because they were of the view that educated women can be better mothers and housewives.

Due to invasion of feminism, it is thought that women were granted many rights including educational, legal, social, political, paid work and women's autonomy have extended. Wide range of dramatic socio-cultural and economic changes have damaged the authority of individual husband and father by giving women their due rights in all fields of life. Many feminist scholars consider feminism as not a unified movement rather it is the movement started in different communities with diverse impacts to equalize the status of women by developing strategies which liberate women of all cultures. (Peta Bowden and Jane Mummery, 2009)

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All these works proved to be influential towards the emancipation of women in public world but the major achievement can be seen after the book of Mary Wollstonecraft "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects (1792)" proved to be a landmark in women rights. She demanded equality in terms of gender by saying that:
'I don't wish them (women) power over men; but over themselves'

a) Feminism: Agenda of Western Countries

Feminism is considered to be brought up by Europe and United States mainly a west agenda to bring women on the page of equality like men. These countries started movements to bring gender equality in all forms of notions. These movements started with the aim to remove discriminatory practices against women on all levels. Feminism started mainly in the United States, Canada and a number of countries in Western Europe which has been divided into three waves by feminist scholars as first, second and third wave. The women's movements for their due rights started once again with more enthusiasm at a time in May 1968 when women started to read *The Second* Sex written by Simon de Beauvoir in 1949. This book was translated in English in 1953. After reading that book, many women started to campaign for their equal rights like men in society. Simon explained briefly the draw backs of women responsibilities as by sharing that why women do is not successful in the same educational field while having same educational experiences like men. She discussed this point with arguments that women's inability to make as much money as men do in the same profession is due to women's domestic responsibilities, lack of social support towards talented women, and women's fear that success will lead to an annoyed husband or prevent them from even finding a husband at all. She stated that women are taught to be fragile, docile and dependent over men by social narrations. Thus girls are told to follow the traditions of mothers.Along with other influences of her work, Simone de Beauvoir's work helped the feminist movement to erupt, causing the formation of 'The Women's Liberation Movement' between 1970's and 1980's developed an agenda for the citizenship rights of women. This determined group of women wanted to turn these ideas into actions by bringing women on the top page of social life to achieve equality in terms of legal measures. Through the promulgation of this movements, many women were able to get few rights in social strata like right to get education, right to work independently and right to cast vote. The Women's Liberation Movement faced many issues and most important issue was the banning of abortion and contraception. This ban was seen as the violation of women rights and women determined to fight against such practices.(Cathia Jenainati and Judy Groves, 2007)

Feminism started in United States soon after 'Seneca Fall Convention' held at Wesleyan Chapel on 19 and 20 July 1848, attended by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. These both feminist scholars attended World's Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840 where they were not allowed to get seated due to their gender. After this convention, both ladies called for a convention in which they draw a sentiment of women rights demand. Almost 300 people attended this meeting and at the end; this Declaration of Sentiment was signed by 68 women and 32 men. Then after that convention, women suffrage movement started in which women demanded the right to vote. The major victories were the enactment of:

- Equal Pay Act 1963,
- Civil Rights Act 1964 which banned sex discrimination in jobs,
- Women's educational equity was also enacted in 1974,
- In 1978, the Pregnancy Discrimination act was also enacted.

b) FEMINISM: A Paradigm Shifting from West to East

Colonial relations were produced among International women's suffrage movements when women of United States encourage other white feminists to discuss their racial biases, women of Asia too did the same. This issue of encouraging basic sexual rights of women was also discussed in Asia, Middle East and Africa, that term later named "Feminist Orientalism". The NGO's from many forums encouraged feminists all over the globe to raise the issue of world poverty and national liberation at global level. They thought that these issues are the major concerning issues affecting the lives of women. A feminist dilemma of unified sisterhood was elaborated in a sense where women of west communicated women of east to bring themselves on social page for the achievement of their equal rights like men. They bonded themselves in bonds of sisterhood and communicated each other to raise the issues of women. By this communication, feminist discourse shifts from west to east to up-bring the status of women in backward countries too. This transitional approach of sisterhood bonded too much that it initiated a process to embrace feminism as a political process all over the world.

The Women's League of African National Congress returned from exile in 1990's, at that time they claimed that feminism has been misinterpreted in some third world countries, there is nothing writing like feminism. Democratic governments have been established and mostly feminists dropped their call of liberation before feminism by arguing that their rights are reserved among ANC to negotiate equal representation of women at levels of life.

In the West, liberal feminists negotiated the individualistic rights of women over men in all spheres of

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life. They demanded equality of women on all grounds like men. Socialist feminists organized activities of women as wage laborers, demanded basic social right for women on all grounds. Socialists argue that men are lagging women behind in all spheres of life due to lack of education and social discrimination. They demanded to provide women free and competent medical care, adequate nutrition and food, abortion and contraception on demand, day care centers for women's child, people's control over their own bodies, democratic councils, availability of nutritious and abundant food to women at all ages, free quality education, and redefinition of jobs. Power relations of women between men and women, between members of family were characterized by radical feminists. They argue that women's emancipation is not enough, rather they stated that women are still oppressed and exploited by men in all fields of life. Radical feminists argue that there is only one way to take women away from this system is to oppress patriarchy and marriage rules. They demanded to re-think the language which is male defined and literary works should also be modified because they reflect male dominated structure. There is need to define patriarchal language to address issues of women particularly in all spheres of life.

