## CHURCH AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN A TRIBAL STATE OF NORTH- EAST INDIA:

A CASE STUDY OF MIZORAM

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in Partial fulfillment of the requirements For the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

ROBERT SANGLORA KHAWBUNG



CENTRE FOR POLITICAL STUDIES SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY NEW DELHI-110067 INDIA 2006

## Dedicated in loving memory

of

Missionaries who brought Gospel to the people of Northeast India.



# Centre for Political Studies School of Social Sciences Jawaharlal Nehru University

New Delhi - 110067, India

Tel. : 011-26704413 Fax : 011-26717603

Gram: JAYENU

#### **CERTIFICATE**

I hereby, declare that the Dissertation entitled, Church and Social Development in a Tribal State of North East India: A Case Study of Mizoram, submitted by Robert Sanglora Khawbung, Centre for Political Studies, School of Social Sciences, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy is my original work and has not been submitted in part or full for any other degree or diploma in any other University.

Robert Sanglora Khawbung

This may be placed before the examiners for the evaluation for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy.

Professor Gupreet Mahajan (Chairperson) Professor Rakesh Gupta
(Supervisor)

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#### **ABBREVATIONS**

ABMC-----Assam Baptist Mission Conference and Training

AIDS-----Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

BJP-----Bharatiya Janata Party

BMS-----Baptist Missionary Society

CYMA----- - Central Young Mizo Association

**DPI-----Director of Public Instruction** 

EITU-----Eastern India Tribal Union

GNP-----Gross National Product

IMR-----Infant Mortality Rate

MBSE----- Mizoram Board of Secondary Education

MNF(N)---- Mizo National Front(Nationalist)

MNF-----Mizo National Front

MPC-----Mizoram People Conference

MUC----- Mizo Union Council

MU----- Mizo Union

MZP-----Mizo Zirlai Pawl

NAFHS----- National Family Health Survey

NCERT----- National Council of Educational Research

NDA-----National Democratic Alliance

NEC-----Northeast Council

NER-----Northeast Region

NSSO----- National Sample Survey Organization

**OPD-----** Out Patient Duty

UMFO----- United Mizo Freedom Organization

UNICEF---- United Nations Children's Fund

YLA----- Young Lushai Association

YMA----- Young Mizo Association

#### Introduction

In India, the fringe tribes of Northeast hill areas of India in comparison to mainland castes or tribes are rather more liberal and responsive to changes because of their early exposure to Christianity. The colonial system of administration and Christian ideology had been the major factors that influenced the tribes. Church ideology and approach rather than alien culture have made much more impact upon the tribes. Inspite of chaotic nature of state as well as its ineffectiveness as an institution in early period of state formation, it was the church and its various organizations from its inception that has served as the indicator of social development among the Mizos. Indeed, it was the church, through its various programmes and projects that have provided the tribes the skills and ideology to adjust or accommodate the changes brought by the process of modernization.

In the face of contemporary changing society, despite its engagements in social development projects and programs, the creeping in of corruption, human rights violation, nepotism, HIV/AIDS, drugs abuse, etc., have questioned the validity and relevant roles of church in contemporary social development of the society.

The purpose of this study is an attempt to analyze and evaluate the contemporary socio-economic, culture and political system of the society from the background of colonialism and impact of Christianity. The main purpose of this study is to investigate the role of Christian ideology as well as the churches at large, as institutions in bringing socio-economic, political, cultural and psychological changes among the Mizos. Moreover, it would describe and evaluate the roles of churches in promoting the social development programmes and projects in the Mizo society from late 19th century to the present.

The main reason for undertaking this study is to observe the roles of Christian ideology in changing the socio-political, economic, as well as the culture of the Mizos. This dissertation attempts to understand the social dynamics of tribal development and the processes, which emerge when a small-scale primitive society interacts with a large scale modernizing one. This perspective is necessary because we can better appreciate the dynamics of tribal development if we look at it as a contact of culture, where each is rooted in its specific socio-structure and institutional framework. Secondly, the study would investigate whether these

changes brought new meaning to the tribes. The major emphasis of this dissertation is to study the product brought by these changes as well as implicitly examine, how far those changes brought by Christianity are effective or relevant in a contemporary changing Mizo society. Thirdly, the study would also demonstrate the established state-society bonding, as well as its positive and negative contribution or impact upon the Mizo society. Fourthly, it seeks to critically study the changes brought by Christianity (with special emphasis on church at large), and modernization. Further, the study is to systematically and critically analyze the contemporary roles of church from the perspective of social development as well as the changing trend of church towards the changing socio-political conditions. Lastly, the dissertation would evaluate the common paradigm of looking at religious life and at the same time demand a paradigm shift especially regarding its approach towards socio-political concerns of the Mizos.

#### 1.1 Brief Study:

Prior to the advent of Christian missionaries, the fringe region of Northeast India was referred to as the region beyond the boundary of civilization, unknown jungle and outside the civilized world. The Mizos, like other primitive people were originally animist. They believed in a spirit called Pathien (god) who was the creator of everything and a beneficent being. They also believed in Ramhuoi (Demon) and malevolent spirit, which inhabit the hills, the streams, the trees and the rocks. The evil spirits were believed to be responsible for all the ills and misfortunes in this world. The malignant influence of the evil spirit often causes a variety of troubles to man in many ways. So in order to have a good health, good harvest, general well being, these evil spirits had to be propitiated by a series of sacrifices and offering. However, with the coming of Christianity in Mizoram, these traditional beliefs had been discarded and forgotten as the Mizos embraced Christianity with so much dedication and submission that their entire social life and thought process have been altogether transformed to an extent which is amazing<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See. Nag. Sagal and Kumar, M Satish. "Noble Savage to Gentlemen: Discourses of Civilization and Missionary Modernization in Northeast India," in O P Kejariwal, ed., Contemporary India, *Journal of the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library*, Vol.1, No. 4, Oct-Dec 2002, p.119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Prasad R N, *Government and Politics in Mizoram*, Northern Book Centre, New Delhi. 1987, pp.62-64.

The annexation of Mizoram by the British in 1891 and the introduction of Christianity had been immensely responsible for eroding traditional culture, practices, and traditional authorities in the Mizo society. Therefore, this makes changes and adjustment easier in a Contemporary Mizo society. The forces and factors enabling these changes made its impact in all spheres of the Mizo society.

The Christians of southern part of India trace the origin of their church to Apostle Thomas who was believed to have visited India and preached the gospel there, and its flourishing contact and commerce with the Roman Empire contributed for the origin of churches. However, this is confined mostly with the southern part of India.<sup>3</sup> Where as in contrast to Southern part of India, the Northeastern states traced the origin of their churches mostly to the colonial period, as a product of Christian missionaries and modern churches. Christian missionaries were brought into Lushai Hills (now christened as Mizo) by the colonial state to help with social change and as an adjunct to colonial objectives. Unlike elsewhere, the mutual dependence of missionaries and the colonial state in various aspects benefited both the missions and colonial administrators. Missionaries ended up playing a defining role in the social life of the people and in the making of Mizo society<sup>4</sup>. Christian missionaries succeeded in planting and establishing indigenous churches headed by the early Mizo converts. No doubt in Mizoram, Christianity and churches are the product of Christian missionaries and indigenous churches set up during the modern period<sup>5</sup>.

Infact, it was a greatest trend among all the Christian missionaries to create a prototype of their condition and culture to which they belonged in their own country. Various humanitarian works, such as education and health services that had come with the Gospel, was with an intention to impose their culture. Thus, the invasion of alien culture made a great impact upon the life of Mizos. However, in Mizoram, Christian culture gradually got mingled with indigenous culture that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Thomas, P. *Churches in India*, New Delhi Publication Division, New Delhi, 1981, p.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Bonthanga Poonte, quoted in C. Nunthara, *Mizoram: <u>Society and Polity</u>*. Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi.1996, p.77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Kipgen, Mangkhosat. <u>Christianity and Mizo Culture</u>. Assam Printing Work (P) Ltd Assam. 1996, p.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See David, M.D., "American Missionaries in India, A. Difference", *Indian Journal of American Studies*, Vol.25, No.1, Winter, 1995, p. 39

resulted in the development of highly indigenized Christianity. In other word, the strongest bond was the early revival movements that interlaced Christian ideology and traditional culture that came to define the normative structure of the society.<sup>7</sup> Thus, this gave the Mizos a new sense of unique identity with its base in indigenized Christianity.

The coming of Christianity into this region drastically changed the social life of the people. Various social services such as education, medical, etc., came along with the coming of missionaries. Wherever a church was established, a school was also established. In some instances, even before the Church was established, the school was already established. The education undertaken by the missionaries brought significant changes to the lives of the Mizo people. The high literacy rate is the result of the hard and sacrificial work of the churches, as well as the State in the post independence period.

Indeed, Mizo society had undergone a significant transformation. Christianity has been associated with transformation. It is a well-known fact that colonial administration and Christian missions from its inception had been the major factors contributing to the socio-political, economic, cultural and psychological change among the Mizos. Infact, the most important factors were the Christian missions that provided the vehicle of new identity, a written language and literature, and the means of acquiring the skills necessary to accommodate themselves to the new situation. They also brought an ideology that help the Mizo tribals acculturate to the process of modernization. However, in the process, the forces of change unconsciously erased various traditional values and culture that once form the foundation of Mizo society.

Prior to the establishment of proper state institutions, various non-government organizations such as schools, hospitals, training centers, associations, etc., which were formed under the initiative of the Church became potent factors for weakening traditional taboos and its system of social control. Consequently, the traditional ways of life were doomed to extinction as the power and activities of Churches

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Pachuau, Lalsangkima, <u>Ethnic Identity and Christianity: A Socio-Historical and Mission-logical Study of Christianity in Northeast India; With Special Reference to Mizoram</u>, Publication Franfrutam Main, 2002, pp.155-156.

increased.<sup>8</sup> The two largest social institutions, the Presbyterian Church and the Young Mizo Association (YMA), a quasi-church youth organization, which were the product of colonial period, are key institutions of the Mizo society. Their cordial relationship with the state, organizational strength and reach make them powerful instrument of social control. Both are structured as centralized bureaucracies. The Mizo churches principal vehicle for social change is YMA, established to uphold Tlawmngaina or the code of social discipline. YMA was envisioned as a substitute for Zawlbuk (bachelor Dormitory), the erstwhile institution of youth dormitories that helped the Lushai chiefs maintain social control and stability in the village<sup>9</sup>. The Churches and the YMA become the major institutions where the society revolves around it and these institutions become the major institutions that supremely rule over the Mizo society.

In a dominant Christian state of Mizoram, Christian ideology has played an important role in transforming of Mizo society. As a result of its contact with Christianity, traditional institutions, norms, values, culture, etc., have been replaced with new Christian oriented and related institutions, values, norms, etc., based on Christian beliefs and doctrines. Prior to the annexation and introduction of Christianity in Mizoram, the people were uncivilized, and the people had unhealthy living conditions, constant warfare between tribes existed and the Mizos lacked political integration. The Mizos lived under a number of clan system or small village state system under the administration of chieftainship. They had a loose identity. However, with the spread of education and Christianity among the Mizos, the Church became an important instrument in breaking the traditional barriers and bringing integration among the Mizo people. As a result, the identity that was once derived from clan and village was deconstructed, thereby drawing a larger collectiveness ushered by Christianity.

The church in Mizoram besides its involvements in social development became an important instrument in promoting solidarity, through various Conventions, Assemblies, Synod, etc. It dissolved a once highly organized

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Varries, Elwin, *Philosophy of NEFA*, Navan Printing Work Limited. Calcutta, 1954, p.219.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> McCall, A. G. *Lushai Chrysalis*, London, 1949, p. 199.

independent village system or tribal system of administration, and through Christian ideology of fraternity, it promotes integration among the Mizos.<sup>10</sup>

Indeed, the Christian missionaries promoted evangelicalism through education, medical services etc. However, later, the churches took over the work of the missionaries, and their works served as an indicator of social development for the Mizos. The spread of education and health facilities led to the growth of Christianity that further led to the growth of church in Mizoram. Today Mizoram being the second largest literate state in India was mainly due to the initiative of the missionaries as well as the churches. The presence of numbers of schools in Mizoram was mainly due to the contribution of the church from its inception, as well as the recent initiative of state. Until 1952, the state was indifferent towards development activities among the Mizos.

Infact, the church in Mizoram is in large part the creation of Christianity, and yet Christianity and church are not identical. The church, as a historian would describe it, is an institution or rather a number of institutions<sup>11</sup>. Church in Mizoram is not an abstraction but a community of men in the state<sup>12</sup>. Church in Mizoram is a social centre (a place where people of a community meet in organized capacities for common interest)<sup>13</sup> that expresses the social, political, economic, and cultural concern of the Mizos. There is a strong sense of community membership among Mizos. Community organization happen around two platforms: Church and Community Based Organization, (Young Mizo Association is one such example of Community Based Organizations). A large volume of community-based activities is conducted regularly. As an institution, it enjoys the highest faith among adolescent and young adult women as it ensures confidentiality and provides spiritual solace and guidance. Church, from its inception, being the most well organized as well as the largest organization with large network in Mizoram has been deeply involved in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Downs, Frederick S, *Essays on Christianity in North-East India*, Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1994, p. 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Latourette. Kenneth Scott, "New Perspectives in Church History," *Journal of Religion*. Vol.21, No.4 (Oct 1941), p. 432.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See. *Christianity in India, Its True face*, edited and Published by CBCI Commission, Don Bosco Press, Tamil Nadu, 1987, p. 97.

See, Tippy Worh M, "The field of Social Work and Public Welfare," <u>Annals of American Academy of Political Science</u>. Vol.105, Public Welfare in United States, January 1923, p. 68

development activities for more than hundred years. Without doubt, it has been contributing immeasurably to the revolutionary rising of expectation of the physical and social emancipation of the individual and group.<sup>14</sup>

In Mizoram, the church acted not as only an abstract institution but also as an institution promoting substantial social development in society. It is the church and its various organizations that replaced the traditional institutions with more modern institutions and provided the necessary instrument to adjust to the new situation. Infact, the Colonial government introduced alien and modern socio-economic and political system among the Mizo, thereby, destroying the existing socio-economic and political system of the tribes. Instead of providing a substitute institution that would provide the tribes with necessary instrument and skills to adjust to a new development, it rather took a policy of indifference towards the establishment of new institution that would replace the traditional institutions. Further, the Colonial Government failed to initiate or established a substantial mechanism to the process of achieving modernization.

It was Missions and churches rather than Colonial government, which initiated the process of modernization among the Mizos. With the dawn of independence, in the 1950s the responsibility of carrying forward the activities of "foreign mission" was transferred to "indigenous leaders". Modern institutions such as schools, health services, training centres, etc., helped the people to adapt to changes and modernize themselves. Through these institutions, the church promotes ideology and skills, which help the tribal people to adjust with new development. Therefore, these very programmes have become a process for enhancing the development of the people who ultimately have shared the power of controlling those forces that shape their lives. The Church, through its development programs and projects, especially in medical services, education, rehabilitation, training centres etc., has helped in promoting social development. In addition to these, there are large numbers of projects for rural development, community development, vocational training run or managed by the churches in Mizoram.

Dickinson, Richard D N. <u>The Christian College in Developing India. A Sociological Inquiry.</u>
 Oxford University Press, Madras, p.44

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Desrochers, John, <u>The Social Teaching of the Church</u>, John Desrochers, C S C, Bangalore, 1982, p. 619.

As far as Mizoram is concerned, Church ideology and approach to socioeconomic issues has been immensely motivated by the concept of social development. The churches have been the major instruments in promoting social services among the Mizos. The underlining principles are closely related to the traditional Mizo values called "Tlawmngaina." (the code of social discipline). Indeed, it was the churches from their inception, through their various programmes and projects that had been the major institution contributing for the social development of the Mizos. By social development, one means materials as well as non-material development or in other words, all round development.

Social thinkers such as Mahatma Gandhi do not conceive social development apart from the development of the individual, the individual being considered in mass, nor as an abstract, but in terms of lowliest individual in unequal society, whose development was the measure of development from the social point of view. Social development is development out of or away from man's present state in any society. Gandhi opined that the strategy, the method and the institution needed for social development must be aimed at removing, as far as possible this contradiction or at least recognizing it as a parameter in a given social situation 16. Mahatma Gandhi insisted that social development could be brought about through one's individual effort to make national programs oriented towards change at individual level. Gandhi's dream to change society by changing the individual was based on love and non-violence. Similarly, Jayaprakash Narayan believed that social development could be achieved through solving human problems like poverty, war and inequality by transformation of social policies according to the need of society. Vinoba Bhave also used social development as a synonym of Sarvodaya, which means welfare of everybody in the society. In brief, social development can be referred to as the process of development in vertical direction, which includes provision of peace, harmony and quality of life through fulfilling relevant needs and aspirations of society in adequate measure and at appropriate time and situation.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See, "Gandhi and Social Development" in B N Ganguly, ed., <u>Social Development</u>; Essays in Honour of Smt Durgabai Deshmukh, Sterling Publisher Pvt Ltd, New Delhi, pp.178-80.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> See, Sikligar P C. "Social Development: A Profile". *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XL1V, April-June. 1998, pp.176-178.

In the context of Mizoram, the church role in promoting education, heath care, etc., helps in building efficiency of human resources, which are the most important factors for social development. Indeed, acknowledging the broad and wider concept of social development, the churches in Mizoram may not encompass implicitly the whole concept of social development; however, the thinking of social development is as old as the church and is mostly based on Christian principles. The church in Mizoram in comparison to other institutions promotes social development. Here, the term social development explicates a broad concept, laying a great emphasis on the rising quality of social system, social justice, social cohesion, improving quality of life by creating more employment opportunities, etc,. Social development aims at solving human problems, like ill health, poverty, illiteracy, traditional beliefs and ideas, conditional or unequal availability of economic resources, effectively checking atrocities, exploitation, violence etc., and to promote basic needs related to communication, education, marketing of products, infrastructure, opportunities, along with realizing the dream of modernization in favor of national development.

