

Situating Christian Missionaries in Educational and Occupational Development among Schedule Tribes: Historical Perspective.

¹ Ansh Chinmay Singh ² Meena Verma ³ Yukta Sahare ⁴ Mingyu Joo ⁵ Dean Muroyiwa ⁶ Mandy Mafararikwa ⁷ Emily Storm Nyamushure ⁸ Shantel Kumbirai Sezere ⁹ Archana Nagwanshi

Abstract:

Methodologically, this paper is based on preliminary surveys of two blocks (Bagicha and Kansabel) of Jashpur Districts in Chhattisgarh. This paper aspires to analyse the Charity Approach of Christian Missionaries which played a vital role in Educational and Occupational development among tribes. In the 18th Century, Christian missionaries came to India and began to spread their religious messages. Afterwards, they started their work to spread the words of Christ; but they soon realised that other complementary activities, such as the spread of education, promotion of livelihood and helping the people in different small ways, were necessary to reach their primary goal. In the context of Jashpur Rev. Livens (from 1889-90 onwards which is later known as Livens' Mission in Chhota Nagpur Plateau) played a vital role in relieving from persecution and exploitation from kings in the form of Tax (Bhu Rajaswa or Lagaan) such as "Bettbegari" (family tax), "Salami" (Visit) (services paid by villagers to the King and his employers in the form of

¹ Ansh Chinmay Singh (BSW VI Semester, Kalinga University Raipur Chhattisgarh)

² Meena Verma (MSW IV Semester, Kalinga University Raipur Chhattisgarh)

³ Yukta Sahare (BSW IV Semester, Kalinga University Raipur Chhattisgarh)

⁴ Mingyu Joo (BSW VI Semester, Kalinga University Raipur Chhattisgarh)

⁵Dean Muroyiwa (BSW II Semester, Kalinga University Raipur Chhattisgarh)

⁶ Mandy Mafararikwa (BSW II Semester, Kalinga University Raipur Chhattisgarh)

⁷ Emily Storm Nyamushure (BSW II Semester, Kalinga University Raipur Chhattisgarh)

⁸ Shantel Kumbirai Sezre (BSW II Semester, Kalinga University Raipur Chhattisgarh)

⁹ Archana Nagwanshi (Assistant Professor, Department of Social Work, Kalinga University Raipur Chhattisgarh, archana.nagwanshi@kalingauniversity.ac.in)

money/goats at each visit or "Salami"; so on so forth. In later years their works dominated over the cultural contact removed the many superstitions, evil customs from tribes. They have opened schools, hospitals, and promoted income generation activities among tribal communities. They have been helping in the improvement of the levels of health, education and livelihood through their mission as a charity work which helped and integrated tribal communities mobilising themselves in the desired direction. It tried to look at how charity work helped in the development of tribal people with a dignified life. Lastly, analysis and conclusion have been made.

Introduction: Historically, the "Indian society had been stratified on the caste, class and creed lines; which were later termed in tribes and were initially developed based on the occupation" (Azam, 2013). This inequality is a critical component of human mobility, and it has a vast potential for the growth of human development. Occupational mobility had been considered necessary according to societies to societies and tribes to non-tribes.

Hence it seems that occupations and positions are fixed and set at birth, and are transmitted from father to child through rigid schemes have little room for innovation and fulfilment at either the individual or collective level (Azam, 2013) and appropriately has attracted considerable attention across many countries. The scheduled tribes, the ethnic minority groups in India.

They are educationally backwardness prompted by the government to make elementary education a priority in all the tribal sub-plans from the 5th five-year plan and it got a thrust with the formulation of national education policy (National Policy on Education, 1986). It was not only because of the constitutional obligation (Article 15(4) and (5) stipulates creation of equality promoting conditions including reservation of seats in educational institutions) but also because of the felt necessity for the total development of tribal communities in the changing socio-economic scenario which is possible only through the instrument of education. Education is a powerful indicator of social and economic development among all groups as well as tribes. Since the tribal communities reside in the remote interiors which are not readily inaccessible and therefore underdeveloped. Also, they live in small habitations having minimum basic needs, and fewer infrastructures like transportation and communication. Besides, they have their structural impediments which make them deprived and excluded concerning almost everything that contemporary mainstream society has. Education is also a significant indicator of social status and social mobility and is thereby better human development index. In terms of rural/ tribal

community, it is an important variable, because it helps the researcher to map the degree of transformation that has occurred.