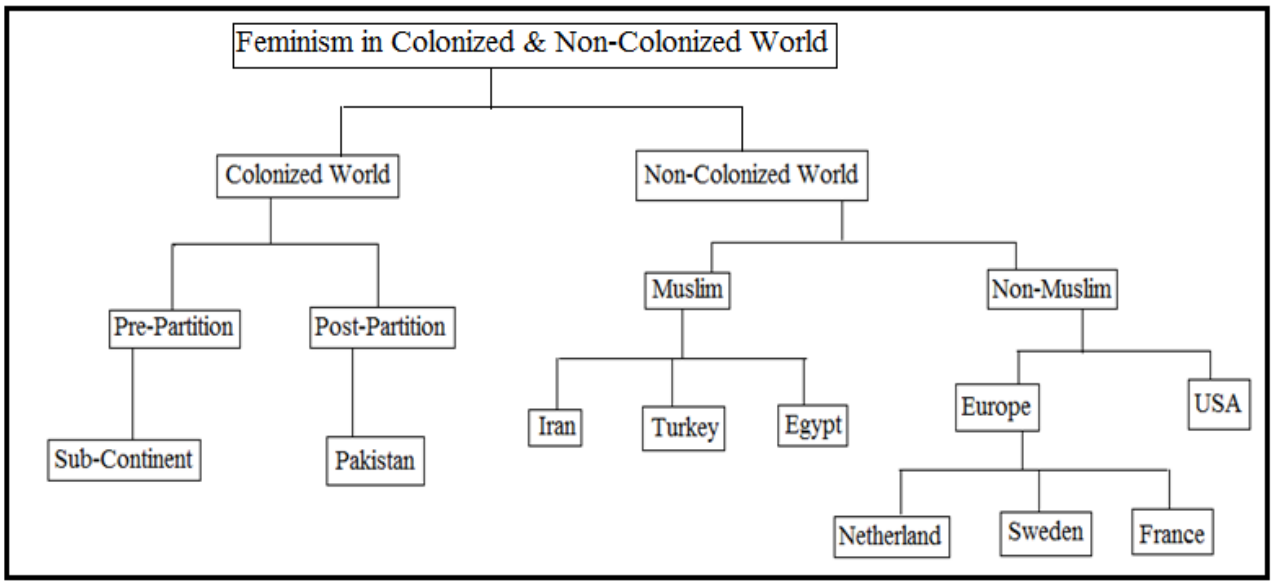


Figure 1: Road Map of Development of Feminist Experienc in Colonized & Non-Colonized World (1900-2000)

II. Development of Feminist Experiences in Colonized World

Colonialism is the practice of acquiring full or partial political control of one country over another, with the aim to occupy it all colonies and destroy it economically." Colonialism had diverse impact on the development of feminism. Here the researcher is discussing about the impact of colonialism in Asia specifically in Hindustan and Pakistan. Colonialism had impacted the development of feminism in Asian countries in three ways:

a) Resistance to colonialism led to the initiation of feminist movements as in Hindustan leaders were against the ruling of colonial British rule over sub-continent. There was a fight between colonial British and native males of Hindustan. History evidenced that fight between two elites affects the weakest zone of any one state. Thus in this fight women of Hindustan oppressed by colonial powers and native males and faced a lot of discriminatory practices. As English Common Law of 1832 oppressed Hindustani women in a sense that it made obligatory that after marriage, husband and wife becomes one and rights of women become merged with the rights of husband. Thus women have had to follow the rights made obligatory by husband. The oppressive side of this law was that women have to follow the duties assigned by husband, but husband was not bound to follow the rights and duties of wife. Thus laws legislate during British Raj also oppressed women of that time. As a result, in order to remove colonial powers from Hindustan, influential males of Hindustan started movements for the rights of women and later some influential women also joined the movements which named as Feminist Movement' for the rights and status of women.

b) Colonialism played a role of bridge between the two states of East and West. A new concept of 'sisterhood' was established during colonialism and at that time women of East remained in contact with

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the women of West in order to gain the momentum of power and addressed then issues of other women too.

c) Colonialism points out that overlapping and differences between the feminism of west and feminism of Asia. Dome cultural norms were considered as honor to women of Asia while women of west consider each restriction as discrimination. Feminism in colonial world is divided into two parts. One is before the partition of sub-continent named Sub-Continent (pre-partition) while other named Pakistan (post-partition).

It was taught by many Muslim countries that west brought the agenda of feminism to de-track the common women from their due domestic responsibilities. They were of the view that western women are responsible for exploiting the honor of their common ladies because these ladies were influenced by many western scholars and by their writings. For example, Mary Wollstonecraft, Harriet Taylor Mill, John Stuart Mill and many other revolutionary feminist scholars.

The period under discussion is divided into two parts according to time frame of topic 1900-2000.