In brief, the term social development was separated from economic development in the 1950s by the United Nations in its report on world social situation, giving an impression that the human factors like cultural dimension, value, social security, social justice, social welfare, social services, social policy, social work, political orientation, environmental issues, etc., were neglected since time immemorial in the framework of economic development.

Keeping in mind the broadness of social development, the term social development includes all developmental activities, which are directly or indirectly related to human society. Many scholars have defined it in terms of existing problems and situations of their own country. Thus in Mizoram, church role in promoting education, heath care, etc., helps in building efficiency of human resources that are the most important factors for social development. Key areas where churches in Mizoram emphasized are peace and order, unity and a common Mizo identity, good Christian behavior and social and political responsibility.

Churches in Mizoram can also be described and categorized to some extent to what Rudolf describes in his article "Civil Society as a Realm of Freedom", as a civil society which stands as an institution, which acts as a non-state space, sphere of autonomous, empowerment of citizens, trust building associational life rather

than subordinate to the state.<sup>18</sup> Besides promoting social development, church as an institution in has provided an ideology that helps tribals maintain their identity in the face of serious erosions of their traditional religious, social and political institutions.<sup>19</sup> It has also opened the boundaries of the fringe tribes and led them to the modern world. The familiarization of this tribe with new ideals, coupled with the subsequent independence and democratization of the polity, have taken them into the modern world, with all its strengths and dangers<sup>20</sup>.

However, on the other side, the creeping in of money economy, corruption, nepotism, HIV/AIDS, drug abuse, deteriorating condition of human rights, etc., has been the important factor challenging the close-knit Mizo society. Moreover, the secularization of politics has also been a factor in contributing to unhealthy competition among different denominations, therefore threatening the existing close-knit homogeneous and equal society. In contemporary politics of secularization, churches in Mizoram, to some extent, have been involved in development activities in order to attract members in their denomination. As a result, the churches have been compelled to engage in development activities, as through these activities, common people are attracted and people affiliate themselves to those institutions that meet their need.<sup>21</sup> This led to unhealthy competition among different denominations. Secularization consequently increased the number of different denomination and this further led to competition among them. This has sometimes led to negative trends such as conflict, partiality, jealousy and disintegration of homogeneous society.

However, the cordial established relationships between the Church and state during the long period of interaction have strengthened and mutually empower and enhance both the church and state capabilities. Moreover, the close relationship and the willingness of state elite in incorporating social forces into state structure has

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> See, Rudolph, Susanne Hoeber, "Civil Society as a Realm of Freedom", *Economic and Political Weeklv*, 13 May 2000, p. 1763

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Down. Frederick S. "Christianity as a Tribal Response in North-East India." *Indian Church Historical Review*, XV. 2<sup>nd</sup> December, 1981, pp.69-70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Singh. B P, *The Problem of Change*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi. 1993. pp. 51-52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Rick Philip, "Can rising rate of Christian participation be a consequence of Secularization," Sociology of Religion, Vol. 65, p.140

been the major factor for the development of political stability and declining competitive claims in the state. Thus, the state-society bonding, largely an outcome of historical process has help prevent fragmentation in politics.

#### 1.2 Methodology

The study consists of historical analysis of the subject, based on both primary and secondary sources; academic, government, periodicals, both electronic and print media, ecclesiastical sources and field study. The study has comprehensively traced the impact of church upon the socio-economic and political system. It has also examined the role of church from the perspective of social development. Moreover, this study has examined the approach and functions of churches in maintaining a close-knit and society. Further, it analyses the effectiveness and ineffectiveness of contemporary churches in building social development, cohesion, peace and maintaining a suitable socio-political environment in Mizoram.

#### 1.3 Structure of the study

The structure of the study has been arranged in such a sequence, to establish a dissertation, which forms the perspective of the people and in the context of changes that were taking place in contemporary Mizo society. The dissertation explicated upon how far Christian ideology and churches provide a means through which they could accommodate themselves to the changes brought by Christianity and the present process of modernization. It shows how far the churches effectively address the socio-political, economic and cultural aspect of contemporary Mizo society. Further, it would systematically and critically interpret the situation of the Christians in Mizoram.

Chapter one emphasizes the role of Christianity in general in transforming the socio-political and cultural activities of the Mizos. It studies how far modernization and Christianity has had an impact upon the Mizo society and also examine the factors that caused changes. Moreover, it examines the response of the Mizos to these changes. Finally, the study deals with the product of changes brought by Christianity and modernization and examine how far it has been successful in acculturation of the Mizo society.

Chapter two of the dissertation studies the impact of Christianity upon the political process of the Mizos. It would study the established state-society relationship from the perspective of historical process, as well as its negative and positive impact for the development of Mizos. Moreover, the chapter also examines

whether this state-society relationship promote the democratic and secular ethos of the Mizos. The interlink between church and state in a dominant Christian state of Mizoram, the reactive nature of church to certain policies of the state and the main reasons for the stronghold of church and its changing trends towards socio-politics in Mizoram are discussed. It also describes the influence of church upon the socio-political life of the state.

Chapter three looks at the contribution of church-related activities to the social development of the Mizos, besides State intervention in social development, the chapter examines the roles of the church from its inception in promoting both material and non-material aspects of development among the Mizos. The chapter also briefly discusses the concepts of social development in changing context; moreover, it also largely describes the methods, functions and approaches of churches in promoting education and health services among the Mizos. Lastly, at the same time, the study also examines the effects of church related programmes and projects in the development of society.

Chapter four critically examines the role of church in contemporary Mizo society. This chapter systematically and critically interprets the situation of the Christians in Mizoram. Moreover, it describes the ineffectiveness of churches in addressing the contemporary socio-political problems of the Mizo society. The chapter analyzes the changing trends of Mizo churches towards the changing society, particularly within the context of changing socio-political aspects of the Mizos. The study also describes the degrading ineffective role of churches in promoting social development among the Mizos: this study mainly focuses on the ineffectiveness of churches in solving social problems such as corruption, drug abuse, human rights violation, etc., in contemporary Mizo society. Further, it examines the major reasons for allaying effective roles of churches in Mizo society. The dissertation also evaluates the common paradigm of looking at religious life and demands a paradigm shift regarding the socio-political concerns.

#### CHAPTER-I

Impact of Church on socio-economic and political life of the Mizo Society;

#### II.1 Historical Background:

Christian ideology plays an important role in transforming the socio-economic, politics and culture of the Mizos. Prior to the coming of the British, the Mizos had their own distinctive political, social, religious belief and economic system, while their traditional religions and its practices had a deep root in their day-to-day life.<sup>1</sup>

The extension of Colonial rule and Christianity significantly altered the primitive society of the Mizo as a people. Collectivity becomes a reality in the new Mizo society defined by Christianity. The annexation of the Northeast India by the British colonizers brought the region within the economic and political framework of the British colonial system. The advent of colonialism with its new mode of administration and production not only drastically interfered with the traditional institutions but also weaned tribes away from their ecologically sound practices and ways of life. Colonialism also brought with it Christianity and education, which sowed the seed of modernization and westernization among the tribes and triggered the process of polarization and economic differentiation in the once egalitarian society. This process played an important role not only in shaping the political process in the region but also shaped its economic development. However, unlike the other colonial states such as West Bengal, Orissa, etc., the advent of Christianity did not lead to dehumanization and disempowerment in Northeast India. In contrast to other states, Northeast India being a free class-ridden society was free from unfair justice that is exploitation on the basis of class or caste<sup>2</sup>.

Christianity in Mizoram, which was mainly the product of foreign Christian missionaries and the indigenous churches, has been an indispensable factor in transforming the traditional primitive Mizo society to a modern society. The church became a centre of power and patronage in the hills District. Referring to Lushai

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Zaithanga, V L. *From Head Hunting to Soul Hunting*, Mizoram Synod Press, Aizawl, 1981, p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Nongbri, Tiplut, *Development, Ethnicity and Gender*, Rawat Publication, Jaipur, 2002, p.16.

Hills, McCall traced the origin of new a class, the intelligentsia, to the spread of Christianity. Local educational practice soon gave rise to the belief that education and Christianity was the passport to "salaried job", relief from wearisome toil of cultivating a hard land. Education has constituted a mean to a dead end, the salaried post.<sup>3</sup> In fact the response to the introduction of Christianity was part of a general reaction to changes brought about by political development<sup>4</sup>.

The initial stage of Christianization was characterized by weakening of traditional social customs and practices of the Mizos. The first impact of growth of church was on the local custom and usage. Belief in all multifarious spirit and in the efficacy was replaced by the new faith. It has armed the Mizos to confront changes brought by the forces of modernization. The Church, from its inception, in Mizo society has been acting as the primary agent of changes and moderating force. It also gives a right orientation to development work. Through its various activities in society it has modernized the Mizos.

The areas in which Christian standards have affected the life style of the Mizos include such things as opposition to the use of intoxication, stress upon hygienic living conditions, advocacy of a more prominent and dignified role of women, opposition to intra-tribal warfare, head hunting and the various institutions that supported these savage practices. Moreover, Christianity was the primary agent in the formation of a new cultural synthesis. More than any other single factor it has prevented a process of detribalization from taking place, while at the same time helping the tribe comes to terms with the process of modernization.

As stated, Church in Mizoram is not an abstraction but is a community of men in the State. The Church in Mizoram, through various projects and programmes, have given the Mizo people the opportunity to share in planning, decision making and implementation, using fully their priorities, style of work, initiative and leadership. Moreover, in a contemporary changing Mizo society, the Church reiterated itself as a guardian of moral, as well as the norms and values of Mizo society.

Indeed, since Church lived in history and promote social services such as education, health care, training center, social service and other humanitarian

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> McCall, A G, op.cit., P.205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Downs, Frederick S. *History of Christianity in North East India*, op. cit., p.12.

services, etc. Social service being it traditional practice continues till today It scrutinizes the sign of the time and interprets them in the light of the gospel. These social services were the potent factors in producing social changes in the society. As Rev Zairema remarked; the advance of modern education and medical work was one of the most effective means of destroying the traditional world views and beliefs system, which was essentially super naturalistic<sup>5</sup>. In the contemporary Mizo society, Church plays various direct and indirect roles in the socio-economic, political and cultural aspects. Indeed in a Mizo society, Church has emerged as the important institutions in the regenerating Mizo society. It has been also an important institution in promoting socialization, mobilization and solidarity among Mizo people. In Mizoram, Church being well organized, Christian ideology has been playing an important role in mobilizing and articulating the socio-economic, political and cultural aspects of the Mizo society. In other words, Church became an important institution that links the individual and society, and society and state, state and individuals. Besides these, the Church through its various methods of social services in the custom and practices of the Mizo society has consolidated and legitimized its position in the Mizo society. This is the major reason for the Church attaining a high status in Mizo society. Thus, churches in Mizoram have tremendous impact upon the socio-politics of Mizo society.

Infact in a Christian dominant state of Mizoram, Church ideology and approach to socio-economic issues is been immensely motivated by the concept of social development. They have been the major instruments in promoting social service among the Mizos. As far as Mizoram is concerned, the Church, from its inception, through its various programmes and projects has been the major institutions contributing for the social development of the Mizo people. Indeed, acknowledging the broad and wider concept of social development, the Churches in Mizoram conspicuously may not encompass implicitly the whole concept of social development. However, the thinking of social development is as old as the Church and is mostly based on Christian principles. Church in Mizoram can be categorized and compared to other major institutions that promote social development.

In brief, church activities and social development are closely related, and are broader than the concept of economic development. Church approaches and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See, Zairema. *God's Miracle in Mizoram*. Aizawl. 1987. p. 24.

methods to social development is the necessary to ensure development in all fields related to society's development.

#### II.2 Church and politics of identity:

The relationship and contribution of both the colonial government and Christian missions exposed the Christian roots of the politics of identity only partially. The people's new sense of common identity, which, later, came to dominate the politics of the region, became an established pattern from the second and third decades of the twentieth century. Lalsangkima Pachuau argued that as much their traditional existence was disturbed by the British imperialist rule and the new religion, the new Mizo sense of identity owes its development largely to these invasions. Before the British annexation of the land, the tribe's lacked political unity as each village was actually independent of each other. The imperial rule - for its administrative convenience - forced the small independent villages' together which tended to enforce a sense of ethnic identity as the new basis of the political unity. The villages in turn became local political units recognizing one another. Secondly, Christianity with its message of fraternity became an important factor for the success of unification of the Mizo people. Thirdly, the introduction written language and the Christian literature largely contribute in development of Mizo identity. Thus Christianity prepared the tribal people to adjust to the new socio-economic and political situation. The processes of acculturation and modernization have taken the toll of vast tribal culture. Many scholars, administrators, and political leaders have expressed their concern at the erosion of tribal cultures as they come in contact with external elements. In post independent India this concern has been found in theexpression of Nehru famous Panchsheel.<sup>7</sup> The people have become more actively aware of their commonality because of the presence of the European and the Indian people in their midst. The continued exposure of the people through formal and informal education to the wider world solidified them more than ever as a distinctive and unified people. The strongest bond however was the revival

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Finth. Cyril Bruce, <u>An introduction to Indian Church History</u>, Publish By ISPCK, Delhi,2000,p. 284

Nongbri, Tiplut, "Some Reflection on Culture. *Development and Politics among Tribes in India*", in J S Bhandari and Subhadra Mitra Channa. ed.. <u>Tribes and Government Policies</u>, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi 1997. p.327.

movement that interlaced Christian ideology and traditional culture. This amalgamation of both the traditional and Christian culture was the factor, which gave birth to a new highly indigenized Mizo culture and identity. In the process this defined the normative structure of the Mizo society.<sup>8</sup> In fact, Christianity plays a greater role than the British colonialist in formation of distinct Mizo identity.

Prior to the introduction of Christianity in the Mizo society, Mizos were highly organized around the tribe or clan system. It was only with the introduction of Christianity that the Church became a potent factor of integration. Through church organization it brought members of different villages and their tribes within the common structure for the first time. Villages of the same tribes that had previously been at war with each other were brought together in associations, presbyteries, synod and diocese. Different tribes were brought together in Conventions, Councils and Assemblies. Evangelism and church ideology fostered openness to other that in most cases did not exist before. Churches and YMA in Mizoram with its key areas of focus in preserving the common Mizo identity and upholding order<sup>10</sup>, have help in maintaining social control and stability of the state. Christian ideology, therefore, transcends the ideology of tribal communities by bringing solidarity and oneness in the changing and dynamic Mizo society. In recent times, it has sought to do this through re-emphasizing Christianity, sowing seeds of nationalism, searching out and preserving (Mizo) territory and having good political leaders<sup>11</sup>. This, ultimately it gives the Mizo a new sense of identity.

#### II.3 Church, Socio-economic and Political Development:

The British administrators as well as Christianity played immense role in the transformation of Mizo Society. S K Chaube, he summarized the role of Church relative to the process of change introduced by the British Administration, thus:

The contribution of Administration can be summed up under the following categories; establishment of law and order, improvement in communication, introduction of money economy in the remote areas and as will be seen the creation

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Pachuau, Lalsangkima, op.cit., pp.155-156 and Mangkhosat Kipgen, op.cit., pp. 76-77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Down, Frederick S, Essays on Christianity in North-East India, op. cit., p. 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Labruatkima, 'Preserving National Identity'. 57th YMA General Conference, Khawzawl, 2002,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Lal Chungnuna, 'Self Reliance', 58th Central YMA General Conference, Thenzawl.2003

of vested interests. The task of acculturation, at the subjective level, was almost entirely to the church of various denominations. 12

Church became a social centre that expresses socio-political concern of the Mizos. The rapid growth of church and simultaneous spreading of education among the Mizos gave an opportunity for the Mizos to face a wider world. This also led to the emergence of small group of elite, which soon posed a challenge to the traditional autocratic rule of chief backed by the colonial administration. This led to the disruption of order in the traditional elite. The emergence of new elite witnessed a change in mental outlook and became an instrument for structural change in Mizo society; the new elite with educational background began to protest the traditional values, customs and undemocratic traditional rights and privileges of the chief. Thus in contrast to the philosophy of hill people, the Christian Philosophy which champions the individual and democratic system becomes more popular<sup>13</sup>. However, the movement at the initial stage was of low intensity, but gradually with the spread of education and social awareness among the Mizos, anti chieftainship movement became stronger and ultimately led to the abolition of chieftainship in Mizoram.

Church being an institution brought a new relationship among the tribes. It provides an ideology that becomes a bond of integration, while at the same time, imposes moral values and norms, which shape the lives of the Mizos. The Church by providing social services, particularly, education, medical facilities and training centres brought the tribal skill necessary to function effectively within the new society that modernization was ushering. It helps ensure that political and economic power is in the hands of locals. <sup>14</sup> Simultaneously, it provides an ideology that helps the tribal people maintain their identity in the face of serious erosion of their traditional religion, social and political institution.

In a Christian dominant state of Mizoram, religion plays an important role in the socio-economic, culture and political administration of the state. To some extent, the Church has been functioning in bringing the great diversity of its people into single organization. In Mizoram this diversity is reflected in the existence of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Chaube, S K, Hills, *Politics in North-East India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1973, p. 42.

Ratin Mitra and Barun Das. <u>A Common Perspective in Northeast India</u>, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 86-87

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Frederick S Down. Essays on Christianity in North East India, op.cit., p. 175.

different tribes that compose what is today called Mizo. Christianity acts as an instrument of unity for mutual assistance, fellowship, and inspiration and above all else, evangelization. The Churches active involvement in mission and evangelism, theological education, campus and hostel ministries, healing ministry, Christian education, peace building, relief and development, leadership development training programs and seminars, provide an ideological undergirding for living under the new circumstances in which the Mizos find themselves as a result of British conquest and the process of modernization.<sup>15</sup>

Importance of religious institution and charity work, which serves as a center of social services on an extensive scale cannot be neglected in India. As far as Mizoram state is concerned, Christianity plays a vital role in socio-economic and political life of the Mizos. Christianity made a great impact on the society to the extent that its literature has been based on Christian education, and all voluntary organizations in Mizoram follow the norms of church activity in their various functions. Various non-government organizations such as schools, Hospitals, training centers, Associations, etc formed under the initiative of the Church became a potent factor for weakening of taboos and the system of social control. Moreover, Christianity, for the most part produced the intelligentsia that, in turn, made it possible for the tribes to maintain control in the new situation created by the colonial administration and the process of modernization. Consequently the traditional ways of life were doomed to extinction as a new class with new ideology and thought emerged.