Education in fact, brought about remarkable changes among the scheduled Tribes in the rural village settings in Jashpur District in Chhattisgarh. School remains an essential factor which has kept the Scheduled Tribes at a low level in the community; they have been deprived of Education in the past to the present. In India majority of STs are illiterate. STs at the national level is marked by the lowest participation in the higher education and highest unemployment rate in comparison to other social groups. The dropout rates of the STs are also very high.

In this manner, Durkheim has defined the prime function of education as developing physical, intellectual and moral qualities among younger generation so that he can participate in political and social life both (Durkheim, 1956). Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) argued that education includes pedagogic action exerted by all the educated members of a social formation.

Further, institutionalised education is characterised not only by the form of the setting where education is imparted, but also by the fact that it carries an occupational mobility in terms of social or governmental mandate and, in consequence, recognition of the individual's completion of designated stages of education, and hence possible claim to employment or other kinds of engagement as part of what demographers call 'the economically active population' (Bhattacharya, 2002). Thus, the curve of accessing education and the resultant educational and occupational mobility pattern among STs have remained very different because of their different historical experiences concerning the education system. Education has been a significant indicator in defining and mapping out the aims and objectives of an individual. It has the potentiality for creating awareness of the difficulties and obstacles that may hinder the path of development of Scheduled Tribes.

The Tribal Community in Chhattisgarh: "A tribe is a group of people, usually staying in jungle areas, in a small locality, absolutely illiterate poor, hardly clad in clothes, usually dark and frail, fully living within their community whose marriage always takes place among themselves,

engaged in hunting and searching for roots, shoots and fruits as their vegetarian food and roasted animals as non-vegetarian food, completely oblivious of the country's political and economic condition, resisting all efforts of development and have a strong dislike for strangers and educated modern community"¹.

"The number of such tribal community is huge, e.g. Oraon, Birhor, Korwa, Nagvanshi, Gond, Nagesia, Kawar, Munda, Majhi and Baiga etc. who fall under scheduled tribe. India is known to be a vast country with a scanty population in the prehistoric age. During this period, there were small groups of people scattered throughout the country in different spots having a characteristic look and lifestyle"².

"Article 366 (25) of the Constitution of India refers to Scheduled Tribes as those communities, who are scheduled following Article 342 of the Constitution".³The Constitution of the Indian Republic recognised a total of 645 district tribes. There are 705 Tribes as Scheduled Tribes among them 75 Tribes are as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs), today they are known as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG) (Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Govt. of India) living in different parts of the country as per Census, 2011".⁴

There are about 105 languages and 225 speaking subsidiary languages. "Scheduled Tribes are those tribal communities who have been listed so by the President of India in keeping with Articles 341 and 342 of the Constitution"⁵. These tribal communities mainly live in Scheduled Areas, or those outlying areas, which during the British times did not come under the direct purview of civil, criminal and revenue administration. As per Census 2011, the population of the tribal communities scheduled in the Constitution of India and known as Scheduled Tribes (STs) is 104,281,034 male 5,24,09,823 and female 5,18,71,211 and in Chhattisgarh is 7822902 of which 3873191male and female 3949711 consists of 30.6 percentages".⁶ "There are 42 Scheduled Tribes among them six as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) today best known as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs) (Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Govt. of India) living in different parts of Chhattisgarh State".⁷The Constitution of India incorporates several special provisions for the promotion of the educational and economic interest of Scheduled Tribes and their protection from social injustice and all forms of exploitation.

Theoretical Understanding of Mobility (Marx and Weber):

Karl Marx theory of social stratification is based on people's relation with means of production, which determined people's class which is a struggle between the working and capitalist class. A class can be defined as an aggregate of individuals who do the same work in the production process. On the other hand, Max Weber reasoned out that in society people are not only stratified in the economic terms, concerning the means of production but also how much prestige they receive and command power in a society. In Weberian view, while stratifying the members of the community, other dimensions of influence and control needed to be considered including economic terms. Patently, "Marx and Weber had two different types of theoretical thinking. Marx did not attach much importance to social mobility and dismissed the possibility of upward movement".⁸

Emphasis was on economic basis of social stratification system and explained two classes in the industrialist society and mobility could be possible collective advancement to be gained through labour movement, class struggle and revolution whereas Weber considers moderns society beyond a class struggle and recognised prestige and power as another two components for social stratifications and social mobility theory" (Mach & Wesolowski, 1982).