1. *Colonial Period: Hindustan (Pre-Partition)*
2. *Post-Colonial Period: Pakistan (Post-Partition)*

a) In Sub-Continent (Pre-Partition)

Pre-colonial India was characterized differently than colonial and postcolonial India. Before colonization, India was known to be pluralistic and fragmented combination of cultural, religious and political structure in which there was not any monolithic Christian, Hindu or Muslim authority. Colonial rule was initiated with a mission with a mission to civilize the ideology of sub-continent. At that time, there was a fight between colonial powers and native male elites. This fight dragged women behind all powers and then a third group emerged of *"British Feminists"* who claimed for the rights and emancipation of Indian women. Per-colonial India revealed to be an agrarian society in which very strict but often diverse rules and customs that were developed in multiple tribes and castes. The major thing done by British Feminists in India was "Age of Consent" law, though which legally an age was defined to have sexual intercourse between husband and wife. Feminist movement in India started as a reform movement for the status of women in society. Indian women were oppressed a lot by English Common Law of 1832 which discriminate women after marriage. As according to this law, after marriage, husband and wife became ones and all rights of women merge with rights of husband. Thus women left with no personal space and rights after marriage by this law. Feminists of 19th century in Hindustan mainly concerned with issues that affect urban, upper and middle caste women such as purdah, sati, education, and age of marriage, remarriage and many more. Social reforms of these feminists demanded political and economic equality to that of men and attainted equality in all spheres of life. In case of India, feminist movements were initiated mainly by males and considered as reform movements for women. Some great scholars who found initiation of feminism in India were males like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Mahatma Gandhi, Justice Ranade and many more great influential fighters for women added in this list.(Khan, 2014)

In 1980, Prime Minister Indra Gandhi addressed to All India Women's Conference:

> *"I have often said that, I am not a feminist… yet in many concerns, how can I ignore women who since the beginning of history, been discriminated against social evils and social customs… We need women to be more interested, more active and more alive because they do compromise half of the human race…"*

1st Phase of Feminism in Hindustan (1850-1915) debates that colonial venture is a risky journey, into Hindustan bring modernity and introduced the concept of democracy, equality and individual rights into Hindustan. Social reform movements were initiated in this phase to discuss caste and gender relations. The first phase of feminism in Hindustan (before partition) was initiated by men to abolish all social evils of 'Sati' (immolation of widow), restriction of re-marriage of widow, to reduce illiteracy among women, to forbid child marriage, and ensure property rights to women under legal provisions.

During 19th century, some nationalist movements were merged in Hindustan which resisted colonial interventions in gander relations. During British ruling, several colonial states were ruled by women like Jhansi, Kittur, Bhopal and Punjab.

2nd Phase of Feminism in Hindustan (1915-1947) discussed that struggles gained momentum against colonial rule and nationalism. These both issues became the pre-eminent causes of feminist invasion into British colonial Raj. Cultural Revivalism made Indian women superior and Indian womanhood became similar to Victorian womanhood. Gandhi initiated the Civil Disobedience Movement against British Raj and expanded activities of women into public sphere. Common and peasant women played an important role in this disobedience movement. During this phase, new organizations for women were emerged as:

- All India Women's Conference (AIWC)
- National Federation of Indian Women (NFIW)

A new feminism emerged in 1920's which provide more space to women to establish their own association for their rights. These associations proved to be helpful towards the basic issues of women like Education, Opening of new livelihood strategies for working women, Reformation of old discriminatory laws

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which were previously against women and Legislation regarding women.

Mahatma Gandhi gathered other women to fight for anti-colonialist efforts under AIWC. Hindustan was also a patriarchal society and based on patriarchal beliefs of male dominancy in all respects of women lives.

b) In Pakistan (Post-Partition)

Sub-continent was ruled by British settlers for a long time politically, economically and socially exploited by British rulers. After Pakistan gained independence from Sub-continent, from its very independence it remained under the control of its colonial masters and inherited economic and political setup of west at a larger scale. The fact is that Pakistan failed to adopt its own personal constitutional setup even after nine years of its independence, while India soon after independence, adopted its own constitution of country. Pakistan adopted the Indian Act 1935 with slight amendments as an interim constitution which shows the influence of western powers over Pakistan. India came out of western influence very soon after its independence by adopting its own constitution. British Empire invaded its wings into sub-continent by the help of East India Company which means that East India Company played a role of agents of British ruling. British played a dirty tactic of "Divide and Rule" which ended after independence in 1947. After the British rule, two countries emerged- India and Pakistan. Pakistan since its independence remained under the influence of British ruling in political and economic scenario. Pakistan adopted its first constitution after nine years of its creation while India did so soon after its creation.