Prior to the formation of any modern institutions in Mizoram, the social life of Mizos centered on the ways of chieftainship and Zawlbuk, (Traditional Bachelor House or Bachelor Dormitory). However, with the progress of education, the educated Mizos realized that if the traditional institutions continued, it would bring a dark future for their children. Thus, with the spread of Christian education, the Mizos were convinced that no formal education could be imparted from traditional

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Lalkima, C. *Social Welfare Administration in Tribal State*, A Case Study of Mizoram, Spectrum Publication, Guwahati,1997, p. 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Singh. K Suresh, <u>Social Movement among Tribes in India</u>, Vol. II, Manohar Publications, New Delhi, 1983, pp. 401-402.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Lalthangliana, Mizo History-Before 1900 (Mizo), M C Lalrinthanga Press, Aizawl, 2000, p. 49.

institutions. Gradually traditional institutions began to lose their importance and disappeared. McCall trace the extinction of Zawlbuk to the antipathy of the Lushai church leader. As the mission did not take a positive attitude either to preserve the institution or to abolish it, the local church leaders and the local school teachers took an active lead in abolishing the Zawlbuk in the villages, as some of the practices in the Zawlbuk were not strictly in conformity with the Christian ideals. This led most of the Lushai church leaders to condemn the Zawlbuk. 19 With the abandonment of Zawlbuk, people felt the need for alternative institution that would serve many of their social needs under the changed situation. This led to the foundation of Young Lushai Association (later renamed as Young Mizo Association) under the pattern of Young Welsh Association, by a Welsh Missionary Rev. David Edward in 1935. Today, the 'Mizo churches' principal vehicle for social changes is the YMA. The YMA has become the largest non-denominational Association, having two-fold purpose-firstly, to keep the youths engaged in religious activity and social services.<sup>20</sup> Thus, church and its various institutions replaced the traditional institutions. Today, Mizo society revolves around the Church and YMA. Through the organizing activities of the Church, the advantages of forming groups for focused goals began to be understood. However, on the other hand, it is also possible to argue that the church and its various organizations and schools did replace the traditional institutions, not as a result of Christian disapproval of it but rather as an inevitable consequence of the imposition of alien value system through government regulation<sup>21</sup>.

Church, in Mizoram, became the only institution where there is a strong sense of community members. Community organization happen around two platforms: Church and YMA, a quasi-church youth organization, this YMA became the principal factor of social change, established to uphold Tlawmngaina, or the code of social disciple. As the Mizo society is a homogeneous close-knit one, the Church in Mizoram as an institution enjoys strong loyalty and active participation. A large volume of community-based activities is conducted regularly. As an institution it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> McCall, A.G, op. cit., pp.211-212

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Sangkima, Mizo's Society and Social Changes, Spectrum Publication Guwahati, 1992, p.135

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Down, F.S. Essays on Christianity in North East India, op.cit., p. 173

enjoys the highest faith among adolescent and young adult women as it ensures confidentiality and provides spiritual solace and guidance.

After the independence of India, the Lushai Hills District was under Assam. It was administered through Sixth Schedule of the Constitution. However the Sixth Schedule did not meet the aspiration and needs of the Mizos. Therefore it led to decades of political unrest in the Lushai Hills District till it became a full-fledged state in 1987. <sup>22</sup>

Mizoram, prior to the attainment of Union Territory status, was one of the districts of Assam. During this period, the Mizo District confronted a crisis in institutional building, as well as ineffective State institutions in addressing the social concerns and development of the Mizos. Despite the lack of substantial and ineffective state institutions, it was the church organizations and various nongovernmental agencies that addressed the social concern and development of Mizos. The close-knit Mizo society continued its own way of life with its in-built Voluntary organizations for the relief of those in need and distress. Particularly during the period of socio-economic and political crisis, the churches and various voluntary organizations took active participation in promoting social services and harmony in the state of Mizoram. The Church was among the first actors to initiate the peace process in the once violence infested state.<sup>23</sup> Further, the church and its various organizations by carrying forward its traditional roles still continues to be the most important non-government organization in addressing the contemporary socioeconomic and political stigma confronted by the Mizos. Moreover, beside State, churches in Mizoram being the second largest employer in the state help in solving the unemployment problem by providing employment to people.<sup>24</sup>

The Church, since its inception in Mizo society, has been the most influential agent in transforming the socio-economic, political and cultural lives of the Mizos. The Church, through various programmes and projects, replaced the traditional institutions and became an important institution in socialization, emancipation and promotion of associational life and social services to the society. By imparting secular education, it has armed the Mizos with new ideology to confront and adjust





<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Nunthara, C, *Society and Polity*. Indus Publishing Company. New Delhi, 1996, p.23.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Lalkima, C, op. cit.., p.61

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Avirook Sen, "Mizoram Story of Plenty," India Today. 5 July, 1999

with new changes and development. Since 1962, Mizo culture had been symbolically Christianized.<sup>25</sup> The development of new institutions, new Mizo language and literature, etc., gives the Mizos a new sense of identity.<sup>26</sup> The Church in Mizoram by carrying forward the traditional practices of promoting social concerns has consolidated its strong hold in the contemporary Mizo society.

In times of socio-economic and political crisis, the Church in Mizoram has been an important institution in solving the crisis. Church ideology, transcending all ideological barriers, became the role model in promoting the causes of social concerns. The church organization become the much depended non-government organization, for up-holding morality and guiding the society to its all round development.<sup>27</sup> The active role of the church in promoting education, health facilities, destitute homes, and training centers has been an important contribution in reducing the burden of the state. The availability of educational institutions throughout the geographical areas of the state mainly through the initiative of churches is the major reason for high percentage of literacy rate among the Mizos. Secondly, the churches which transcend all ideological barriers in promoting social services became a potent factor for the Mizos in maintaining a homogeneous and classless society.

On the other side of development, the creeping in of money economy, spread of epidemics such as HIV/AIDS, abuse of drugs, etc., have been the major factors threatening the transformation of the once classless society to class based. However, the Church, by providing medical facilities, rehabilitation, destitute homes, training, awareness etc., play a proactive role in helping the discriminated and marginalized people who are crying out desperately to break the chains of stigma and discrimination. Moreover, several churches based organizations take proactive role in dissemination of information about HIV and educate the youth about the issue of HIV/AIDS.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Pachuau, Lalsangkima, op. cit.., p.103.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Singh, K.P. *People of Mizoram*, Vol. XXXIII. Seagull Book, Calcutta, 1995, p.6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Lalkima, C. op. cit.., p.142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> See. *A District Strategic Plan for Carca Project*. December 2000, Prepared by the Charca Core Group, Aizawl.2000, pp.15-17.

Besides YMA, church in Mizoram is one of the most important pressure group in the socio-political system of Mizoram. As a pressure group it is very reactive to certain government policies, which does not comply with Christian practices and beliefs. Moreover, besides its role in the socio-economic emancipation of the society, it is also very active in politics. Mizoram has been a secular state, with a dominant Christian faith. The relation between state and church is ambiguous. Indeed, from the early 1930s, the Church had been active in the politics of the state, by protesting Government stand on socio-culture of the Mizos. For instance, during the intense conflict between the Church and cultural revivalists, the church was able to pressurize the government to terminate the traditional customs and practices, which according to the Church are contradictory to Christian way of life. Thus, a section of society believed that Christianity prevailed in true spirit among the people and could lead the people to the desired goal.

Although the Church in Mizoram does not associate with any social political and economic body, early church leaders, being well educated, had been active in the politics by arguing that it is a part of their ministry in emancipation of the people. However, the church leaders by the mid 1950s stayed aloof from politics, when it witnessed an internal conflict within political parties that resulted in factional politics. The apprehension was that factional politics would bring division in the Church. The Church withdrew itself by saying politics is dirty and discouraged its members from entering or contesting elections. However, until recently, with growing corruption, nepotism, violence and suffering in changing Mizo society, various prominent leaders began to question the negative attitude of church towards politics. By the early 1960s, when the insurgency movement developed in the state, the church speculated about its role in politics and again began to play active role in the state politics by issuing various guidelines, pamphlets and message to the electorate.

By late 1990s, church-state relationship became closer than ever, when the state government accepted the proposal of churches to ban all forms of alcohol (alcohol including local brew). Therefore Mizoram became a dry state from the year 1997. Today, Church in Mizoram is not only responsible in promoting the spiritual life of the individual, but also the general welfare of the people. In a close-knit society, non-political voluntary organizations have great influence on the political system. Any ruling political party while exercising power gives importance to

voluntary organization. Church, being the largest organizations in Mizoram, has been issuing pamphlets during and before the state general election, requesting the church members to exercise their franchise carefully in electing the candidate, not on the basis of political ideologies, policies and election manifestoes issued by the political parties, but on the basis of church ideological perspective.<sup>29</sup>

Despite the Church role in social development and its high status in society, in contemporary politics of secularization, a number of churches in Mizoram to some extent have been involving in development activities in order to attract members in their denomination. In fact, the secularization of religion consequently increased the number of different denominations and this further led to competition among them. As a result, it compelled the churches to engage in development activities. Through these activities, they attract common people, and people become affiliated to the institutions that meet their need. Therefore, this sometimes lead to negative trend such as conflict, partiality, jealousy and disintegration of homogeneous society rather then development.

Church and YMA being the two largest civil societies in Mizoram where the Mizo society revolve around it. It well organize centralize structure, cordial relationship with the state, extensive and organize wide network and their nature of organization and effectiveness in articulation, mobilization and social control have been the major institutions promoting peace, stability and social change in the society. In other words, the YMA and Church can be refers as the guardian of morality and code of social discipline.

The study of the impact of Church in Mizoram is significant because it also attribute to the political and administrative development of the people of the tiny state like Mizoram.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Lalkima. C. op. cit., pp. 57-58.

#### **CHAPTER-II**

#### Church and Politics in Mizoram

In a traditional Mizo society, the social system revolved around chiefs, and modern system of administration was unknown to them. Indeed, Major McCall, as far back as 1939 observed that, "in a traditional Lushai (now christened as Mizos) there was no place for politicians. In a modern Lushai the politician is needed but unavailable". McCall's apprehension was a parable misplaced. The articulate Lushai at the crystallized stage did not stop there. The Lushai aspiration, a result of about half a century of contact with the West, the British Administration and the missionaries influence took concrete steps in the growth of organizational activities. However, the colonial government by accepting the proposal of Shakespear, the Political Officer of Lushai Hills in 1898, retained the existing system, that is rule by the chiefs. Under his accepted suggestion the administration of Lushai Hills was vested in the Chief Commissioner of Assam, the Superintendent of Lushai Hills, and his Assistants and in the chiefs and the headmen of the villages. The chief was held responsible for the behavior of their people and the Superintendent and his Assistants were to uphold the authority of the chiefs to the best of their ability. Shakespear said; to ensure success it only need that each successive Political Officer should conscientiously apply himself with tack and intelligence to gain the friendship of the chiefs and guide them in them in the way they should go.<sup>2</sup> In 1946 the Superintendent, McDonald, introduced a Durbar allowing the commoners also to elect their representatives, along with the chief's, who would elect their own representatives separately. However, due to in-build conflict in the objectives of these two groups. The chiefs wanted the status quo to be maintained and the commoners' maximum freedom from the chiefs and hence these two set were opposed to each other the very beginning. As a result differences in objectives between these two groups the established Durbar was dissolved as it failed to serve any useful purpose.3 Hence, the colonial system of Administration in

<sup>3</sup> Ray. Animesh. op. cit., pp.23-39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Bandopadhyay. P. K. Election Scene in Mizoram: A Note, in P. S. Datta, ed., *Elections in North East India*, Omson Publication, New Delhi, 1986, p.167.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ray, Animesh, *Mizoram Dynamic Of Change*, Pearl Publishers, Calcutta, 1982. p.23

Lushai Hills legally reinforced the rule of the chiefs; this became the hurdle for the development of democratic system.

In fact, the active participation of Mizo people in politics was only in post independent period. As the then Lushai Hills District was "excluded areas," under the Government of India Act of 1935. Before 1952, the Lushai Hills (now called Mizoram) was not represented anywhere. Lushai Hills was declared backward areas and therefore excluded from reforms. No Lushai was nominated or represented to any legislative body. It was only in 1952, after Lushai Hills attained the status of Autonomous District, it was at the same year that the first general assembly was held, and the Lushai Hills was allotted three seats in the Assam Legislative Assembly.<sup>5</sup> The entire three Assembly seat were won by the Mizo Union Candidates. Simultaneously, the election of the District Council was held at the same year. Due to persistent demand of Mizo Union, chieftainship in Lushai Hills was abolished by the Assam Lushai Hills (Acquisition of chief's rights) Act of 1954, and the institution of chiefs was replaced by District Council enacted for constitution of the basis of universal suffrage.<sup>6</sup> However, the Mizos, not satisfied with the status of district under the State of Assam, resorted to two decades old insurgency movement. Therefore, to meet the demand halfway, the District was upgraded to Union Territory and later, converted into a full-fledged state in 1986.

As stated, Christianity plays tremendous roles in the political development and contributed immensely in evolving political consciousness amongst the Mizos. The rapid growth of churches and simultaneous spreading of education among the Mizos gave an opportunity to the Mizos to face the challenges brought about by modernity.

Immediately, this led to the emergence of small groups of elite, who posed a challenge to the traditional autocratic rule of the chiefs backed by the colonial administration. However, the movement against the traditional system was of low intensity. As it is well known, the traditional Lushai administration centered on the village, which was ruled by a hereditary chief, with the assistance of traditional elite

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Chaube, S K, "North East India under the Constitution" in Vol. 1, No 4, *Contemporary India*, A North East Special, ed., O P Kejariwal, <u>Journal of Nehru Memorial Museum and Library</u>, Oct-Dec. 2002, p.59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Rao, V. Venkata, <u>A Century of Government and Politics in North East India</u>, Vol.III, S Chand and Company Ltd, Guwahati, New Delhi, 1987, pp.38-46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ray, Animesh, op. cit., pp.125-127

consisted of Upa (Elders), Puithiem (Priest) etc., but within a short span of time, the spread of education, Christianity and the growth of privileged class led to the rise of anti-chief movement in Mizoram.<sup>7</sup> Thus, a democratic tradition had begun to take its roots. Indeed, as McCall remarked, it was the churches and its various organizations, for the most part, which led towards black-coatism. Black coated occupations became synonymous with progress. The result was the creation of an oligarchy, the privilege, the salaried and therefore, the materially powerful. Most of them are on mission's pay roll, church executives, or in the employment of Government, in which case, they are probably, in any case, subject spiritually to the Lushai Church. Christianity and oligarchy, according to McCall, bred individualism, flourishing in the headquarters, towns and naturally imbued with the thrill of seeking independence of the chiefs, and freedom from customary communal discipline.8 Thus, the new religion produced the intelligentsia that in turn, made it possible for the tribes to maintain control in the new situation created by the process of modernization introduced by British Administration. The predominant Christian community has shown that its Christianization has been useful for them.

The development of state-society is a long process of historical development, the major institutions such as State, Church and YMA has a close relationship in Mizoram. After the Sepoy mutiny of 1857, despite, withstanding the pressure from European missionaries for state patronage for their work, but the Queen of England proclaimed firmly relying ourself on the truth of Christianity and acknowledge with gratitude the solace of religion. We dislike alike the right and desire to impose our conviction on any of our object. As a result of 1857 revolt, from 1858 onward particularly in the matter of religion the British policy towards religion was strictly neutral. However, unlike the rest of India in Northeast India, particularly in Mizoram it was the Colonial Government that brought the missionaries in Northeast region, as colonial government was convinced that the civilizing influence of the missions would help to advance the colonial interest directly or indirectly. The whole plan was to Christianize the whole region because the colonizer was afraid that they would never consolidate their authority if the subject were not

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Dutta, P.S. "Root of Insurgency" in *Political Development of North East. VOL-11*, B.C. Bhuyan, ed., Omson Publication, New Delhi, 1992. p.168

<sup>§</sup> McCall, A. G. op. cit, p.216

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Oommen, T. K and Mabry, Hunter P, Christian Clergy in India, Sage Publication, India, 2002, p.45

Christianized. In short Colonial Administration welcome the plan of missionary activity to legitimize their colonial rule.<sup>10</sup> Thus, the colonial, despite its policy of religion neutrality, particularly in Lushai Hills, the colonial administrators backed the missionaries and largely depended to a greater extent on the energies of the mission workers for a variety of task. Thus a cordial and strong relationship between the colonial administrator and missions existed in Northeast India.

Albeit, the Mizos believes in separation of power of state and religion, the involvement early educated Church leaders, who were the product of church run institutions in the long process of state formation led to the development of cordial relationship between state and society. Moreover, the long tradition of church involvement in development process as well as the faith of Mizos in church led the state to accommodate and encourage the church in various development programmes and projects. In other words, both the state organization and social organizations are mutually interdependence rather than conflict; moreover both the state and society incorporate each other in their functioning. Prior to the annexation of Mizo Hills, the Mizo society revolved around chieftainship. However with the annexation and coming of Christianity in Mizo hills the socio-political structure of the Mizos rapidly changed. In Mizo hills the colonial state used the church for variety of tasks, most notably, to educate its people. In contrast to traditional Mizo society, today the Mizo society mostly revolves around Church and YMA.