Scientific Charity Approach in Changing Tribal Life by Christian Missionaries:

Christian Missionaries played a vital role in the lives of tribal people in India. "As early as the 18th Century, Christian missionaries came to India and began to spread their religious messages. They started their work to spread the messages of Christ; but they soon realised that other complementary activities, such as the spread of education and helping the people in other small ways, were necessary to reach their main goal."⁹In the context of Jashpur Chhattisgarh Rev.

Livens (from 1889-90 onwards which is later known as Livens' Mission in Chhota Nagpur Plateau) played a vital role in relieving from persecution and exploitation from kings in the form of Tax (Bhu Rajaswa or Lagaan) such as "Bettbegari" (family tax), "Salami" (Visit) (services paid by villagers to the King and his employers in the form of money Rs.2-3/-and 2 male goats at each visit or "Salami"; so on so forth. Christian Missionaries are the eye-opener for the tribes. In later years their works dominated over the cultural contact removed the many superstitions, evil

customs from tribes. The Christian Missionaries have opened schools, hospitals. They have worked for the tribal people on health and education, wherein they have taught them to improve their livelihood. They have been render**ed their services in giving Fooding,** clothing and monetary help to the needy **tribal's**. They have been helping in the improvement of the levels of health, education and livelihood through their mission as charity work. Slowly they imparted in relieving from money lenders and landlords. Thus they began their charity work to the sustainable development of tribal people in Jashpur Districts of Chhattisgarh.

Role of Christian Missionaries in Educational & Occupational development among STs:Historical Perspective

In many communities, there exists a discrepancy between the mainstream population and the marginalised including tribes in acquiring human capital (Mitra and Singh, 2006). Here too, Chhattisgarh is no exception. The situation in Chhattisgarh is not different, as the structural impediments preventing the tribal communities from being on par with the mainstream communities are in existence here as well. The lifestyle and tradition of each indigenous community are unique and is related to the utilisation of particular natural resource and a specific type of work. They had been collecting resources from the forest without causing any damage to it. The forest provides them with food and livelihood security.

"Since tribal communities live close to biodiversity-rich landscapes, they have evolved local specific and novel livelihood strategies based on their indigenous knowledge. This knowledge was passed on through generations and it played an important role in the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity, by and large, they depended on nature for their survival"¹⁰.

Thus, there always existed an organic unity between humans and their surrounding environments in traditional communities. As a result, there existed an intricate relationship between their culture and nature. Social and cultural diversity, coupled with the environmental complexity, have generated diverse approaches and technologies in the management and use of different natural resources (Mishra, 2007). It is pertinent to note that, traditionally villagers, specifically the tribal, managed their affairs and resources on a sustainable basis (Roy Burman, 1993).

"Their village councils ensured strict observance of traditional rules and cultural practices for the sustainable use and management of natural resources. They also regulated the use of natural resources more prudently. Studies have shown that most of the tribal communities are well aware of the value of conserving biological resources and had devised effective methods to conserve them" (Gadgil and Berkes, cited from Singh et al., 1996). "Indigenous peoples' knowledge, conservation beliefs and values, environmentally adaptive and sensitive land use, resource management practices, and determined defence of territory and natural resources have enabled many of them to inhabit in the natural habitats for centuries without destroying their ecosystems and biodiversity" (Sterens, 1997).

"There are several studies which claim that a secular tendency exists, as a feature of 'modernisation', for education to become the dominant factor in individuals' occupational attainment" (e.g. Treiman and Yip, 1979; Hendrickx and Ganzeboom, 1998). It is within the educational system that individuals primarily acquire their human capital, and it is their human capital that determines mostly not only the occupational level at which they enter the labour market but, further, their chances of subsequent occupational mobility. In other words, later occupational mobility reflects prior educational attainment rather than - as might be more typical in earlier periods - the accumulation of human capital in work itself, and in such a way that might compensate for lack of formal educational attainment.

Thus, following these arguments, it might be expected that both educational qualifications and occupational level on the entry for livelihood would show increasing importance in the process of occupational attainment of more recent cohorts.

Although livelihoods are often diverse, the sub-caste group is still the most accurate predictor of the main livelihood activities of Tribal's, even if the sub-caste group is no longer employed in their traditional occupation. The term 'caste' is used to refer to the categories defined by the Indian government – GEN, OBC, SC, and ST. Sub-caste is the term used to refer to the specific group with their own distinct 'traditional' occupation, such as peasants, basket-makers, animal herders and washerman, etc. Scheduled tribe members are a homogenous group, who were traditionally involved in hunting and gathering activities. Scheduled tribes often live apart from the main village settlement, for reasons of proximity to the forest and due to their low status within the wider village

community. Scheduled tribes have performed well through outmigration and modern agricultural production as a result of receiving land through the land-ceiling act.