The history and development of feminism in Pakistan is clearly seen from a historical context starting from colonial legacy of social transformation adopted by the British rulers and passed through the early years of women's movements in which women of Pakistan struggled a lot to get independence through their feminist movements. At its beginning, this movement was rigid and conservative and especially due to invasion of Army to derail the democratic governments had a very bitter impact on the movement of women initially, but with the passage of time, these movements took more liberal atmosphere as in Pakistan today.

c) Colonialism and Initial Reforms of Women in Pakistan

The history of gender reforms and women movements in Pakistan has its roots in the colonial period of 19th century. Due to colonial powers liberal nationalists made reforms to change the old and conservative structure of society and create a sense of fight among Islamic conservative forces. Because Islamic rigid thinkers were of the view that colonial ideology and Islamic conservative forces are incompatible to each other. It is a fact that position of women was not even imposed by colonization but little was done in this regard.

d) Laws Passed Before Independence

Muslim Personal Law (1937) was passed due to a protest by Muslim women which led to the enforcement of Muslim Family Law and by the enforcement of this law, Muslim women gained the right to inherit property but after inheritance right, she was excluded from the right to inherit agricultural land. Some other laws were also passed for the personal rights of Muslim women like:

- Shariat Application Act of 1937
- Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act of 1939

The movements led by Pakistani Muslim women for their rights helped Indian Muslim women and they started to work collectively for the social, economic and political empowerment of women.

e) Organizations for Women After Independence

Since the independence and early years of Pakistan, two independent women organizations were established for the sake of women and these are:

i. Women's Voluntary Services (WVS) in 1948
ii. Pakistan Women's National Guard (PWNG) founded in 1949 by Begum RaanaLiaqat Ali Khan.

VWU played an important role in the rehabilitation of millions of refugee girls and young married women who were facing numerous problems. At that time women started to use guns, marksmanship, first aid, typing, social welfare and formed Trained National guard corps of three battalions with 2400 women and this guard corps formed for the whole of country. This organization later became 'All Pakistan Women Association' (APWA) 1949. This organization raised many personal issues regarding the status of women like health, education and family laws within the framework of welfare and social reforms.

Begum RaanaLiaqat had done tremendous jobs to work for the social welfare, health and education of women. She organized girls and young married women who were refugees and provide them shelters. Begum RaanaLiaqat's work and the unforgettable efforts of her official members helped her a lot in the formation of 'B' category Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) with UN. The first and major achievement of APWA towards women was that he reserved seats for national and provincial assembly through the ordinance which was imposed by president Ayub Khan in 1961, who was president at that time.

Though APWA did a lot for women but this organization was criticized a lot by the 'Maulvis' of that time who used to call these women as prostitutes and portrayed through their criticism as these women are lobbying against the teachings of Islam for the sake of their freedom. There were established many organizations for the sake of rights of women as:

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Federation of University Women (1956), "Karachi Business and Professional Women's Club" (BPV), Family Planning Association of Pakistan, Pakistan Child Welfare Council, Pakistan Red Cross, Pakistan Nurse's federation, Domestic Women Association (DWA), International Women's Club, (YWCA) Young Women's Christian Association established in 1899, 'United Front for Women's Rights', 1955 and Muslim Family Law ordinance (MFLO) 1961.

The constitution of Pakistan 1973promulagetd some provisions for women and made them equal to men. Article 25, 27, 32, 34 and 35 provide special provisions for women and mentioned that there would be no discrimination on the basis of sex.

> "…No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you in every field; we are victims of evil and bad customs. It is crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses like prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable and inferior condition in which our women have to live. You should take your women along with you as comrades in each and every sphere of life..."

(Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 1944)

III. Development of Feminist Experiences in Non-Colonized World

a) *Development of Feminist Experiences in Muslim World*

i. *In Turkey*

Women's movement in Turkey dated back to Ottoman period because during the decline of Ottoman period women strike for their basic rights and in early 20th century many fundamental rights regarding women were achieved through women's activists, such as the eradication of polygamy and repudiation, the rights given to men by Islamic Sharia.

It is easier to say that most strong form of feminist movement in Turkey was closely associated with west and western movements which like other feminist movements, adopted the phrase, "Personal is Political". In this feminist activity, the main issue which was discussed by scholars was domestic abuse. The remaining two feminist movements in Turkey named, 'Islamist Feminism' and 'Kurdish Nationalist Feminism'.

'Sultanate of Women': During 16th and 17th centuries, there was a strong influence of Turkish women on the politics of Ottoman Empire. For example during the 'Sultanate of Women', women of Imperial Harem like Kosem Sultan or sometimes mothers or daughters of Sultans like Mihrimah Sultan effectively ruled the Empire and had strong impact on the politics of Empire. This period of ruling started in 1520 and ended during 1656. After the status of women in the ruling Empire, during 19th century which assured the Decline of Ottoman Empire, based the foundation of feminism. After the decline of Ottoman Empire, educated women from elites of Istanbul united themselves to organize feminist activities. Women of Ottoman Empire started to demand their equal rights and fought to increase women's access to education, paid work, eradication of polygamy, Islamic veil and many other fundamental rights. Throughout the history of feminism in Turkey, earlier feminists published women magazines in different languages with the formation of different organizations dedicated towards the advancement of women.

In 1908, first women's association named, 'The Ottoman Welfare Organization of Women' was formed in which young Turks were involved themselves to change the situation of women. Feminist movement gained momentum during Kemalist modernization efforts and during this movement, polygamy was banned. Along with this restriction, inheritance and divorce rights made equal to men. After that, during 1930's, women of Turkey were granted full political rights including the right to elect and to be elected locally on national level. However after gaining political independency, formal and social rights were not fully granted to women at that time. The Family Law was passed in 1926 and polygamy was abolished by this law. A minimum age for marriage was set out for girls, women was given the right to choose their life partners according to their own will.