Church, in Mizoram from its inception being the only well organized institution in Mizo society, became the main instrument in initiating the emergence of the largest non-denomination organization in 1935, 11 that is. Young Mizo Association (YMA) (First called as Young Lushai Association, (YLA)). As a non-denomination voluntary organization based on Christian principles, the organization drew members from all sections of society and denominations and became a forum for social views, including politics. From mid 1940s, the leaders of YMA stressed the need for having democratic system, which would replace the traditional elites by elders elected by the people. This democratic idea was put forward before the Superintendent when the YMA convened a special meeting with him in 1945 in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> see, Barpujari, S.K, "Early Christian Mission in Naga Hills: An assessment of their activities," <u>Journal of Indian History</u>. Vol. 48, 1970, p.428

which they openly stated that they wanted democracy for Mizoram. It was on the eve of India's independence that the Superintendent permitted the formation of a political party. The first political party, the "Mizo Common Peoples' Union" (later renamed the Mizo Union) was formed on 9 April 1946, 12 and was mostly dominated by the Church leaders and educated persons produced by the Christian mission schools. The first president of the Mizo Union was Pachhunga, a Dawrpui Church elder. 13

Within a short span of time, the Mizo Union gathered momentum and its supporters came from all corners, except the traditional elite. However, within a short period from its formation, the Mizo Union had witnessed a sign of conflict between the original leaders and newly educated leaders, who called themselves "intellectual class". As a result, the original leaders and those who supported them split from the main body and called themselves the Mizo Union Council (MUC). The MUC intensified a policy of secession from India. The businessman and traders, of bazaar areas, mainly supported the Mizo Union Council, while the indigenized churches and the southern area of Aizawl town supported the Mizo Union proper. The leaders of Mizo Union led the people to believe that any form of democracy is better than the traditional set-up under chieftainship. The future political status of Mizoram thus became only secondary to them. The anti-chief movement even took the form of mob violence causing physical harm to the chiefs and their followers. In a grand procession organized by the Mizo Union in Aizawl, on the eve of India's Independence Day in 1947, the slogan was "Can we have independence?" to which the people would reply in chorus 'No'. And on the question as to, why so? The reply was "Because we are too ignorant". 14

It was during this period, that the Mizo Union witnessed the entry of church leaders in high posts of Mizo Union. Some ecclesiastical figures such as the first Mizo ordained Pastor, Chhuahkama of the Presbyterian Church, the founder of Salvation Army in Mizoram, Brigadier Kawlkhuma, and Pastor Challiana of Baptist Church were among the early prominent members of Mizo Union in Mizoram. <sup>15</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Nunthara, C, Mizoram Society and Polity, Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1996, p. 128.

Saiaithanga, <u>Mizo Kohran Chanchin</u> (Mizo) (History of Mizo Church). Synod Press, Aizawl. 1993. p. 77.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Nunthara, C, op.cit., p.129

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Vanlawma, R. Ka Ram le Kei (Mizo), 3rd ed., M C Lalrinthanga Press Aizawl, 1989, p. 131.

Gradually, prominent leaders of the Presbyterian and the Baptist Church began to play active role in the early history of the political parties. However, the churches themselves were never officially involved. Though the missions were always cautious when it came to politics, a number of Mizo Church leaders of different denomination enthusiastically joined the new party and became the moderating agent in times of internal problems. Rev Zairema a high ecclesiastical figure was elected as the president of the Mizo Union on January 18, 1947. The involvement of such ecclesiastical figures was not questioned, given the fact that the evolution of the party as well as new political ideas took place within the Christian milieu. The Christian leaders themselves seem to understand their role in the party as a part of their ministerial responsibility to emancipate the people.

However, the transition from autocracy under the hereditary chieftainship to new elite-led democracy was not easy. The political system of Lushai Hills witnessed a chaotic situation. The Mizo Union, within a few months of its formation, witnessed a painful internal conflict. In this situation, the role of ecclesiastical figures from different denominations had been significant in bringing compromise and mutual understanding between the leaders. However, it should be noted that these prominent church leaders and ministers participated as individuals. Their respective churches never endorsed or opposed any political group. By the late 1940s, the Mizo Union, the only political party witnessed conflict and defection in the party. This resulted in the emergence of new party. Therefore, fear of importing political disunity to the church seemed to dispel the church leaders from politics. Saiaithanga testified that the growing political disunity in the late 1940s divided the church considerably. As the struggle for power between political parties and between leaders in the parties became more and more intense, church leaders began to withdraw, and some churches later officially prohibited involvement of their ministers and employees in politics. 18 From this period, the church began to have negative attitude towards politics, as they feared that the involvement of church ecclesiastical figures would bring division among the church. Thus, the gap between the church and secular politics became too widened. During this period, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Nunthara, C, op.cit., p.130.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Vanlawma, R, op. cit.. p.145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Zairema, "Kohran leh Politics" <u>Mizoram Politics</u>, ed., C Biekmawia, 10-19.Synod Social Front, No. 8. Aizawl: Synod Social Front Committee. Mizoram Presbyterian Church, 1990.

Mizo Union had suffered internal dispute within the leaders, Lalbiekthanga the former vice president of the Mizo Union estranged himself in the party by secretly supporting the Mizo Union Council. This estrangement ultimately resulted in the creation of a new political party called "the United Mizo Freedom Organization" (UMFO). Soon all the members of the Mizo Union Council and its followers merged with UMFO. In this way, the population of Mizoram was divided into those who wanted abolition of the chiefship and joining India, on the one hand, and those who supported the system of chieftainship and wanted to opt out of India. In the election to the Advisory Council held in April 1948, the Mizo Union got a clear mandate. It won 23 seats out of 24, where as the UMFO won only one seat. As such all the idea about seceding from India and joining Burma was soon dying out of the UMFO. Thus in this context, the UMFO was mainly supported by the members of the MUC, the chiefs and their members.<sup>19</sup>

Moreover, with the dawn of India's independence, the larger context of North East politics became important for the Hill Districts. The Constituent Assembly (9 December 1946-24 January 1950) incorporated two Schedules to the Constitution of India - the Fifth Schedule and the Sixth Schedule - to deal especially with the management of tribal affairs. The Sixth Schedule (mentioned above) envisaged instruments of tribal self-rule for the North East (then all part of greater Assam) and set up special Autonomous District Councils, which were sometimes exempted from national laws and the influence of parliament. Historically speaking, the concept of Sixth Schedule is important for North East India under the Indian Constitution, as it attempt to provide the tribal people with a simple and inexpensive administration of their own, so that they could safeguard their own customs, traditions, etc., and allow autonomy in managing their tribal affair. The system is essential, according to the Government of India to protect the people and their land from assimilation.

According to the Constitution, the new tribal areas of Assam were divided into two parts. The Lushai Hills was put under Part-A of Tribal Areas, which would

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Nunthara, C, op. cit..p. 128-131.

Abhijit Chaudhury, "The Contextual Dimension of the Sixth Schedule in Vol, 1. No.4 Contemporary India, A North-East Special, ed., O P Kejariwal. <u>Journal of Nehru Memorial Museum and Library</u>. (Oct- Dec, 2002) pp.1-4.

have elected Autonomous District Council.<sup>21</sup> This provision soon turned to be the hot bed of local politics; contradiction between the Mizo Union and Mizo Union Council.<sup>22</sup> The former wanted to abolish chieftainship, and be incorporated into India, whereas the latter in contrast to the Mizo Union wanted secession and the continuation of the traditional system of chieftainship. During this period of conflicting ideologies, the new political development in Northeast India, that is, the Sixth Schedule to the Constitution became a weapon for the emerging elite to counter the traditional elites. The Constitutional provision provided the earlyeducated Mizo elites the opportunity to fight the traditional undemocratic administration centered on chieftainships. In the first election of the Mizo District Council in April 1952, the Mizo Union again won 17 out of 18 seats. The Mizo Union joined the Assam Congress parliamentary party.<sup>23</sup> In 1954 at the persistent demand of the Mizo Union, traditional chieftainship was officially abolished on 28 June 1954 by the Assam Lushai Hills (Acquisition of Chiefs Right) Act of 1954.<sup>24</sup> However, due to internal conflict in the party, this led to a factional division- one group led by Lalsawia, which merged to Eastern India Tribal Union (EITU) and other group by Saprawnga. Moreover, because of the final abolition of chieftainship, with the consequent loss of chiefship as political assets the Mizo Union, after 1956, faced a declining popularity. Thus in the 1957 election the Mizo Union was barely able to retain majority by winning 11 seats against 8 seats won by the UMFO.

It was at this important time that the Mizo National Front (MNF) made an entry into Mizoram politics. The time was ripe as the people were now inclined to accept any political movement stressing cultural variation and political separation from the plain. Before 1954, any attempt at stressing cultural variation and ethnic differences was counter checked by anti chief movement that was fully exploited by the Mizo Union. It was only after the issue of chieftainship was gone that the political support of the people gradually shifted from internal problem to that of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Chaube, S.K., Contemporary India, A North-East Special, ed., O P. Kejariwal, <u>Journal of Nehru</u> <u>Memorial Museum and Library</u>, (Oct- Dec, 2002), op.cit..p.60

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Abhijit Chaudhury, op.cit..p.18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Nunthara, C. op. cit..p.13

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ray, Animesh, *Mizoram Dynamics of Change*. op. cit., p.127

accentuating group identity at all levels. Moreover, the attitude of Assam government towards its district i.e. Mizo Hills District also contributed to the development of Mizo unrest. Particularly, when Mizoram was hard hit by famine in 1959-60, the consensus among the people was that the Assam Government was not taking serious steps to solving the problem. This led to the emergence of the Mizo National Famine Front (later renamed MNF) with a political goal of secession from India. Further, the passing of Assamese as state language in July 1960 added to the already tense situation in Mizoram. These two factors that developed in 1959-60 strengthened the MNF ideology, which emphasized the preservation of ethnic identity and group solidarity. Thus, the MNF, with its ideology of preserving the ethnic identity from the early sixties became popular and dominated the politics of Mizoram.<sup>25</sup>

Various socio-political analysts asserted that the British rule and the dominance of Christianity had been the major factor of the root of "Tribal" separatist politics in North East India at least in two ways. Firstly, a few analysts assert that the idea of Crown colony proposed by some administrators on the eve of India's independence served as an incentive to some tribal groups to advocate independence from India. The Crown colony policy did not however appeal to the majority of the North East people and they firmly rejected it. Nevertheless, after a decade of frustration under independent India, the idea of Crown colony could have inspired those who later advocated secessionism from India. Secondly and more importantly was the British policy of a separate administration for the Hills, which some even dubbed it as the British "policy of isolation", 26 which has been identified as the root of separatist politics. Thirdly, despite the conscientious and well-meant resolution of the framer of the Constitution, the country had faced armed rebellion from at least two of the major tribes along her frontiers, the Nagas and Mizos. Many of the tribes of the former province of Assam have since severed themselves from the mother body to form separate states of their own. Further, the safeguards enshrined in the constitution notwithstanding the tribes had come to harbor suspicion that there are powerful elements in the country that do not favor the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Nunthara, C. op, cit., p.140.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Chaube, S.K. *Hills Politics in North-East India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1973, p-13. & D R Mankekar, "*Understanding the Tribals of North-eastern Border*," *Tribals Situation in India*, ed., K S Singh, India Institute of Advance Study, Simla, 1972, pp. 98-109.

continuation of their political or even cultural identity and who would prefer to see tribes formally and forcibly merged into what is loosely classed as the mainstream of the nation.<sup>27</sup> This view has, however, been losing its appeal since the 1980s as separatist movements have been taken up by non-tribal groups who during the British rule were not governed under the policy of isolation. Of late, a number of analysts have cited the Government of India's negligence of the region as the main reason for the unrests. Phanjouban Tarapot and B C Bhuyan consider the neglect of the economic development as the main cause while P S Dutta blames what he calls "the unethical policy" of national integration together with unresolved nationality question.<sup>28</sup> The so called policy of isolation refers to the British colonial government's method of administering the backward hill frontier separately excluding them from normal legislative governance, and separating and protecting them by what is called the "Inner Line Permit" system. In order to isolate the hill people of the Northeast in 1873, under this system, every one wishing to enter the region required a special permission from the government.

The British decided to isolate these areas because they were concerned with tribal uprising in Central India, which could occur in North-East India, if they are not protected under the system of Inner Line Permit.<sup>29</sup> F S Downs argued that the intention of the policy became clear when viewed alongside the Inner Line regulation of 1873; it was under this regulation that the entrance of missionaries was controlled and this policy worked in favor of certain missionaries.<sup>30</sup> While many Indian socio-political analysts and politician opposed the system, the Independent India government decided to follow the colonial system of complex administration.

In fact, historical developments of the policy show that this mode of administration arose purely for economic reasons.<sup>31</sup> The colonial government was not interested in occupying the infertile hill areas except for security reasons. What A G McCall has said about Mizoram is true of the most hill districts, "The British

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Rustomi Nari. *Imperiled Frontier*. Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1983. p. 76

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> See. Dutta, P.S., *Roots of Insurgency*, op. cit.p.15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Kerstri A. "Christianity in Northeast India," *Journal of the Asiantic Society*, Vol.32, 1996. p. 6

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Downs, F S, Christianity in North-East India, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Rao, V Venkata., op.cit., pp. 47-102.

Government...was compelled against their will, to occupy Lushai land."<sup>32</sup> To protect its subjects from constant harassment by the hill people, the colonial government occupied the hills to repress the hill people and govern them with a principle which B.B Goswani calls low cost and light administrative. To call the policy of isolation is therefore inaccurate; furthermore, it should be remembered that it was the British colonization that joined the region to the rest of India. Before the British rule, the hill areas of North East or most of Northeast India for that matter were never part of India.<sup>33</sup>

In spite of various concepts and arguments on the issue of uprising in Northeast India, one of the major reasons for uprisings against government was the result of the birth of new ideas, consciousness, etc., brought by the process of modernization. By the third and fourth decades of the twentieth century, there were signs that a new self-consciousness, consciousness of their social, political, economic rights and privileges was introducing new and disturbing elements into their overall life and activity. Thus, all these can be described as a search for a sense of identity, for a sense of belonging, and for self-determination in a new social order, where the old order of their identities is in a fast process of disintegration.

Search for identity and struggle for freedom have been integral to tribal life. These find expression through conflicts and strong concerted movements, which the outsiders call insurgence. Thus what is required is a deeper understanding of the life and ethos of the people in this area.

Until recently when a number of people including prominent leaders began to question the churches' negative attitude towards politics, nepotism and various forms of corruption infected the electoral politics from the times of District Council to the current state politics. Various questions arise. Should the Church withdraw itself from politics by saying politics is dirty and the church leaders should not be involved in it? Church in Mizoram began to struggle with this and other related questions.

<sup>32</sup> McCall, A G, *Lushai Chrysalis*, op.cit., p.198.

Goswani, B B, *The Mizo Unrest*: A Study of Politicization of Culture, Aalekh Publishers, Jaipur, 1979.p.196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Srinivas. M N, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi. 2003, p. 15.

By the late 1960s, the church in Mizoram again changed its attitude towards socio-politics. The Church aloofness from politics proved judicious when the District faced a brutal insurgency and counter insurgency movement. Maintenance of an independent stand was particularly crucial as the Mizo National Front tried to capitalize upon the Mizo Christian identity. However in 1966 the first crucial objection to the violence of the insurrection and counter insurgency measure was raised by the Presbyterian Church and later joined by the Baptist Church. It clarified its position by condemning violence committed by any party, despite a strong criticism from Mizo National Front for its involvement in worldly politics. Churches in Mizoram took a reverse trend from their previous stand towards the politics. By the mid 1960s during the intense insurgency unrest in Mizoram, it continued to stand with its position of condemning the act of violence from any party. While the debate on the Christian condemnation of violence continued, the churches also initiated a positive move towards finding a peaceful solution for the political disturbance. A group of church leaders even went to Delhi to meet the Prime Minister. However, while remaining aloof in some respect, the churches were also active in playing positive roles in other aspects of the state politics.

As far as Mizoram is concern, from early days of colonial rule, the concept of secularism was less accentuate in Lushai Hills, owing to cordial relationship between the colonialist and the Missions and monopolization of educational institutions by the missions. Moreover, the failure to enforced Wood's Despatch of 1854, which was required by a conscience clause to restrict their religious instruction to particular parts of the day, and make them voluntary. Therefore, mission schools in Lushai Hills were given free hand to include sectarian religious instruction in both mission schools and government-funded schools.

However, after the independence of India, the nature of secularism in India has also been the major factor in strengthening the relationship between church and state (in the case of Christian dominated States). In general, as far back as the colonial period, the colonial government and missions had developed a close relationship supporting each other's interests. Lal Dena summarized that, "Overall.