In the present paper, the forms of mobility could be conceptualised that the movements have been made are for better livelihood from vertically to horizontally after the intervention of Christian missionaries. "Furthermore, educational and occupational mobility can be measured either within or generation individual (intra-generational mobility) or from one generation to the next (intergenerational mobility)"¹¹. "Through intergenerational mobility, chances of an individual to rise or fall from one social position to another within his/her lifetime "(Kornbulm, 2008). Education is an instrument which produces mobility by assisting and giving a sense of understanding to move up with the excellent living standards, preparing them for a higher status of occupation in increased earning power.

Three key basic concepts are developed for this paper. They are (i) Educational Mobility which is resources of livelihood and capabilities, (ii) Occupational Mobility that is the activities for earning income or livelihood, and (iii) Livelihood which is obtained from performing operations for fulfilling the livelihoods needs. These three concepts collectively form a comprehensive whole that captures the various aspects of livelihood reality of Scheduled Tribes, because those three concepts are fundamentally interlinked and interdependent. And they depict the pattern of the change via Religious Movement of Missionaries.

Data Analysis: Data has been analysed qualitatively.

Issues of Occupational	Christian Missionaries working on Occupational Development in Jashpur					
Development	Roman	Protestant	Syro-	Syro-Malankara	Total No of same	
	Catholic		Malabar		issue working	
Advocacy	√	√		✓	3	
Capacity Building	\checkmark		~	✓	3	
Education & Literacy	√	✓	✓	✓	4	
(pre-schooling)						

 Table 1: Functioning areas of Christian Missionaries in Educational Occupational

 Development

Rehabilitation during	✓				1
Disaster					
Vocational Training &	✓	\checkmark	\checkmark	\checkmark	4
Sponsorship					
Housing and homeless		~			1
Women empowerment		~		\checkmark	2
Legal Awareness &		\checkmark		\checkmark	2
Aid					
Community	✓	~	\checkmark	\checkmark	4
mobilisation,					
awareness					
SHG formation	✓	\checkmark	~	\checkmark	4
Livelihood Support &	\checkmark	\checkmark		\checkmark	3
Promotion					
Total no. of issues	8	9	5	9	
Missionaries working					

Table no 01 depicts the various issues highlighted by many Christian Missionaries in Educational and Occupational Development of Tribes in Jashpur. Out of four three Christian Missionaries functioning in the area of Advocacy and Capacity building which are based on agitation model of development, where they are bringing peoples together, giving them awareness and pushing them to fight against those who oppress them and for claiming their rights. All four missionaries are working on the issues of Education & Literacy ((pre-schooling)) Vocational Training & Sponsorship, Community mobilisation & awareness and SHG formation which are an essential component in promoting Educational and Occupational Development of among Tribes in Jashpur.

Table 2: Approaches adopted by Christian Missionaries in Educational Occupational Development

Christian Missionaries working on Educational Occupational Development

Approaches of	Roman	Protestan	Syro-Malabar	Syro-Malankara	No. of M	Aissionaries
the	Catholic	t			adopting th	ne same
Missionaries					approach	
Rights-based	~	✓		\checkmark	4	
Service		✓	✓		4	
delivery						
Community		~	\checkmark	\checkmark	4	
development						
Networking	✓	✓		\checkmark	4	
Total no. of the	2	4	2	3		
approach of an						
NGO						

The above table explains the kind of approach adopted by the Missionaries. None of the Missionaries take a single procedure. Two make a blended approach, and one take three strategies. And one took all four plans.

Conclusion: A significant trend that can be seen is that the majority of the Missionaries focus on educational and occupational development. It can be seen that high focus of areas like livelihood income-generating activities and employment which is helpful in the promotion of occupational development. It was found that all Missionaries strongly believe in the rights of the tribal people towards their wellbeing. And the approach they have adopted is primarily rights-based approach and there are elements of service delivery and community development. Their rights-based approach can be reflected in the high level of participates at all levels from the phase of the programme for their betterment. It was found that Missionaries adopt an approach towards both educational and occupational development and also for service delivery.

Moreover, Missionaries worked at all micro, mezzo and macro levels- i.e. individual, family, community, national and influencing the life of a tribal population holistically. Furthermore, it was

also found that Missionaries, both with a significant and collective focus on health, education worked on micro and mezzo level. Models of advocacy, lobbying, campaigns and movements, capacity buildings were adopted by all Missionaries to include tribes in the mainstream.

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