In 1970's the Progressive Women's Organization (PWO) questioned the official inequality of women in public sphere regarding the full equality claims in their public and private life. These women were looked like anti-feminists as their actions were concerned only the difficult conditions of the working women not with every common women of Turkey. A revised analyzed feminist movement emerged after the military coup of 1980's, with a new generation of middle-class, left-wing, intellectual women, who were remained in touch with the ideas and women of western feminism, proposed that the "paternalist Turkish state" was, in fact, a "Patriarchal state" in which male dominant practices are observed and no place is given to women. This movement defined the interests of men for which men lag women behind in all spheres of life. This movement started in Istanbul with small awareness raising groups who discovered the famous slogan of western feminism "Personal is Political" of the second wave of feminism thus many issues and conflicts raised between men and women not in the field of public arena but also in personal and private sphere because women demanded full control over her domestic sphere.

The second wave of feminism in Turkey was late when compared to its counterpart in the west bevaue in west started in 1960's. In 1980's, feminist issues were brought up in Turkey common to second wave of feminism in West, such as: the elimination of violence against women, a light to an oppression that women

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experienced in the family by family members, the use of sexuality as a medium for male dominance, the misrepresentation of women in the media and Television, and the challenges against virginity tests which was a common practice for those women who were ready to get married or for these who were assaulted sexually or subject to sexual assault.(Tekeli, 2010)

The motto of *'personal is political'* started to be recalled only with the second wave of feminism in Turkey because women don't only want to get their private rights rather they wanted to get public rights too. In Turkey, between 1980 and 1990:

- 44 women's periodicals or magazines were published and
- 63 between 1990 and 1996.

b) In Iran

A brief history of feminist movement in Iran can be dated back to 1850-2001, because these last two centuries proved to show the feminist activities in Iran. It is very difficult to analyze the movement of women working in Iran, because it needs a lot of time and space. But here is the coherent picture of what has been happening in Iran regarding women over the last two centuries. The second half of 19th century proved the start of women's movements that is still going on in Iran. The first prominent figure of women who suffered for the rights of women was Fatima, daughter of a religious leader, born in Ghazvin in 1814. She was born in a religious educated family, thus unlike other girls of that time, she received a basic education along with religious training with her sister named Marzeih. Both sisters became student of masters in Arabic, Persian literature and Islamic Studies. At the age of 14, she got married to her cousin who was also a well-known religious leader of that time and known to be most famous 'Usuli' religious leader. Orthodox made Usulis dominated over other schools of thought including Akhbari and Sheykhi who reformed and challenged the Mujtahids. Fatima and her sister had close links and references and choose to go at the side of Sheykhis. In 1828 she moved to Iraq for further studies where she came to know that many SheykhiUlamas resided in exile. Here she met with Syed KazemRashti and Syed Mohammad Bab whom she never met before. She got aware to the influence of European politics in the policies of Iran at that time. Here Fatima joined the Rasht movement where she later went on top managerial leadership of the Babi movement. She was also given the title of Qurratulain by Rashti movement. When her family acme to know about her activities they became angry to her and she left her husband due to this alienation. She started lecturing and openly supported the Babi movement. Babis demanded many changes in the structure of Iran including emancipation of women. She was known to be a religious leader but she moved without a veil in public and Babis too were against this unveiling of face thus forced her to leave the city.

Many societies were formed for women which were at their top flourishing level. These societies were:

a) Society for the Freedom of Women,
b) Secret Union of Women (1907)
c) Association of the Ladies of the Homeland
d) The Society for the Welfare of Iranian Women
e) Women of Iran
f) Union of Women
g) Women's Efforts
h) Council of Women of all Centers(Cathia Jenainati and Judy Groves, 2007)

c) In Egypt

The history of women and feminism in Egypt can be dated back to ancient period or ancient Egypt where women and men have almost equal rights. Past history shows that female Gods had the same impact in the human activities as the male Gods and played the same role. It means that women have had equal status in Pharanoiac society because Egypt was ruled by queens, thus gave a more space to women. Hence women had equal rights to men, thus feminism or any feminist activity was not needed, but in 16th century, when Egypt became the part of Turkish Ottoman Empire, and after that when French invade into Egypt brought a change into social status of women in Egypt. The French invasion in Egypt resulted in French Revolution which changed the social structure of Egypt from its previous one. Marriages took place between the French officers (who converted their religion and embraced Islam) and Egyptian women. Thus as a result many Egyptian women started to dress like French women and adopted their life style. The basis of Egypt made on the principles of Islam, thus it was very difficult for the people of Egypt to accept their women impressed by the westernized views and teachings. A fight started between the religious teachings of Islam and westernized ruling of French Revolution. Egyptian culture have failed to ignore the teachings of Islam properly nor did they properly adopt the rules of westernized nations. Thus the status of women had been changed in Egypt which resulted in conservative figures towards women. Women were restricted to be confined within the four walls of home, not to get education, not to move freely. But this status changed when Gamel Abdel Nasser controlled Egypt from 1952-1970 in which he did a lot for women of Egypt. Despite of banning all independent organizations working for the rights of women, he promulgated new educational policies for girls and women along with giving them the right to participate in public life. One thing he did wrong to women was that he didn't allowed women to participate in political affairs of the country along with the ban on all free organizations working for the rights of women.