See, Chatterjee Nandani, "Christian Missionaries and the British Indian state; 19th century Voluntarism and Indian Secularism." *British Association for South Asian Studies*, Volume 5 No.2 ISSN 1461-8907, Summer 2002.

the colonial Government official had friendly attitude towards Christian missions, there is no doubt that such friendly relations between the officials, and the missionaries were important because each partner got tangible benefits out of it."36 Infact, Christianity, being the product of colonialism in North East India, there was a cordial relationship between the colonial government and the missions. Nevertheless, the very nature of secularism practiced under the Colonial government as well as Constitution of India has also been the factor for building a close tangible relationship between religion and politics. The state under the provision of various articles such as Article 14, 15, 16, 19, 25, 28, 44, etc., in the Constitution continues to recognize various religions and religious organizations. It can extend financial assistance to religious institutions. It can change, regulate and end certain religious practices. It legitimizes distinction on the basis of community and caste in the matter of services under the state and permit public celebrations of religious functions. The holders of high offices of the state and top political dignitaries publicly participate in religious festivals, visit religious places, and pay their obeisance to religious leaders at open public gatherings. Thus, religion and politics have become more inter-locked than ever before.<sup>37</sup>

In a majority Christian-inhabited state, religion has never been used so blatantly until recently. From the late 1990s, various political parties used religious issues to get the support from church members. The electoral politics was centered on the Congress and the MNF (an alliance of NDA). The election scene in Mizoram witnessed a counter accusation between the Congress and the MNF. When in an election a few years ago, reference was made to the Church in the Congress Party's local State manifesto; the BJP went to town thundering against this invocation of religious institutions and religious values in secular India. In their defence, the Congress party argued that, no spectacle could be more hypocritical than the BJP, votary of the Hindu Rashtra and upholder of Hindutva, objecting to a reference to

Dena. Lal. *Christian Missions and Colonialism:* A Study of Missionary Movement in Northeast India: with Particular Reference to Manipur and Lushai Hills 1894-1947. Vandrame Institute, Shillong, 1988. p.117

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Keshyap, Subhash C, <u>Delinking Religion and Politics</u>. Vinod Publishers Pvt Ltd, Delhi, 1993, p.

religion by a community, which is in a tiny minority in India as a whole but in an overwhelming majority in the State of Mizoram.<sup>38</sup>

As the Church in Mizoram does have a pervasive influence on ethical and cultural values, there was a passing reference in the manifesto to the injunctions of the Church with regard to drug abuse and other social evils. The Congress justified its stand by arguing that there was never any question of using the church to target any other community.<sup>39</sup>

Observers said most of the political parties in Mizoram toe the Christian line, including the Hindu nationalist, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). Carefully drafted speeches, laced with pro-Christian overtones, have formed part of speeches by top BJP leaders, including party president, M Venkaiah Naidu. "The BJP is not a threat to Christianity," said senior BJP leader and government minister C.P. Thakur in an election speech. <sup>40</sup>

Identifying themselves as pro-Christian contingents, the Mizo Secular Front has accused the MNF of going too near the NDA and vowed to dismantle it. Former Chief Minister and president of state unit of the Congress Lalthanhawla said, "being a puppet of the BJP, the ruling MNF is giving a green signal to the anti-Christian organizations, which are funded by the party. We will do everything to stop these organizations from dictating the Mizo people and our religion".<sup>41</sup>

The church in Mizoram normally does not back any party in the polls, but covertly supports politicians and parties, which have a pro-Christian sentiment.

Three major areas of the churches activities in state politics stand out; the first one is an ecumenical endeavor of the various denominations in seeking a peaceful solution to the political disturbance of the state. The church acted as a mediator between the MNF and the Indian government. Secondly, and more importantly, is the effort of some mainline churches to impart morality in politics, especially on corruption. Thirdly, the churches took important steps in ensuring peaceful, free and

<sup>38</sup> See, Mani Shankar Aiyar, "Only Congress Can Bring Progress to Mizoram," http://www.sify.Com, 23 August, 2003.

<sup>39</sup> ibid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Surojit Chatterjee, "Church in India's Mizoram State Warns Against Sex. Drugs in Polls."

http://www.Christianpost.com. 26 Nov, 2003

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> See, Church Controlling Politics in Mizoram in, http://www.Newindpress.com. 16 April, 2004.

fair state elections. While the Church's aloofness has prevented it from having any meaningful voice, it has also helped it to be a neutral zone, which was most needed at the time of the insurgency.

The up-gradation of district to Union territory had also an effective impact upon the Mizos; there was an enormous inflow of development funds, which resulted in a mad rush pursuit of corruption, particularly, among the government servants and the contractors. The lure for easy money had grown to such an extent that there was practically a mad rush in this direction. Taking this trend as an alarm, the year 1983 was declared as the Anti- Corruption Year" by the Synod, the highest Church body in Mizoram. The YMA also declared the year as "Cleanliness Year".

The lure for easy money has grown to such an extent that there was practically a mad race. In this pursuit, the moral code and ethics were altogether thrown to the wind resulting in the attempt and desire to acquire money by hook or by crook without any regard for the wholesomeness or otherwise of the means adopted for such purpose. The Church authorities, being the gate keeper of public moral and conscience, having become alarmed at the prevailing situation and finding no other alternative, had taken recourse to this step by declaring 1983, as the year of Anti-Corruption. In pursuance to this, the Synod authorities issued pamphlets on the subject and held seminars in the Synod hall on the subject of corruption on different occasions during 1983. The Synod also sent out letters to various churches wherein it expressed its desire, appealed to them that the Church members keep themselves aloof from the clutches of corruption, and be free from its influence.<sup>42</sup>

As for the church, it threw all pretence to the winds when some members stepped into the political arena as active players in the 1998. State elections it virtually floated a political party called Citizens Common Front and The YMA and the church have been wont to pass guidelines on many issues, including on the conduct of election campaigns Churches have become more active in the politics of the state. Its closed relationship with the state is underlined by fact that the constitution of the YMA declares, "government is our government".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Lalnithanga P. Emergence of Mizoram, Lengchhawn Press, Aizawl, 2005.p. 91

Government departments have closely involved the YMA in implementation of their development programmes.<sup>43</sup>

Before the 12th Lok Sabha election some pensioners, active church elders and eminent citizen formed a new organization called Citizen Common Front (CCF) which continuously criticized the then ruling Congress party and took initiatives for the combination of opposition parties like MNF, Mizoram People Conference (MPC) and MNF (Nationalist) for the 12th Lok Sabha election that was held on 23rd February 1998. However, in practice, only MPC and MNF (N) joined CCF. Therefore, their candidate Zoramthar, which claimed to be a party of church elders, won a Lok Sabha seat. In the last Assembly election, church became more active in the political scene by issuing guideline to its members and candidates. However, it is only during these last few years that politicians have boldly crossed the red line to fully take over the pulpit to give the main sermons as the present Chief Minister Zoramthanga has been doing. The YMA and the church -both authoritarian and both purveyors of a mixture of cultural and religious fundamentalism - form a triad of power with the State. That deadly embrace has spawned elitism which is far removed from reality<sup>44</sup>.

The church plays an important role in the electoral politics of the state. In almost all the elections of Member Legislative Assembly and Member of Parliament, churches in Mizoram have been active in issuing election messages to the public.<sup>45</sup> They give emphasis on the following aspects: such as, peaceful election, selection of party candidates, election campaign, and advice to electorate.

The powerful church in Mizoram has taken the lead in playing the role of a community watchdog for ensuring free and fair elections. The Presbyterian Synod, which represents 85 percent of Christians in Mizoram, has issued a set of election

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Recent partnerships have been in provision of essential services and in implementation of development project. Central YMA is a key actor in State government's intodelha (self-sufficiency) project lunched in the 90s, and in its recently started land allotment programme to the poor

guidelines read out at churches and warned of "exemplary punishment" if it is violated by voters or political parties.

Recently, in order to create a suitable atmosphere of peaceful, free, and fair election in the state, the church has also stepped in to reinforce discipline. The Synod Mission Board, which is the apex body of the Presbyterian Church, the dominant church in Mizoram, issued a set of guidelines for political parties.

A Synod Moderator, Reverend Mangchhuna Sailo said that "We appeal to all voters against electing any candidate whose image is tainted by social ills like alcoholism and drug addiction, besides any sexual misconduct".

The model code of conduct for political parties and voters is aimed at reforming the system and having a free and fair poll. Some of the model codes and guidelines issued by churches includes an appeal for low-key electioneering, refraining from "slander campaigns" and not to use children in the election process, the Church have also specifically asked candidates and political parties against making poll promises that cannot be fulfilled, to avoid the use of muscle and money power in election, etc.

"We have told them that they should not create chaos in public life by blowing microphones and littering the places with pamphlets and posters," said Rev C Rosiama, executive secretary of the board. "The parties are also told not to use the power of money or muscle to influence voters".

Other churches in the state - which include the Catholic and Baptist, did not issue similar guidelines, but the Presbyterian Church has done so during elections for the past 10 years and voters said they were likely to obey the orders.

"Everything from politics to the daily life of the people revolves around the church in Mizoram. Anybody trying to act smart and defy the church rulings faces the wrath and ire of the community," said M. Rosanga, a retired police official in Mizoram state capital Aizawl.<sup>47</sup>

In the present state of Mizoram the church and Bible take center stage of poll campaigns, by using posters such as "vote for Christ's" and religious message was a subtle way to influence voters to cast their votes in favor of those clergymen and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> See. Syed Zarir Hussain, Indo-Asian News Service. November 20, 2003.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> See. Surojit Chatterjee, op. cit.

active members of the Church.<sup>48</sup> The church leaders are not so indifferent towards politics. Churches issue guideline to political parties to nominate persons of integrity and character, in other words, an active church person. However, indeed, part of the credit for incident free and fair election should go to YMA and Mizoram Presbyterian Church, the most influential religious body in Mizoram. From the outset, they had been advising the Mizo people not to do anything that would disturb the electoral process.<sup>49</sup> Thus, in a Christian dominant state of Mizoram, politicians used or followed Christian ideology to woo the voters.

Recently, Mizoram had witnessed the emergences of different political parties with different ideological base, counter against each other. However, it is not ideology, party, etc., that dominate the electoral scene of the state. In other word, Electoral politics in Mizoram does not revolve around the line of party politics but rather from the perspective of church, YMA, as well as the personality of the candidates. The personality of the person as well as the support of church and YMA is more crucial rather than party or ideology. Indeed, the backing of church and YMA is the central issue that woos the votes of the people and decides the success of candidates.

Indeed, Mizoram is administer by unholy alliance of State, YMA and Church, the YMA and the Church have had established patterns of relationship with the state of elites, the incorporation of social elites has demonstrate that beyond state organization, it is social organization that have fostered to help enhance the legitimacy as well as the social and state organizations capabilities. In other words the cordial relationship of state-society or state-society bonding in Mizoram has mutually reinforced both the sate-society capacity. Infact the high profile elites of YMA is a middle-level civil servant of state government. Similarly, the administrative head of the department tasked with essential supplies is also the head of local branch of the YMA besides being a senior member of the Church. Infact, a majority of the YMA's key officer bearers are government employees. Most of them also happen to be senior Church members. Since the churches and the YMA

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> See Jyoti Lal Chowdary, "Role of Church in Mizoram Polls," http://www.Hinduunity.org, 26 February, 2006.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> See.Kalvan Chaudhuri, "Congress (1) Rout in Mizoram." Frontline, Vol.15, No.25, Dec 1998.

between them make up the core of civil society in Mizoram, this bonding also helps in pre-empt state-society conflict. 50

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Interview. Thangminglian, a JNU Research Scholar, (J NU, 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2006)

#### CHAPTER-III

## **Church and Social Development**

### III.1 Concept of Social Development;

Until recently, economic development was thought to be social development. However, various scholars and thinkers have come out with new thoughts and definitions of social development, which led to the construction of alternative measures of economic and social development to supplement statistics on growth rates and levels of per capita income of countries, to name some, Denis Goulet. Amartya Sen, Subramanian, D. Seers, J.F. John, R.S. Pandey, Long, P.C, Jain, P.C, Siklikar, G. Myrdal, Midley, Hardiman, V. Bhave, etc., are few among others who are of the opinion that social development is more than a matter of economic growth. They argue that economic growth of countries refers to the increase of output of goods and service that a country produces over an accounting period. Economic growth, however, is not the same as economic development. The process of economic (and social) must imply a growth in living standards, but it is a much wider than the growth of per capita income alone. Growth, it might be said, is necessary condition for the economic and social development of nations, but it is not a sufficient condition because an aggregate measure of growth or per capita income pay no attention to how that output is distributed amongst the population; it says nothing about the composition of output whether goods are consumption goods, investment goods, or public goods such as (education and health provision). and it give no indication of physical, social and economic environment in which the output is produced. In short the growth rate of nations cannot be taken as measures of the increase in the welfare of the societies because the well being of the people is much more inclusive concept than the level of income alone.

They opines that economic growth is calculated in term of gross national product (GNP) and per capita income, where as social aspect of development tend to be neglected. Moreover, economic growth sometimes may even hamper social

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Thirlwall, A. P., "Development as economic growth," Desai, Vandana and Potter. Robert. B., ed., *The Companion to Development Studies*, Published by Arnold, a member of Hodder Headline Group, Great Britain. 2002, p.42

development, if at the same time poverty, inequality and unemployment do not decrease. Broadly, development can be defined as the realization of the potential of human personality which can be best achieved through reducing poverty, unemployment and inequality and at the same time about even more social justice and liberty.<sup>2</sup> In fact, there is a difference between economic growth and economic development, notwithstanding the fact that economic development is a part of social development in general. By self reliant development, it should mean a set of goals and value emphasizing the quality of life.<sup>3</sup> In short, development should place an emphasis on erasing of poverty and inequality and at the same time bring about social justice and freedom.

The term social development here encompasses a broad concept laying a great emphasis on the rising quality of social system, social justice, social cohesion, improving quality of life by creating more employment opportunities, etc. In other words, social development aims at solving human problems like ill health, poverty, illiteracy, traditional beliefs and ideas, conditional or unequal availability of economic resources, effectively checking atrocities, exploitation, violence etc., and to promote basic needs related to infrastructure, communication, education, marketing of products, equal opportunities, along with realizing the dream of modernization in favour of national development.

The term social development was separated from economic development in 1950s by the United Nations in its report on world social situation, giving an impression that the human factors like cultural dimension, value, social security, social justice, social welfare, social services, social policy, social work, political orientation, environmental issues, etc., were neglected since time immemorial in the framework of economic development. The concept of social development is broader and wider than economic development. Sociologists considered inclusion of needs of social value in the process of development. They emphasized that social development is more than economic development and stressed the necessity to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Seers, D, "The New Meaning of Development," <u>International Journal of Development Review.</u>
Vol.19, No-3. 1977, pp. 5-7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Jain, P.C, "Sociologist Theories of Development: A Critique in Third World context," <u>Man and Development</u>, Vol.X111, No.4. December, 1991, p. 12

ensure development in all fields related to societal development.<sup>4</sup>

Keeping in mind the broadness of social development the term social development includes all developmental activities, which related directly or indirectly to human society. Many scholars have defined it in terms of existing problems and situations of their own country. The framework of definition given by the United Nations is to fulfill the great capacity of social system, social structure, institutions, services and policy to utilize the resources to generate favorable changes in the level of living interpreted in a broad sense of as related to accepted social values and better distribution of income, wealth and opportunities.

In simple terms, it can be said that social development is essentially one of the vital dimensions of life, quality of social system, social cohesion, social justice is declining in fertility and morality, equal employment opportunities, overall improvement in the status of women, free education to all up to the age of fourteen and a widened spread of education, protection of vulnerable groups of society, improvement in quality of life of citizens, etc.

In India, the thinking of social development is as old as that of the United Nations. Social thinkers such as Mahatma Gandhi insisted that social development could be brought about through one's individual effort to make national programmes oriented towards change. At individual level, Gandhi's dream to change society by changing individual was based on love and non-violence. Similarly, Jayaprakash Narayan believed that social development could be achieved through solving human problems like poverty. war and inequality, by transformation of social policies according to the need of society. Vinoba Bhave also used social development as a synonym of Sarvodaya, which means welfare of everybody in the society. In brief, social development can be described as the process of development in vertical direction, which includes provision of peace, harmony and quality of life through fulfilling relevant needs and aspiration of society in adequate measure and at appropriate time and situation. Similarly, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Correa Lawrence, <u>Adult Education For Social Development</u>. With Special Reference to Andhra Pradesh. Himalaya Publishing House. 1995.p. 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> See, Sikligar P C, "Social Development: A Profile," *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, Vol. XLIV, April-June, 1998, pp.176-178.

role of the church in promoting education, heath care, etc., helps in building efficiency of human resources which are the most important factors for social development.

Despite difficulties in the task of social development, keeping in view the numerous conceptual and ideological problems connected with it, the captioned above thinkers and authors agrees that social development consists of social, economic, political and cultural development. It refers to the process of planned institutional change to bring a better fit between human needs and aspiration on the one hand and social policies and programmes on the other. The beneficiaries of social development should be the disadvantaged, dominated and exploited groups of the society. Thus, it can be seen from the above definitions that social development takes care of both the material and non-material needs.

Recently, the Brundtland Commission has added the dimension of sustainability to the concept of development. It conceives sustainable development as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. In short; social development is a broad concept, which embraces the development of society as a whole from the economic, political, social and cultural point of view. It not only aims at economic growth but also social equity. Social development has to be sustainable. It should not disturb the ecological balance especially with regard to natural resources and environment, lest it impair the quality of life of the people today and make the life of future generation impossible. Peoples participation both in planning and decision-making is an important prerequisite for effective development. It should do so at all levels of society, and in all aspects of their welfare. Therefore, to attain a proper social development, there is a need to evolve a proper education policy that will educate and empower the poor and illiterate to take part in the process of social transformation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Jones. J F and Pandey, R. S, ed., *Social Development, Conceptual, Methodological and Issues*, Macmillan India Ltd. Delhi, 1981, p.78.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Redcliff, Micheal. "Sustainable development," <u>The Companion of Development Studies</u>, op. cit., p.275.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Hardiman, M and Midgley J, *The Social Dimension of Development*, John Wilney, New York, 1982. pp.86-87

The ultimate aim of social development should be to bring about structural transformation. It is structural transformation, which permits effective development and not vice-versa. Thus, education in general and adult education in particular has a role to play in the process of attaining social development. As education is a factor that is supposed to help the targeted groups towards rectifying the unjust social structure and promotes an egalitarian society, further fulfilling the basic needs of the society, reform for equal power and distribution.

Finally, one can say, social development, which includes social, economic, political and cultural aspects, is a process involving structural change, aiming at social justice for and among all people and fulfillment of the basic need of the marginalized without disturbing the ecological balances with people participation in planning and decision making at all levels of the society.

# III.2 Church and Social Development in Mizoram (with special emphasis to education and health services):

Keeping in mind the various concepts and goals of social development, the Church and its various organizational activities in Mizoram can be identified and categorized as agents of social development. The church in Mizoram through its various programmes and projects has been playing an important role in structural transformation and emancipation of Mizo society.