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Feminism is the second name of belief that men and women should have equal rights and opportunities in all spheres of life. The role and status of women in Egypt has changed throughout the history from ancient times to modern Egypt. Archeological records confirms that women in Egypt were nearly equal to men all spheres of life regardless of their marital status because all marital rights were reserved for women and in the hands of males. Currently the status of women is extremely poor in Egypt than many Arab countries due to social evils like Female Genital Mutilation, Sexual harassment, and honor killings but the bitter fact revealed that these social evils are still practicing now a days in many countries. Only patriarchal culture and social evils are responsible for this deplorable condition of Egyptian women. In ancient Greece, status of women had little resemblance to the West but in some cases it shows relative akin to that of Muslim world like Muslim women in contemporary Arab were not allowed to own property and many other state and institutional forms of violence were common among women. A huge number of political and social groups or activities have been involved in the history of Egyptian feminism. In the previous Egypt, it was thought by some scholars that women and men were treated equal in almost all aspects of life.

'State feminism' (feminism approved by the governmental strategies) was implemented during Nasser's regime. Advanced steps were taken in order to gain gender equality in Egypt especially regarding educational policies and motherhood. A new welfare system was established which promoted gender equality in terms of job and payment. In his regime, the constitution of 1956 gave women the right to vote, and provided free health care to college and high school graduates but he banned all independent organizations of women. Women were granted jobs in bureaucracy on higher levels.

Huda Shaarawi laid the foundation of Egyptian Feminist Union in a meeting on 6th March 1923 at her home. She also served as the first president of EFU. The motto of EFU was concerned with education, family law, social welfare of women, and changes in the private law in order to provide equality an equal status between men and women. Social problems which were prevailed among Egyptian women mainly viewed by EFU like poverty, prostitution, illiteracy and poor health conditions of females.

After World War II Egyptian Feminism After the end of Second World War, women's movements faced the same transformations as they faced in earlier periods of their start. According to some scholars, women's movements were started to decline after Second World War, but on the other hand, some thought that it was the phase which enabled women to talk about their rights and status publically. Education and charity to poor women was not considered enough to change their structure in the social strata rather feminist organizations were needed to address women on larger bench. Then Egyptian Feminist party was founded in 1942 which was headed by Fatima Neamat Rasheed. The main purpose of the party was to get complete equality of both genders in terms of education, employment, political representation and equal social rights. In 1948, the 'Daughter of Nile' was another feminist association founded with a purpose to achieve full political equality of women with men in all spheres of public life for the first time in the history of Egypt. It aimed to introduce women's participation in the decision-making process by promoting literacy programs, campaigned for the improved health system of women, and enhancement of mother's and child's care by invading women into all public fields. The liberal ideology of modern feminists was reflected by DoriaShafik in Egypt. She was the leader of feminist movement and their activism openly challenged the state and its policies. In 1951, a year before the Revolution of 1952, DoriaShafik with other 1500 women stormed the parliament in order to obtain full political rights and political equality of men and women. A reform of personal status law and equal pay for equal work was demanded by her for women of public sphere. A strong backlash (strong negative reaction by a large number of people) was caused by the book named *Women and Sex* in Egyptian society which led to the formation of religious fundamentalism. Thus during 1980's, new feminist groups were formed to capture this religious fundamentalism for women.

Radical and oriented Islamic movements became the reason for the rise and fall of ruling dynasties in the Islamic world. The good examples of these ruling dynasties are Abbasids and Fatimids' early on, the Wahhabis, the Mahdists, and the Sanussis in the 18th and 19th centuries. In Egypt, religion was used as a language of dissatisfaction, and it remained constant in many ruling classes of that time. In 1924 new constitution was approved by Egyptian government but it didn't give women the right to vote, rather it included the good principle that elementary education should be free and obligatory for both sexes either male or female. In 1925 for the first time in the history of Egypt girls were sent to abroad for higher education in England. In 1925 *L'Egyptienne*was published in the French language by EFU, it was edited by CezaNabarawi, this magazine was published till 1940, but later failed due to war invasion.(Al-Ali, 2002)

d) Development of Feminist Experiences in Non-Muslim World (EUROPE & USA)

Feminism belongs to the broad set of political and social movements based on the agenda to achieve gender equality for women in all spheres of life equal to men. It has its emerging roots in primarily Western countries (e.g. Britain, America) with the rise of feminist

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movements. It depends on the ideas that women are less valued than men in all countries (or societies) due to stereotypical norms of society. This stigmatization divided male and female into different cultural, social, political and economic contexts. For realizing the commitment to eliminate sexist domination and transform society, feminists in western countries raised three waves in their societies to evaluate the status of women in a new equal sense. During the first wave, through public demonstration, strikes, feminine gathering or presenting declaration, western feminists expressed their demands for a new political identity of women in social strata. They demanded the representation of women in government, right to vote, legal advances and public emancipation. Feminists started to demonstrate with the slogan "the personal is political", first coined by Hanisch (1970). While second wave of feminism focused on the quest of social and cultural equality of women on globe.

e) Influential Scholars and their Feminist Works: Waves of Feminism in Europe and USA

Simon de Beauvoir in her book '*The Second Sex',* stated that Christian de Pizan (French-Italian feminist poetess, 1365-1430) was the first woman who took up her pen in the defense of her sex. Likewise, Lucretia Mott (1793-1880), a women's rights activist and social reformer. She advocated for the rights and equality of women. When she was excluded from World Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840, she fastened her activities towards women and been invited on first women rights Convention 'Seneca Fall Convention 1848'. Another influential lady who advocated for the rights of women in past was Sojourner Truth, (1793-1887) was an African-American women's rights activist. She also advocated for the rights and slavery of women. Frances Wright (1795-1852) was a famous feminist and social reformer. During 1820-1880, many influential social reformists in England and US tried to make their voices heard by staging numerous public lectures and founded societies by writing extensively on 'woman questions' about their position in domestic and public arena. She founded Nashoba Commune and reported her views about the status of women in *Views of Society and Manners in America* (1821) by becoming an active member of American literary circle about women. She did a lot in advocating universal education for both genders. Marry Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), known to be the mother of feminism, English author, and pioneer feminist scholar for the advocacy of rights of women. The status of women's rights had been started to change with a landmark in history named Marry Wollstonecraft by writing a book "*A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*" (1992), stated that individuals had their natural rights to determine the nature of their self and the reasoning by which liberal Enlightenment opposed the divine rights of kings (husbands) should be used against them in "*The Divine Rights of Husbands*" (1967:78). (Walters, 2005)

Table1: Occurrence of Attributes between Coloniz and Non- Colonized World

ATTRIBUTES	COLONIZED WORLD		NON-COLONIZED WORLD						
			MUSLIM WORLD			NON-MUSLIM WORLD			
	PRE-PARTITION	POST-PARTITION	EGYPT	TURKEY	IRAN	EUROPE			USA
						NETHERLAND	*FRANCE*	*SWEDEN*	
Origin of Feminism	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State Feminism	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✖	✖	✖	✖
Feminist Orientalism	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sisterhood Concept	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Militant Governments	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Civilian Governments	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Feminist Movement	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Legislation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Women Campaigns	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Islamization Concept	✖	✓	✓	✓	✓	✖	✖	✖	✖
Direct Colonization	✓	✓	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖	✖
Indirect Colonization	✖	✖	✓	✓	✓	✖	✖	✖	✖
Social Criticism	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Right to Vote?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Western Feminism	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✖	✖	✖	✖
CEDAW Implementation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Liberal Feminism			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Religious Feminism	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Islamic Movements	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✖	✖	✖	✖
Secular Movements	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Educational Reforms	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Political Reforms	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Social Reforms	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Independent Organizations for Women	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

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Simon de Beauvoir cited that Christian de Pizan was the first woman who took up her pen in the defense of her sex and wrote about the relation of sexes to denounce misogyny in 15th century. Christian took up her pen in her book *'The Book of the City of Ladies'*.Feminist movement started with feminist campaigns to bring gender equality by giving women their due rights socially, politically, economically and legally. These campaigns started globally to create a social order of bto own property, to receive education equally, to have equal rights within marriages and many more equal concerns. 1888 was the year in which first International organization for women was formed named International Council of Women (ICW). History proved that feminism is a western political agenda brought up by west in 18th century to articulate women in public sphere. Modernity is also regarded to be the agenda brought up by west but in fact, modernity develops after the interaction of west with rest of the world. State feminism was adopted by almost all countries listed above either colonized or non-colonized because somehow militant and civilian both governments were in favor to grant women equality. Suffrage movement was started in all countries but after some movements and efforts and women granted the right to cast vote. Netherland granted its women right to cast vote in 1917, Turkey in 1934, British in 1918, France in 1944, Sub-Continent in 1921, Denmark in 1915, Netherland in 1919, US in 1920, Sweden in 1921, India in 1950, Iran in 1963. Social evils are still present in all worlds despite of movements and legislations for the rights of women. Political, social and educational reforms done in each state. WLM started to address the social issues of women. Religious feminism existed in Colonized and Muslim world while liberal feminism is present among some Muslim and non-colonized world. Civilian and militant governments effected the status of women and campaigns somewhere positively while in some cases negatively.

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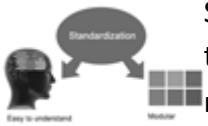


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(a)Title should be relevant and commensurate with the theme of the paper.

(b) A brief Summary, "Abstract" (less than 150 words) containing the major results and conclusions.

(c) Up to ten keywords, that precisely identifies the paper's subject, purpose, and focus.

(d) An Introduction, giving necessary background excluding subheadings; objectives must be clearly declared.

(e) Resources and techniques with sufficient complete experimental details (wherever possible by reference) to permit repetition; sources of information must be given and numerical methods must be specified by reference, unless non-standard.

(f) Results should be presented concisely, by well-designed tables and/or figures; the same data may not be used in both; suitable statistical data should be given. All data must be obtained with attention to numerical detail in the planning stage. As reproduced design has been recognized to be important to experiments for a considerable time, the Editor has decided that any paper that appears not to have adequate numerical treatments of the data will be returned un-refereed;

(g) Discussion should cover the implications and consequences, not just recapitulating the results; conclusions should be summarizing.

(h) Brief Acknowledgements.