Churches and missions, from their inception, in Mizoram had been the most important institution promoting social development, especially in the field of education and health service. Christianity and education had spread simultaneously; the increased numbers of Christian community has led to the increased number of churches, which therefore, had led to the increasing number of educational institutions. The presence of educational institutions all over the geographical areas has been mainly due to activeness and the strong adherence of churches in promoting education. Until the independence of India, churches in Mizoram have laid the basis for the spread of education.<sup>10</sup>

Prior to the advent of colonialism and Christian missionaries, formal modern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Myrdal G, Asian Drama, An Inquiry into Poverty of Nations, Pantheon, New York 1968, p.67

<sup>10</sup> Ray, Animesh, Mizoram Dynamic of Change, op. cit., p.57

education was unknown to the Mizos.<sup>11</sup> Village was a single unit for all the purposes; religious, agriculture or festive. Things gradually became to change with the advent of colonialism and Christianity. The Christian missionaries, knowing the colonial policy of indifference towards social services, took the burden of promoting social services among the Mizos. Besides, promoting social services seem to be the most important instrument in achieving the missionary's interest.<sup>12</sup>

During the colonial period, the pioneer missionaries laid the foundation of educational institutions in the Lushai Hills. The primary object of the missionaries was to convert the people to Christianity. Side by side, it was also necessary to provide the convert with intelligent leadership, which demanded Christian education under the auspices of the missionaries. The Missionaries were able to meet the masses and spread the Gospel through primary schools in the villages. They believed that they could evangelize them only through education. They established schools to educate the illiterates and the orthodox sections. They believed that the study of Western science and literature through English would inevitably weaken the people's faith in traditional beliefs. Thus, education served both the purposes of immediate evangelism and a longer-term objective of building indigenous Christian community. Rev. W. S. Stanton of the American Baptist Telegu Mission pointed out; "the real purpose of educational missionaries work is not merely to educate, nor merely to remove obstacles and break down barrier but to win pupils to Christ."

Side by side with the increased numbers of conversion, there was the dominant need for training the young Christians in a Christian atmosphere. "Education was to be the Praeparatio Evangelica, a leaven in the midst of this non Christian land and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Goswani, D. H. *University Administration in North East India*, Venus Printing Work, Calcutta, 1982, p. 38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ansari, S. A. *Manipur Tribal Demography and Socio-economic Development*. Daya Publishing House Ltd, Delhi.1991. p. 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> see, M L C Conference Paper: "Developing a Christian Acenadic Community: Opportunities and Challenges in India," in Communal paper prepared by the Indian delegation to the Manila Leadership Conference of IAPCHE held in the Philippines in October, 2002. www.iapche.org.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Down F S. Essays on Christianity in North East India, op.cit., p.200

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Pathak, Suchil Mafhav, <u>American Missionaries and Hinduism</u>, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1967, p. 142

an instrument for bringing the kingdom of God to this nation. Educational activities by the Christian missionaries gave easy access to the people to preach them. It was easier to influence the mind of the young through education. Moreover, the schoolhouses served as centers for social intercourse and religious worship. It was also necessary to educate the illiterate converts so that they could read the Bible, a qualification that was essential for all Christians. For the same reason they were compelled to introduce printing press to print scripture and other Christian literature in the local language. The missionaries believed that by promoting Christian education, the agnostic and materialistic tendencies could be checked. Further, the Gospel also inspired the missionaries in their efforts. They believed that education was the only means for Christianizing the social order. They also believed in the democratic ideal of education.

The missionaries tried to promote ideas of liberalism, democracy, and freedom for women in educational institutions. With these aims in view, the Christian missionaries took up the work of educating the Mizos while the Colonial Government remained indifferent. As Herbert Kane has remarked, "Education has always been an integral part of the missionary movement<sup>16</sup>."

The role of Christians in the field of primary, secondary and higher education in India has been great and the contribution of the Christian communities to the literacy drive in the country has received much appreciation. While the average literacy of the country remained at 52%, the states with significant Christian presence have much higher rates. Kerala with 21% and Goa with 29% Christians are the only states that achieved cent percent literacy. Mizoram, a predominantly Christian state, occupied next rank in literacy rate. The Christian community in India has not only educated a large population, but has also inspired the other communities to run schools and colleges following the patterns of Christian institutions.

History of Christian higher education in India is a story fraught with struggles, challenges, and oppositions and swimming against currents. However, all along the Christian School and College in India has been an expression to the love of Christ in the field of higher education. Today, there are about 300 Christian institutions of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Kane, J Herbert, *Understanding Christian Missions*. Book House, Baker, 1974, p.318.

higher learning including many engineering colleges, para medical colleges, medical colleges and also a deemed university.<sup>17</sup>

### III.3 Brief history of church and education in Mizoram:

The missionaries learned from their predecessor's experience that mere religious preaching would not bear much fruit nor could it take deep root in the mind of the people, unless they educate these ignorant and primitive people, who could not understand or appreciate the facts, evidences and doctrines of the Scripture. This factor would always stand as an obstacle to win them over to Christ.

The Mizos in some of their folk tales had claimed having a script, which was written in the form of scroll or parchment, but lost in their endless wandering. According to a legend, a dog, due to their negligence and carelessness, devoured it. Thus, they were deprived of the records of their past history. Before the advent of Missionaries, they had therefore no script. All information passed on orally from father to son, mother to daughter, from older generations to younger generations.

The Mizos who had a tradition of living in a isolated close knit society, never came within the pale of Hindu civilization, and as such the Hindu or Muslim system of education was unknown to them. Until the initiative of the missions, the Mizos remained educationally backward for long. The Charter Act of 1813, which gave the English East India Company the responsibility of educating the Indians and Wood's Despatch of 1854 for educational improvement, did not have any meaning to the Mizos. The famous Education Commission 1882 under its President, Sir W.W Hunter, does not concern the Mizo tribes. <sup>19</sup>

With the coming of Christianity into this region, the social life of the people changed drastically. Education that was the responsible of the British colonial government came with the Gospel. Wherever a Church was established, a school was also established. The high literacy rate is the result of the hard and sacrificial works of the state and churches in this once forgotten world.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> M L C Conferece, op.cit., www.iapche.org.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Zawla K, *Mizo Pipute leh An Thlahte Chanchin*. (Mizo),5<sup>th</sup> ed. Revised and Enlarged, The Gosen Press Aizawl. 1989, p. 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Hluna, V.L. *Christian Missionaries and Education in Mizoram*, Spectrum Publications, Guwahati. 1992, p.51.

It was, for the first time, with the coming of Christian missionaries to Mizoram that the Mizos were exposed to western education. The pioneer Christian missionaries, F W Savidge and J H Lorrian, soon after they settled down at Aizawl. set about learning the language in real earnest and they began to speak fluently. The pioneer missionaries from their methods of work and dedication immensely impressed the Mizos, and changed the negative attitude of Mizos they used to had towards the westerners. However their social services and dedication to the welfare of the Mizos transformed the negative attitude of the Mizos towards the missionaries. Thus, a cordial friendly relationship developed among the Mizos and the missionaries. Since, there was no alphabet and literature in the Mizo language, the missionaries took the initiative of reducing the Mizo language into writing. For this purpose they chose the simple Roman script with a phonetic form of spelling based on the well known Hunterian system of transliteration. Thus, the first Mizo alphabet, with a slight modification of Roman alphabet was developed for the Mizos.<sup>20</sup> The missionaries not only reduced the Mizo language to written language, but also published pamphlets and newspapers in local language to propagate the Gospel. They set up schools and hospitals. Because of these efforts, Christianity spread rapidly among the Mizos.

During these early periods, there was hardly any difference between School and Church. Schools were used as Churches, therefore going to school also meant attending church and vice versa.<sup>21</sup> These developments brought the tribal unit out of seclusion and isolation. The Christian missionary approach, primarily through education and health care, had been the major factor behind the successes of Christianity in Northeast India.

Hminga, a Mizo scholar argued that the introduction of Mizo language into written language by the pioneer missionaries was the right move at the right time. Initially, the British Government, for its own convenience, intended to impose the Bengali language on the Mizos as a Court language.<sup>22</sup> The introduction of new Mizo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Lorrian, J.H. <u>Dictionary of Lushai Language</u>. Asiatic Society. Reprint, Calcutta.1975, p.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Saiaithanga, *Mizo Kohran Chanchin* (Mizo), (History of Mizo Church), Printed at Synod Press, Aizawl,1993, p.34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Hminga, C. L. *The Life and Witness of the Churches in Mizoram*, Serkawn: Literature Committee, Baptist Church of Mizoram, 1987, p. 47.

written language had therefore prevented Bengali language from becoming the medium of instruction for the Mizos.

Two different agencies had been present for imparting education among the Mizo people, the British Government and Christian Missions. The Colonial Government that had been responsible for imparting education among the Mizo people was more concerned with the maintenance of law and order in the territory. While that of the latter was to work for proselytisation of the local population to Christian faith. As the administration did not pay much attention to education, the Christian missionaries by considering education as a substantial factor for proselytisation took up the task of education. Thus in Mizoram, the early phase of education was entirely left in the hands of Christian missionaries.

The pioneer missionaries, Lorrian and Savidge, started the first school for the Mizos in April 2, 1894. The school ran successfully for some time, but closed down after their departure. On their departure, D. E. Jones, a Welsh missionary began his work by gathering a few children and young men together, and taught them how to read and write. In 1898, Jones reopened the school started by Lorrian and Savidge. The attendance, mostly Mizo boys, though very irregular in the beginning, gradually increased to above 30 in numbers and become more regular. About 60 had attended at different times of the year. The Mizos showed a remarkable eagerness for education from the beginning. By 1899 when there was only five baptized Mizo Christians in the state, the Sunday school already registered 46 pupils and the Dav (elementary) school was 56.23 The numbers are larger and better in the financed government elementary schools. Gradually, by 1900, Edward Rowlands, a gifted musician and experienced teacher who taught for some time at Texas in the United States took over the school from D. E. Jones. Earlier in 1899, he organized two temporary schools, one at Chhingchhip village and other at Thompawnga village. However, the paucity of missionaries-services led the missionaries to encourage the indigenous Mizo pupils to run schools on their own. In 1901, the first batch of Mizos were appointed on trial basis and sent out to conduct elementary schools for a period of three months. This led to the increase of experimental schools in Mizoram.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Llyod, J Meirion., <u>History of Church in Mizoram</u> (Harvest in the Hills) Gospel Centenary Series No. 1. Synod Publication Board. Aizawl .1991, p. 67

Therefore, when the missionaries saw the fruits of temporary schools they adopted a new policy and converted the temporary schools to regular schools. In this connection, the government also expressed its opinion in opening five schools in Mizoram. Moreover the Chief Commissioner of Assam further instructed the Directorate of Public Instruction (DPI) to utilize the service of missionaries in this matter as far as possible, especially regarding the inspection and management of the schools. Conscious of the government's policy, the missionaries opened the first regular school at Kandaih (now Phullen) in January 1903 followed by opening eight schools in the same year. By the end of 1903, the Honorary Inspector of the schools, Edwin Rowlands reported that there were fifteen lower primary schools at the District. The numbers of Mizos on the roll reached well over 400. The attendance fluctuated considerably.

The colonial government from the beginning remained indifference towards the education of the Mizos. In a dispatch, A Porteous, the Political Officer of Northern Mizoram wrote, "I desire to point out that, although it is now seven years since Aijal (now Aizawl) was occupied, nothing whatever has, yet been done by the Government in the way of commencing to educate the Lushai."

The first formal government school was started at Aizawl in November 1893. However, it was meant only for the children of Sepoys. The school was not available for the Mizos. The average attendance of the children was 15 and was non-Mizos. Besides, the medium of instruction was Hindi.<sup>24</sup>

It was in 1896, for the first time, A Porteuos, the then Political Officer, submitted a proposal to the Chief Commissioner of Assam for sanctioning a grant for the establishment of one school for the benefit of the Mizos. The proposal was approved under the Head "22-Education in the North Lushai Hills Budget for 1896-97". Accordingly, a government school for the Mizo boys was established on 21 August 1897.

The colonial government began to pay attention to the education from early 20th century. The Government of Assam also considered implementing the famous

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Hluna, V. L. op. cit., pp. 55-57

Woods Despatch of 1854 regarding the extension of primary Education through the direct instrumentality of the State and the system of grants-in-aid in various hills districts. However, this could not be carried out due to the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.

Commission on Education in India headed By William Hunter "to enquire into the manner in which effect was given to the principles of Despatch of 1854, and to suggest such manner as it might think desirable in order to carry out the policy already laid down". The Commission recommended private efforts or local enterprises of educational institutions, for the government's financial situation had already been strained due to Second Afghan War and Third Burmese War. It also recommended an indigenous school for mass education. In view of this recommendation and seeing the high quality of mission schools in Mizoram, the missions in Mizoram were given almost free hand in the educational management of the Mizo Hills after 22 years of the Hunter Commission.

By the early twentieth century, the colonial government took initiatives to promote education within the remote areas and the government began to encourage education by providing grants- in- aid, scholarships to the mission schools. When Lord Curzon (1899-1905) became the Viceroy of India, he clearly saw the urgency of spreading education among the masses on an extensive scale. However the policy of colonial government towards the promotion of education on the hills areas was unique. The colonial government instead of taking up the responsibility of education promoted education through grants-in-aid to the mission schools. The government officers therefore always stood by the missionaries in their effort to grant benefit to the people. Major Shakespear, the former Superintendent, had already pointed out that a time might come when the government would like to hand over the education of the Mizos entirely to the missions.

The Chief Commissioner, Sir J B Fuller, having seen the success of missions' schools with government grant- in- aid in Khasi and Jaintia Hills, where education had been completely in the hands of Christian missions since 1863, proposed a similar plan for the Mizo hills and instructed the Superintendent to submit proposals for handing over the education of the Lushai Hills to the missionaries.

In compliance with the Chief Commissioner order, the Superintendent, in

consultation with the Welsh missionaries at Aizawl, proposed the transfer of the Government schools to the Mission. The proposal was thus approved, and from 1 April 1904, the Government schools and the teaching staff were transferred to the Mission and put under the supervision of Rev Edwin Rowlands, the Honorary Inspector of Schools.

In Mizoram, as the whole management of education was taken over by the Mission with government grants since 1904-05, both primary and secondary education were under their care and exercised a measure of independence in appointing the staff, fixing the rates of pay, deciding location of schools, etc. no separate local board had ever been made.<sup>25</sup>

As the result of both Government and Mission patronage in education, the number of primary schools increased in the early twentieth century. In 1907, the Upper Primary Schools of Aizawl were upgraded to Middle School. In 1913, the Educational Officials' Conference of 1913, passed a resolution with regard to Middle Schools, the Conference recommended that;<sup>26</sup>

- 1. Middle schools should become the direct responsibility of department.
- 2. No new Middle schools be recognized unless it was well founded in every respect on the standards of the Middle English sections of the recognized High schools.
- 3. Existing Middle English Schools should continue to be recognized as such, but inferior ones should be reverted in to Middle Vernacular Schools to be controlled by the Board.
- 4. Middle English Schools should ordinarily confine themselves to English teaching classes, namely IV to VI, to which free vernacular instruction in primary levels might be attached.

Besides the Aizawl Middle School, the second Middle School was sanctioned by the Assam Government as per the resolution of Educational Conference of 1913, the Assam Government sanctioned one Middle school for the Mizos. The first middle school, Serkawn Middle School was started in 1914. Till 1944 only two Middle Schools, one at Aizawl for the whole of North Mizoram under the Welsh

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Hluna, V. L, op.cit., pp.76-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Lalkunga, C, *History of Mizo Education*, Hnamte Press, Aizawl, 1979, p.12.

Presbyterian Missions, and the another at Serkawn for the South Mizoram under the Baptist Mission of United Kingdom were there to provide Secondary education to the 1,52,786 Mizo population and 22 primary schools with nearly 800 pupils. However, this Resolution of 1913 was not effective in Mizoram as the Middle schools in Mizoram were not taken up by the Education Department of Assam.<sup>27</sup>

Education system in the hands of missions also faced a grave problem. It had also a negative impact upon the Mizos. To carry out a satisfactory system of secular education, the missions with their evangelical spirit was an almost unattainable ideal. The subjects of primary schools mostly included, Dictation, Zirtirbu (Lushai Reader), Geography of India and Assam, and Simple Arithmetic. In addition to the above captioned subject the curriculum too included Singing, Drawing, Recitation, Games, Nature study, Scripture, Story telling, Clay modeling and Health teaching were also included in Kindergarten course.

In Middle Schools, the books and subject included- An outline of World History Book-III, The Legends of Old Lushai (in English), Arithmetic, English Grammar, and Geography.<sup>28</sup> In addition to these subjects, the Middle English School curriculum too included Vernacular, English, Scripture, physical training, Music, Drawing, Nature Study and craft in basket making in the case of boys and sewing and knitting in the case of girls. In fact, teaching of Christian doctrines and some portion of the Bible were compulsory in the missions' schools, as the propagation of Christian doctrines was the main and the final aims of the Christian missionaries. In the Middle English Schools syllabus of 1916, out of ten papers, one was on Scriptures and this carried 75 marks out of the total 500 mark in the examination.

Rochunga Pudaite, a careful observer of Mission educational activities in Mizoram, summed up the aim of education under the early Christian missionaries thus:<sup>29</sup>

During the colonial period, Education aimed strictly at religious instruction. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Hluna, V.L. pp.94-97

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Lalhmuaka, <u>Zoram Zirna Chhinchiahna</u>, (Mizo) (History of Mizo Education), Tribal Research Institute, Aizawl., 1981, pp.31-93.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Pudaite, Rochunga, Education among the Hmars, Sielmat, Manipur, 1963, p.72

people were taught the three R's in preparation for Bible reading and understanding of writing and simple Arithmetic for their religious exercise... With their conversion to Christianity, primary emphasis was placed upon their ability to read the Bible. Thus, education was mainly meant to impart religious doctrine rather than secular education.

Thus the curriculum in educational institutions under the Mission was oriented on Christian lines and the students were taught and instructed in such a way that they would become good Christians as well as the future leaders of the church.

Until 1944, most of the Mizos could not pursue Higher Education due to absence of High school in Lushai Hills. The door to higher education was completely closed. They have to go outside of the Lushai Hills to pursue higher education. Since, 1926 there had been a demand for High schools in Lushai Hills.<sup>30</sup> Although the Mission intended to start one in 1929, the colonial government did not grant the permit to do so. According to N. E. Perry, the Superintendent of Lushai Hills (1924-28), education advancement in the District was very slow. It was "purely superficial and underneath, they remained savage at heart with the virtue and also the vices of savages. They are unstable and ready to follow any new things and have no understanding of abstract political ideas.<sup>31</sup>

In April 1931, Lushai chiefs made a demand to the Commissioner of Surma Valley and Hills Districts to open a High School at Aizawl. Nevertheless, the Commissioner, Mr Hezlett and Mr G A Small, the DPI of Assam, opined that the opening of High School would undoubtedly produce more educated Mizos up to Matriculate standard than the numbers of jobs in the district. Thus, the Government felt that it was undesirable to establish a High School in Lushai Hills on the ground that higher education might create an atmosphere that could threaten the colonial administration. The DPI further said that for the average boys of the Hills, the Middle English Standard was quite adequate.<sup>32</sup> There was a fear within the government that Higher Education might create unwelcome atmosphere among the Mizos. Therefore, there was a limited system of education for the Mizos.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Hluna, V. L, op. cit., p.142.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> ibid., p.141

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Hluna, V.L, op.cit., p.141.

However, after the Second World War, the new Superintendent of Lushai Hills, Mr. A, Macdonald, acknowledged and seemed to be very pleased with the service of the Mizos during the war and took a keen interest for the welfare of the Mizos. He himself initiated the opening of High School. Immediately, with the help of missionaries, chiefs and public, the first High School, called the Mizo High School was started in February, 1944, at Aizawl. It was placed under the management and control of the Mission in Aizawl. The Mizo High School became the Centre for higher education in Mizoram until 1947.

However, things changed after the independence. Due to political reasons, no new missionaries were allowed to come to Northeast India. With the departure of foreign missionaries, the church administration has come to the hands of the Mizo church leaders. Under the changed condition, by mid 1950s, all the Mission schools came under the direct control and management of the church<sup>34</sup>. The church management and associate activities of the church fell on their shoulders. The Mizos set up associations for the management of church and associated activities. Besides religious services, the churches in Mizoram also established schools, handicraft industries, dispensaries, orphanages, training centers, women society, etc., It has played an important role in making the state the second largest literate state in India.

In spite of initial setback in 1929-30, the progress made by the Mizos during the period was very satisfactory, and this was chiefly due to the patronage of Mission and Churches. The Census Report of 1931 shows that the percentage of literacy among the Mizos reached as high as 12.66. This figure increased to 17.04 in 1941. However the cost incurred by the Government on education of Mizos had never exceeded sixteen paisa per head of the population per year within the forty years of British Administration<sup>35</sup>.

In post independence period, education development in Mizoram underwent changes. Mizoram become one of the Districts of Assam and the Mizo District Council was formed on 25 April 1952. As the number of schools increased, the post of Deputy Inspector of Schools was created in 1952. For this purpose the post of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Lalhmuaka, op. cit., p. 26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Saiaithanga, op. cit, p.109.

Deputy Inspector of Schools for the Mizo Hills was created and at the same year the first incumbent Mr Chungnunga, BA, B.T, joined the duty on May 1952. Besides exercising academic control over the institutions, the Deputy Inspector of Schools was directly responsible for the supervision and control of primary and middle schools.

There was a rapid increase in the number of Primary, Middle and High Schools after independence. The Mizo being religious as well as linguistic minority, the Constitution of India through various provisions of Articles such as 29, 30, 341,342, 350, etc., has given the rights to establish, preserve, and administer educational institution of their choice. Particularly, Article 29 and 30, and its various clause of the Articles, such as Articles 29(1), 30(1), 30(1A), 30(2), etc., of the constitution enable the minority to maintain its language or script, the present clause enable them to run their own educational institutions, so that the state cannot compel them to attend any other institutions, not to their liking. Article 30 of the constitution has given the right to all minorities, whether based on religion or language the fundamental right to establish, maintain and administer educational institution of their choice. And, the state shall not, in granting aid to educational institutions, discriminate against any education institution on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on religion or language.<sup>36</sup> Just before Mizoram became a Union Territory, there were 80 high Schools, 190 Middle Schools, and 390 Primary Schools in Mizoram. Of these, 3 High Schools and 41 Middle Schools were Government Schools. There were also three colleges in the District<sup>37</sup>.

Indeed this has been a great progress towards higher education- secondary and collegiate education has been available in the District and is within the easy reach of the poor. Moreover, the state government grant in aids to various schools and colleges, as well state liberally granted scholarships for Scheduled tribes to all the tribal students going to colleges, has tremendously encouraged further studies. As a result, the numbers of collegiate students rapidly increased. There are also a suitable number of University students and graduates.

35 McCall, A G, *Lushia Chrysalis*, op. cit., p.205

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Basu, Durga Das, <u>Introduction to the Constitution of India</u>, 17<sup>th</sup> ed, Published by Prentice-Hall of India Private Limited, New Delhi, 1995, pp. 377-381.

Real progress and expansion in the field of education was achieved only after Mizoram attained the status of Union Territory and an entirely new change emerged in the educational scenario. Immediately after Mizoram became a Union Territory, the much-needed Directorate of Education was established in 1972 with one Director of Education, one Joint Directors of Education and three Deputy Directors of Education. For the Implementation of Schemes of different wings, a numbers of state level officers were appointed. They are (1) State Social Welfare Officer for social welfare works (this has now been separated from Education, and is established as a full-fledged Directorate). (2) Science Promotion Officer for promotion of the study of science; (3) Senior Research Officer for Tribal Research works; (4) Special Officer, Scouts, and Guides activities, now a separate Directorate of Sport and Youth Welfare has also been created; (5) Joint Director of Adult Education and (6) Curator of State Museum, etc.,

Another remarkable change with the Education System was that the District Council Act was revoked on the 29th April 1972, as well as the establishment of Mizoram Board of School Education (MBSE) in 1976. As a result, all the Primary Schools under the District Council were taken over by the Education Directorate.<sup>38</sup> Simultaneously; all the teachers of Primary Schools were entitled to the same scale of pay and allowances as admissible to the Government Primary School teacher. With the appointment of 200 additional teachers under the Fourth Five Year Plan, involving an expenditure of about three lakhs of Rupees, the pupil teacher ratio has been improved from 41:1 to 38:1.

The Church-related schools existing and operating in Mizoram today are the inheritors, preservers and developers of a great historic tradition of learning. Meanwhile, Mizoram launched a significant student enrolment drive, with the help of the church, several years ago. Education became a key indicator of the local people's aspirations once the separatist movement in the state petered out in the late 1980s.<sup>39</sup>

In 1987, there were as many as 813 Government Primary Schools. The Social

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Hluna, V. L, op. cit., p. 228

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> see, State Government Intervention, http://www.indianngos.com.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> see, The Indian Express, June 20, 2004

Welfare Wing of the Department of Education was also made a separate Directorate in 1984 and the Sport and Youth Services Wing in 1986.

As stated above, Mizoram had all long been very backward in Science and Technical education, and a big stride has been taken in this respect. The Science Promotion Wing has, with the collaboration of UNICEF and NCERT (National Council of Educational Research and Training), translated books and adapted a number of NCERT books for Primary and Middle Schools. These textbooks have been introduced in Mizoram Schools. Teachers of Primary, Middle and High Schools have been trained for more effective teaching with Science Kits which have been supplied to these schools.

With the rapid expansion of education, a need was felt for trifurcating the Department so that the different wings could function properly. Three separate Directorates were established in 1989, they are as follow, Directorate of School Education, Directorate of Higher and Technical Education, Directorate of Art and Culture.<sup>40</sup>

Table: 1 Comparative study on growth of literacy rate and growth of Christianity in Mizoram.<sup>41</sup>

Years of	No of	No of	No of	Percentage
census	Population	Christians	Literates	of Literates
1901	82,434	45	761	0.92
1911	91,204	2,461	3,635	3.98
1921	98,406	27,720	6,183	6.28
1931	124,404	59,123	13,320	10.70
1941	152,786	98,108	29,765	19.78
1951	196,202	157,575	61,093	31.14
1961	266,063	230,516	117,097	44.01
1971	332,390	286,121	178,720	53.76
1981	493,757	413,817	343,951	74.26
1991	689,756	591,327	567,462	82.27
2001	888,573	772,809*	661,445	88.49

Christianity and education had been closely interlinked from its inception in Mizo

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> see, State Government Intervention in <a href="http://www.indianngos.com">http://www.indianngos.com</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Census of India, 1901-2001

<sup>\*</sup>Census of India, 2001, The First Task Report on Religion Data, (Abstract), Register General and Census Commissioner, New Delhi, India

Hills. However, the above data clearly illustrates that the response of the people to education was comparatively higher than their response to Christianity. The main reason was perhaps the people were more conscious of the need of education.

The above data explicated that Christianity was not a causal factor of education. It was not Christianity, which was the responsible pull factor for education; rather it was mainly the process of modernization that influenced the desire of the people to get education. Besides this, education was seen as a criterion to get government jobs. In other words, the attitudes of Mizos have been governed by the idea of economic returns. The practical and utilitarian aspect of education seems to appeal to them more. They look at it as a means for getting more and different kinds of work, as a means for bettering their living conditions and as a means for a more secure future. This they wish to achieve in as short a time as possible, for they cannot wait for long. It is the vocational rather than academic aspects of education that appeal to them more.

Table-2. Schools and students in 1948.<sup>42</sup>

Districts	No of Primary	No of Middle	No of High	No of
	Schools	Schools	Schools	Students
Aizawl	136			12369
Lunglei	123			3668
Aizawl		11		1117
Lunglei		11		1007
Aizawl			1	284
Lungei			1	145

The study of table-II indicates that there had been rising awareness about the importance of education among the Mizos. However, the missions seem to have less concerned about higher education. The type of education prevalent during this time clearly shows that the authority placed more importance on elementary education without a balance proportion to secondary education and high school levels. Further, the above data also highlight that there was also a high drop rate of Mizo students in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> B. Poonte, *District Hand Book* (Mizo District Assam), Lock Printing Press, Aizawl, 1965. p.11

the schools, particularly at the secondary and high schools levels. It also appears that the rate of enrolment seems to have declined as the students reach the higher levels. This data has clearly illustrated that there have been a lack of interest, as well as lack of opportunity for higher education among the Mizos under the Mission as well as Church educational system.

Table-III: A Comparative study of education levels of Northeast India based on 1961 Census.<sup>43</sup>

	No of	Literacy	% of	Literacy	without	
Areas	School	of All	literacy	education	nal level	
	houses	groups	in age			
			group			
			of 5-9			
				Persons	Males	Females
Dargeeling	6	28.70	19.71	63.41	63.43	85.83
District(West						
Bengal)						
Garo Hills	14	19.96	22.55	88.37	85.82	93.35
United khasi	10	31.38	13.37	62.36	62.30	72.28
& Jaintia						ļ
Hills						
United Mikir	11	17.44	13.32	72.91	70.80	78.57
& North						
Cachar Hills						
Mizo Hills	14	44.01	51.43	83.42	97.54	89.35
NEFA	NA	43.98	32.52	57.77	57.09	64.38
Nagaland	13	17.91	13.25	87.88	85.88	92.42
Manipur	11	30.42	42.39	75.45	73.15	81.66

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Burman Roy, Census of 1961, <u>Demographic and Socio-economic Profiles of the Hills Areas of North- East India</u>, Ministry of Home Affair, New Delhi.

Triputra	7	20.24	6.3	58.87	58.33	60.53	

Primary/ Jui	nior Basic as	%	Matriculat	tes/ High se	condary	Technica	Technical diploma holders		
of literates of	of all Categor	ries	schools a	s % of liter	ates of all	Not equa	Not equal to degree as % of		
			categories	categories of the age group of			of all cat	egories	
			20 & above			of age gr	oup 20 &	k above	
Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	
37.15	40.14	28.49	13.03	14.10	10.07	0.49	0.61	0.17	
30.50	31.68	28.55	14.36	16.38	8.11				
8.36	28.28	28.49	24.36	26.21	20.70	1.21	1.82	0.01	
66.98	63.83	73.21	17.48	20.94	8.20	0.69	0.94		
37.43	42.32	30.68	8.22	10.36	4.36	0.03	0.04		
21.82	22.60	18.96	4.05	4.59	1.88	0.08	0.06	0.16	
30.44	31.41	28.20	10.35	10.56	9.20	0.25	0.20	0.49	
44.24	44.11	44.48	16.24	20.85	6.64	0.33	0.49	0.01	

Non technical diploma not equal to degree as % of literates of all categories of age group 20 &above			other than % of liter	degree/P ( technical d ates of all c oup 20 & ab	egree as	as % of	Engineering degree holders as % of literates of all categories aged 20 & above		
Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	
3.36	3.39	3.24	3.13	3.27	2.27	0.07	0.08	0.03	
0.03	<b></b> .	0.12	3.06	3.70	1.25	0.02	0.26		
0.01	0.02		9.36	11.71	4.78				
			6.26	7.41	3.35	0.27	0.41		
			1.76	2.25	0.55	0.02	0.03		
NA	NA	NA							
0.38	0.37		1.45	1.71	0.14	0.03	0.03		
3.38	4.43	1.07	3.60	3.99	1.72	0.17	0.20		
0.13	0.17	0.04	2.59	3.48	0.74	0.10	0.15		

Degree in m	edicine As	% of	Degree ho	lders in		Degree l	Degree holder in veterinary		
literates of A	All categor	ies	agriculture	e as % of lite	erates	and dain	and dairying as % of		
aged 20& above			of all cates	of all categories aged20 &			of all cate	gories	
				above			& above		
Persons	Males	females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	
0.21	0.26	0.08	0.02	0.02		0.01	0.01		
0.46	0.66		0.03	0.04					
0.22	0.03	0.04	0.02	0.03					
0.09	0.12		0.09	0.12					
0.11	0.15		0.02	0.03		0.04	0.06		
0.18	0.10								
0.11	0.12	0.03	0.02	0.02					
0.18	0.25	0.04	0.04	0.06					

Degree l	older in	- <del></del>	Degree hol	ders in tead	ching	Other tec	hnical dis	ciplines
technolo	gy as % o	f literates						
of all ca	of all categories aged 20 &							
above	above				•			
Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
0.00	0.00		0.33	0.27	0.49	0.04	0.18	0.05
				<u> </u>				
			0.20	0.22	0.12			
0.01	0.01		0.13	0.17	0.07	T		
				T				
0.04	0.06		0.02	0.26	0.09			
				T				
			0.22	0.23	0.19	0.01	0.01	

The study of a couple of Northeast states based on the above captioned table (i.e. Table-III) also reveals that the types of education and literacy were very backward compared to other mainland states. As far back as 1961, the Mizos among the Districts (now among the Northeast States) seem to have been the State with largest number of schools and highest literacy rate. However, further analysis of the data clearly implies that the state had been stagnant in spheres of quality and higher education, although the Mizos in 1961 had a high literacy rate and

highest schoolhouse among the Northeast states. These figures should be considered along with the figures relating to literates without educational level as percentage of literates of all categories, literacy rate of higher education, literacy rate in technical as well as non technical, etc. Where as the literates without educational level may be considered to be the liability to the society because in their case, on the one hand, the solid foundation of the past may be considered to have been shaken. On the other hand they are not equipped enough to meet the challenge of the new. They are likely to be more prone to frustration and bearers of floating discontent. In contrast to them, persons who have at least completed primary or junior basic course are better equipped for meeting the various needs of emerging society. With these assumptions, it can be seen that the forces of stability and progress have a better foundation in the United Mikir Hills and North Cachar Hills and Tripura.

In the sphere of higher secondary education, technical holders not equivalent to degree, non-technical diploma not equivalent to degree, university degree or post graduate degree other than technical degree as percentage of literates, engineering degree holder as percentage of literates, degree in medicine as percentage of literates, degree holders in agriculture, degree holders in veterinary and Dairying as percentage of literates of all categories aged 20 and above. The statement had shown on the point of attainment of higher education among the literates that the Mizos were one of the most backward tribes among the Northeast states.

Table –IV: Educational Institutions prior to attainment of Union Territory (that is 1971).<sup>44</sup>

Agencies	High schools	Middle schools	Primary schools	colleges
Government	03	41		03
Private	77	159	390	
Total	80	190	390	03

Table -V: Educational institution in 1981(Census Report 1981).<sup>45</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Hluna, V. L, op. cit., p. 228.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Directorate of Education, Aizawl, Mizoram.

Primary Schools	High Schools	Colleges	Teacher Training Institutes	Students enrolments
700	130	10	4	125000

Table-VI: Growth of recognize Educational Institutions in Mizoram.<sup>46</sup>

(1) years	(2) Board of Education	(3)University	(4) Arts Science Colleges including Research
			Institution
1976-77			6
1981-82	1		10
1999-00		1	26

Professio	Professional & Technical Colleges								
(5)Agriculture	(6)Commerce	(7)Law	(8)Medical	(9)Teacher	(10)Engineering	(11)Others	(12)Total		
Colleges	Colleges	Colleges	college	training	/technology		of all		
							colleges		
							(col 4-11)		
				4		3	13		
		1	*	3	1		15		
·		2	1			4	34		

Schools for g	eneral education		(16) school	(17)School	(18)others	Grant total of
(13)primary	(14)Secondary	(15)High/	for vocational	for special		others/general/technical
Schools	Schools	Higher	&professional	education		educational Institution
		Secondary	education			(col 4-18)
		Schools				
510	332		2		133	990
655	435		2			1,107
1145	656	289	1		100	2195
	·	L	<u> </u>	<del></del>	L	<u> </u>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Ministry of Human Resource Department, Dept of Education, Government of India, 1976, 1977, 1981,2000.