(i) References in the proper form.

Authors should very cautiously consider the preparation of papers to ensure that they communicate efficiently. Papers are much more likely to be accepted, if they are cautiously designed and laid out, contain few or no errors, are summarizing, and be conventional to the approach and instructions. They will in addition, be published with much less delays than those that require much technical and editorial correction.

The Editorial Board reserves the right to make literary corrections and to make suggestions to improve briefness.

It is vital, that authors take care in submitting a manuscript that is written in simple language and adheres to published guidelines.

Format

Language: The language of publication is UK English. Authors, for whom English is a second language, must have their manuscript efficiently edited by an English-speaking person before submission to make sure that, the English is of high excellence. It is preferable, that manuscripts should be professionally edited.

Standard Usage, Abbreviations, and Units: Spelling and hyphenation should be conventional to The Concise Oxford English Dictionary. Statistics and measurements should at all times be given in figures, e.g. 16 min, except for when the number begins a sentence. When the number does not refer to a unit of measurement it should be spelt in full unless, it is 160 or greater.

Abbreviations supposed to be used carefully. The abbreviated name or expression is supposed to be cited in full at first usage, followed by the conventional abbreviation in parentheses.

Metric SI units are supposed to generally be used excluding where they conflict with current practice or are confusing. For illustration, 1.4 l rather than 1.4 × 10-3 m3, or 4 mm somewhat than 4 × 10-3 m. Chemical formula and solutions must identify the form used, e.g. anhydrous or hydrated, and the concentration must be in clearly defined units. Common species names should be followed by underlines at the first mention. For following use the generic name should be constricted to a single letter, if it is clear.

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Key Words

A major linchpin in research work for the writing research paper is the keyword search, which one will employ to find both library and Internet resources.

One must be persistent and creative in using keywords. An effective keyword search requires a strategy and planning a list of possible keywords and phrases to try.

Search engines for most searches, use Boolean searching, which is somewhat different from Internet searches. The Boolean search uses "operators," words (and, or, not, and near) that enable you to expand or narrow your affords. Tips for research paper while preparing research paper are very helpful guideline of research paper.

Choice of key words is first tool of tips to write research paper. Research paper writing is an art.A few tips for deciding as strategically as possible about keyword search:

- One should start brainstorming lists of possible keywords before even begin searching. Think about the most important concepts related to research work. Ask, "What words would a source have to include to be truly valuable in research paper?" Then consider synonyms for the important words.
- It may take the discovery of only one relevant paper to let steer in the right keyword direction because in most databases, the keywords under which a research paper is abstracted are listed with the paper.
- One should avoid outdated words.

Keywords are the key that opens a door to research work sources. Keyword searching is an art in which researcher's skills are bound to improve with experience and time.

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Acknowledgements: Please make these as concise as possible.

References

References follow the Harvard scheme of referencing. References in the text should cite the authors' names followed by the time of their publication, unless there are three or more authors when simply the first author's name is quoted followed by et al. unpublished work has to only be cited where necessary, and only in the text. Copies of references in press in other journals have to be supplied with submitted typescripts. It is necessary that all citations and references be carefully checked before submission, as mistakes or omissions will cause delays.

References to information on the World Wide Web can be given, but only if the information is available without charge to readers on an official site. Wikipedia and Similar websites are not allowed where anyone can change the information. Authors will be asked to make available electronic copies of the cited information for inclusion on the Global Journals Inc. (US) homepage at the judgment of the Editorial Board.

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28. Make colleagues: Always try to make colleagues. No matter how sharper or intelligent you are, if you make colleagues you can have several ideas, which will be helpful for your research.

29. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, then search its reasons, its benefits, and demerits.

30. Think and then print: When you will go to print your paper, notice that tables are not be split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.

31. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information, like, I have used MS Excel to draw graph. Do not add irrelevant and inappropriate material. These all will create superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should NEVER take a broad view. Analogy in script is like feathers on a snake. Not at all use a large word when a very small one would be sufficient. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Amplification is a billion times of inferior quality than sarcasm.

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33. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. Significant figures and appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibitive. Proofread carefully at final stage. In the end give outline to your arguments. Spot out perspectives of further study of this subject. Justify your conclusion by at the bottom of them with sufficient justifications and examples.

34. After conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium though which your research is going to be in print to the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects in your research.

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Key points to remember:

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· Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding for the abstract)

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· Present your points in sound order

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- Fundamental goal
- To the point depiction of the research
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- Significant conclusions or questions that track from the research(es)

Approach:

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- Center on shortening results - bound background information to a verdict or two, if completely necessary
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- Present a justification. Status your particular theory (es) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
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Approach:

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- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures
- Simplify - details how procedures were completed not how they were exclusively performed on a particular day.
- If well known procedures were used, account the procedure by name, possibly with reference, and that's all.

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



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Content

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

What to stay away from

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

Approach

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

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- In spite of position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other and complete with heading
- All figure and table must be adequately complete that it could situate on its own, divide from text

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- Give details all of your remarks as much as possible, focus on mechanisms.
- Make a decision if the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory, and whether or not it was correctly restricted.
- Try to present substitute explanations if sensible alternatives be present.
- One research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind, where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

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References	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring

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