Table –VII: Educated persons registered in Employment Exchange Office as on April 1988.<sup>47</sup>

Degrees	Male	Female	total
M. A.	100	38	138
M. Sc.	8	1	9
M. Ed.	2		2
M.Sc.(Agri.)	4	1	5
M .B .A	4		4

Despite some progress in the educational system, the data, as well as some observers argue that although the general standard of knowledge was gradually going up from 1974 and while the Mizos have the second highest literacy rate in India and a passion for education, M Aggarwal, the then Chief Secretary in Mizoram remarked that it only ended with text books and Bible. What is notable is that an educational heritage from colonialism or missionaries is still part of middle class Mizo culture.

An interesting conclusion can be drawn about the actual education heritage from colonialism not only in Mizoram, but also in the hill areas. Report on Public Instruction in Assam for the year 1912-13 may be quoted.<sup>48</sup>

"While elementary education cannot be too freely encouraged in the hills, the greatest care is required in matter of secondary and collegiate education. It is most important that hills boys should not be betrayed into the course, which will educate them out of satisfaction with it such prospects as life in the hills affords or can be made to yield. We must have pioneer, but should not be eager for pioneering of discontent. Scholarships should be granted in ample numbers to allow the training of the boys of the hills tribes to fill the Government offices and serve the state in all departments in the hills.

The tribal students of the hill areas were given that much of education just to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Sources, Employment Office, Aizawl, Mizoram

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Chaube, S K, Hill Politics in Northeast India, op. cit., p. 43.

enable them to enter Government offices as clerical staff. This tradition of education involution led to a contemporary narrowness of the base of the schools and collegiate syllabus in the hill areas. Not much of an improvement has been made regarding this matter until Mizo district was upgraded to the status of Union Territory. In fact there had been stagnation in progress of education. S K Chaube has rightly pointed out that;<sup>49</sup>

"The hills people got only half-an-education. The subsidized Mission schools, throughout the British period, were almost entirely of Middle English standard. The primary objective of the missions was to collect good preachers. The teaching was biased towards religion and literature. The general standard of knowledge remained quite low. The hill students, even today are generally weak in mathematics, natural science and abstract philosophy.

Not only the Mizos, but also the average tribal students are well trained in literacy and verbal articulation and moral discipline, but they do not have solid ground in Mathematics and Science, which are the hallmark of modern outlook. On the part of Government, no serious attempt have been made to right the wrong till recently. This seems to be the basic common problem of education not only in Mizoram, but also in the hill areas of Northeast India.

Indeed, there has been a real progress in higher education after the state attained Union Territory status. There has been an increase of educational institutions in the state. Until today, there are 1225 Primary Schools, 777 Middle Schools; 408 High Schools; 30 Colleges; 2 Polytechnics; 2 Teachers Training Institutes; 1 University. There is a University of Veterinary Sciences run by the central government. There is also a Regional Institute for Nursing, Laboratory Technicians and Pharmacology owned by the North East Council (NEC). There are a few departmentally managed, diploma levels, vocational training institutes for information technology, mechanics, etc.

Literacy is 89.49 per cent as compared to all India's 52 per cent. While in literacy among the states of India Mizoram is placed second after Kerala, the drop out rate from Grades I - V in 1994-95 was 63 per cent. This clearly shows that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> ibid, pp. 44-45.

number of those who are able to go to High Schools is quite limited. For example, in Aizawl District, the number of enrolment in Primary Schools in 2001 was 33874, those who went on to High Schools were 18,389 and those who went to Higher Secondary Schools was 5705. This is largely in an urban area where the schools are relatively well equipped with teaching staff and instruments. The corresponding figures for Champhai District, mostly rural area, are Primary School, 14577, High School, 4947 and Higher Secondary School, 402.<sup>50</sup> (Figures for the whole State are not yet available).

# III. 4 Literacy and Unemployment trends in Mizoram

Table-VIII
Percentage of workers in difference categories in the Mizo Hills District, (Census of India, 1971)<sup>51</sup>

District	Percen	Percentage of workers in each categories to total work								
	1	II III IV V(a) V(b) VI VII VIII IX								
Mizo Hills	83.53	0.37	0.27	0.01	0.32	0.18	1.25	1.08	0.55	12.44

Table-IX
Main workers classified by Industrial category and sex, (Census of India, 1981-91)<sup>52</sup>

years	Total population		Total ma	Total main workers			Industrial category of mains workers		
	total	males	females	total Males females		Total	l males	Female	
1981	491575	257239	236518	206064	129608	76456	145545	79556	65989
1991	689756	3858976	330778	290317	178011	112306	178101	94878	83223

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Government of Mizoram, <u>Manuscript on Mizoram Economy and The Development of Mizoram in</u> the Last 4 Years (2003), issued by the Directorate of Information & Public Relation, Mizoram

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Census of India, 1971, Portrait of Population of Assam. Director of Census Operations, Assam

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Census of India, 1981, Series-I, India, Part (1B) and Census of 1991, Mizoram state District Profile, 1991, Registrar, General and Census Commissioner, India., and Census of India, 1991, Series-17. Part-IIIB, Economic Table, Directorate of Census Operations, Mizoram.

Industrial workers	category	of main	Industrial category of main workers					
	11			V(a)		<u> III,IV,</u>	V(b), & '	VI to IX
Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
5118	3465	1653	1758	959	799	53643	45628	8015
9527	6181	3346	2958	1997	961	99731	74955	24776

Industrial Catagories: 1 Cultivation, 11 Agriculture laborers, 111 Livestock, Forestry, Fishing, Hunting, Plantation, Orchids, and allied activities, IV Mining and Quarrying, V(a) Manufacturing, Processing, Servicing and Repairs in Household Industry, V(b) Manufacturing, Processing, Servicing in Industries and Repairs other than Household Industry, VI Construction, VII Trade and Commerce, VIII Transport, Storage, Communication, IX Other Services which do not fall in category mentioned above.

Table-X
State wise population and workers (1981 and 1991 census)<sup>53</sup>

		Non-Lake Street, and a State A. St. Said and Comment	escale (A. C.	e marail de la companie de la compa	g. ng prominent ng ng Palitable ng ng gan 1975 palatagari	taler understand für erfem mann sicher erfenden.	.,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	(Population in lacs)
N	ame of the State	Total population		Total workers		% worke tot popul	ers in al	% increase in workforce over 1981
		1981	1991	1981	1991	1981	1991	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Andhra Pradesh	535.50	665.08	245.06	299.64	45.76	45.05	22.27
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	6.32	8.65	3.32	4.00	52.53	46.24	20.48
3.	Assam	198.97	224.14	N.A.	80.89	N.A.	36.09	N.A.
4.	Bihar	699.15	863.74	226.17	277.77	32.35	32.16	22.81
5.	Goa	10.08	11.70	3.82	4.13	37.90	35.30	8.12
6.	Gujrat	340.86	413.10	127.02	166.21	37.26	40.23	30.85
7.	Haryana	129.23	164.64	40.88	51.03	31.63	30.99	24.82
8.	Himachal Pradesh	42.81	51.71	18.14	22.14	42.37	42.81	22.05
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	59.87	N.A.	26.50	N.A.	44.26	N.A.	N.A.
10.	Karnataka	371.36	449.77	149.44	188.87	40.24	41.99	26.38
11.	Kerala	254.53	290.99	77.73	91.46	30.53	31.43	17.66
12.	Madhya Pradesh	521.78	661.81	223.97	283.40	42.92	42.82	26.53
13.	Maharashtra	627.84	789.37	267.18	339.10	42.55	42.96	26.92

<sup>53</sup> http://develomentplanningdelhiplanning.nic.in

14.	Manipur	14.21	18.37	6.14	7.75	43.20	42.19	26.22
15.	Meghalaya	13.36	17.75	6.13	7.57	45.88	42.65	23.49
16.	Mizoram	4.94	6.90	2.24	3.37	45.34	48.84	50.45
17.	Nagaland	7.75	12.10	3.74	5.16	48.26	42.64	37.97
18.	Orissa	263.70	316.60	100.23	118.83	38.01	37.53	18.56
19.	Punjab	167.89	202.82	52.88	62.62	31.50	30.87	18.42
20.	Rajasthan	342.62	440.06	125.43	171.04	36.61	38.87	36.36
21.	Sikkim	3.16	4.06	1.52	1.69	48.10	41.63	11.18
22.	Tamil Nadu	484.08	558.59	201.98	241.94	41.72	43.31	19.78
23.	Tripura	20.53	27.57	6.63	8.59	32.29	31.16	29.56
24.	Uttar Pradesh	1108.62	1391.12	340.51	447.99	30.72	32.20	31.56
25.	West Bengal	545.81	680.78	164.64	219.15	30.16	32.19	33.10
Unic	on Territories	and the second s	and the artists and the females and the female					AND THE RELIGIOUS AND A CONTROL OF THE STATE
1.	Andman & Nicobar	1.89	2.81	0.70	0.99	37.03	35.23	41.43
2.	Chandigarh	4.52	6.42	1.58	2.24	34.96	34.89	41.77
3.	Dadar & Nagar Haveli	1.04	1.38	0.50	0.74	48.08	53.62	48.00
4.	Daman & Diu	0.79	1.02	N.A.	0.38	N.A.	37.25	N.A.
5.	Delhi	62.20	94.21	20.02	29.80	32.19	31.63	48.85
6.	Lakshdweep	0.40	0.52	0.10	0.14	25.00	26.92	40.00
7.	Pondicherry	6.04	8.08	1.84	2.67	30.46	33.04	45.11
Α	Il India 6	851.85	8385.86	2446.04	3141.31	35.70	37.46	28.42

Table-XI
Performance of Employment Exchange in Mizoram -1998 (Jan June)
(in thousands)<sup>54</sup>

Employment	Registration	Vacancies	Submission	Placement	Live register
Exchange no		notified			
3	5.4	0.2	2.8	0.06	71.5

Table-XII

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE AMONG EDUCATED YOUTH, 1999-2000. 55

\* As per the last survey conducted by the National Sample Survey Organisation in 1999-2000, the unemployment rate among the educated persons (15 year and above) was 6.7 per cent in rural areas and 7.4 per cent in urban areas on all-India basis. The state-wise rate of unemployment in rural and urban areas has been as follows:

S.No.	State/Union Territory	Educated 15 years and above				
		Rural	Urban			
1.	Andhra Pradesh	6.8	6.9			
2.	Arunachal Pradesh	0.8	3.0			
3.	Assam	15.2	14.1			
4.	Bihar	6.5	13.2			
5.	Goa	15.2	25.1			
6.	Gujarat	1.1	2.8			
7.	Haryana	1.1	3.9			
8.	Himachal Pradesh	3.7	9.6			
9.	Jammu & Kashmir	4.3	7.6			
10.	Karnataka	4.5	5.5			
11.	Kerala	19.8	17.5			
12.	Madhya Pradesh	3.9	5.5			
13.	Maharashtra	6.1	6.9			
14.	Manipur	6.0	11.0			
15.	Meghalaya	3.9	7.0			
16.	Mizoram	3.8	6.2			
17.	Nagaland	6.5	14.3			
18.	Orissa	15.7	15.3			
19.	Punjab	4.9	4.4			

<sup>55</sup> Ministry of Labour and Employment, http://www.pib.nic.in

20.	Rajasthan	2.0	3.5
21.	Sikkim	11.8	12.1
22.	Tamil Nadu	10.6	6.6
23.	Tripura	3.4	7.8
24.	Uttar Pradesh	2.8	7.3
25.	West Bengal	11.1	11.2
26.	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	15.1	12.0
27.	Chandigarh	0.7	6.3
28.	D&N Haveli	3.0	1.6
29.	Daman & Diu	1.2	3.6
30.	Delhi	6.5	4.6
31.	Lakshadweep	22.4	13.4
32.	Pondicherry	12.5	7.1
	All India	6.7	7.4

Despite, some interesting aspect is that the highest growth in terms of both enterprises and employment has taken place in States affected by insurgency. For instance, Mizoram, Tripura, and Assam are among the top five in terms of growth of enterprises while Jammu and Kashmir has the highest growth in employment generation. While the average annual growth rate for the country is 4.8 per cent, Mizoram shows a growth of 9.6 per cent followed by Kerala with 8.9 per cent, Tripura with 8.79 per cent, and Assam with 6.57 per cent. <sup>56</sup>

However, there are areas of concerns, with the incidence increasing numbers unemployment in amongst the educated youth of both rural and urban areas. Quality of education needs a lot to be desired with drop-out rates much above the national average. Urban unemployment rates are on the increase from 1987-88. Fertility rates

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Sushma Ramchandran, the provisional finding of the fifth economic census paint a curious picture <a href="http://www.thehindu.com">http://www.thehindu.com</a> Tuesday, Jun 27, 2006

have been increasing with natural growth rate of population increasing from 10.2 in 1998 to 11.5 in 1999. <sup>57</sup> Thus both the Government of Mizoram and the civil societies must assess these trends and initiate appropriate remedial action.

Table-XIII

UNEMPLOYMENT RATES FOR STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES BY SEX AND RURAL-URBAN STATUS, 1999-2000. 58

India/State/UTs	Rural		Urban	
	Female:	Male	Female	Male
1	2	3	4	5
India	1.5	2.1	7.1	4.8
Andhra Pradesh	0.7	1.2	4.2	4.2
Arunachal Pradesh	0.1	0.9	10.0	1.4
Assam	11.9	4.7	22.3	9.1
Bihar <sup>1</sup>	0.6	2.4	9.4	7.6
Chhattisgarh	-	-	-	-
Delhi	26.0	3.9	5.3	3.2
Goa	18.7	7.0	35.2	15.3
Gujarat	0.3	0.8	2.6	2.1
Haryana	0.5	1.3	4.6	2.7
Himachal Pradesh	1.8	3.0	11.8	6.3
Jammu & Kashmir	7.1	2.6	12.8	4.7
Jharkhand	-	-	-	-
Karnataka	0.3	1.0	4.7	3.0
Kerala	19.7	7.6	26.4	6.9
Madhya Pradesh <sup>1</sup>	0.2	0.7	1.6	4.3
Maharashtra	1.1	2.4	7.8	6.1
Manipur	2.5	2.4	10.3	7.4
Meghalaya	0.3	0.5	6.8	3.4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Annual Plan Discussion 2001-2002: Mizoram, http://www.planningcommission.nic.in

http://www.nrcw.nic.in / Government of India, Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, Central Statistical Organisation. (2003). Women & Men in India 2002. New Delhi. P. 49,

Mizoram	0.5	2.1	2.6	4.4
Nagaland	3.8	3.0	10.8	9.3
Orissa	1.6	3.1	6.7	7.2
Punjab	6.2	2.3	3.5	3.1
Rajasthan	0.2	0.8	3.7	2.7
Sikkim	2.0	3.5	10.0	6.7
Tamil Nadu	1.2	3.0	5.8	3.9
Tripura	4.6	0.8	8.8	5.5
Uttar Pradesh <sup>1</sup>	0.6	1.3	4.6	4.5
Uttaranchal	-	-	-	-
West Bengal	3.8	3.4	11.1	7.7
Andaman &	7.6	3.3	23.9	3.8
Nicobar Islands				
Chandigarh	0.0	1.0	14.4	3.9
Dadra & Nagar	0.0	1.6	0.0	1.6
Haveli		,		
Daman & Diu	0.0	1.3	8.3	1.4
Lakshadweep	52.9	10.9	26.3	8.2
Pondicherry	22.6	4.7	6.9	3.5

Table-XIV

Percent distribution of ever-married women age 15-49 by employment characteristics.<sup>59</sup>

State	NFHS-1	NFHS – 2	Increase/Decrease
Arunachal Pradesh	44.9	58.8	+13.9
Manipur	53.5	61.0	+7.5
Meghalaya	41.8	45.9	+4.1
Mizoram	33.2	47.9	+14.7
Nagaland	43.7	62.8	+19.1

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> see, A Saha, Women's employment Scenario in Northeastern States under Globalised Regime: Scrutiny and Significance, <a href="http://www.unuedu.org">http://www.unuedu.org</a>

Tripura	25.7	22.0	-3.7
Assam	18.0	19.5	+1.5
India	32.0	37.0	+5

Table-XV

# Exposure to mass media

Percentage of ever-married women age 15-49 who usually watch TV or listen to the radio at least once a week.<sup>60</sup>

		Watching TV	Listening Radio	
		82.1	53.8	
	Urban	(47.7)	(50.0)	
Arunachal Pradesh		+ 34.4	+33.8	
		40.9	39.1	
	Rural	(25.4)	(39.1)	
		15.5	0.0	
		82.1	76.9	
	Urban	(55.7)	(74.3)	
		+26.4	+2.6	
Manipur		50.5	70.4	
	Rural	(29.9)	(57.7)	
		+20.6	+12.7	
		82.8	47.2	
	Urban	(68.3)	(57.9)	
		+14.5	-10.7	
Meghalaya		28.9	36.9	
	Rural	(13.1)	(32.6)	
		+15.8	+4.3	
		64.8	70.0	
Mizoram	Urban	(41.0)	(67.7)	
		+23.8	+3.3	
		L	1	

<sup>60</sup> See, A Saha, http://www.unuedu.org

		20.8	63.0
	Rural	(9.8)	(42.8)
		+11.0	+20.2
		82.8	53.9
·	Urban	(59.2)	(69.6)
Nagaland		+23.6	-15.7
Ivagalaliu		36.8	42.1
	Rural	(12.9)	(35.2)
		+23.9	+6.9
		82.8	53.9
	Urban	(71.5)	(75.6)
Tripura		+11.3	-21.7
Tiputa		43.1	37.5
	Rural	(24.9)	(52.0)
		+18.2	-14.5
L	L	<del></del>	L

Table-XVI

Work Status Percent distribution of ever-married women age 15-49 by work status (figures represent NFHS-2 data and figures in brackets represent NFHS-1 data)<sup>61</sup>

State	Working in Family farm/business	Employed by some one else	Self employed	Not worked in past 12 months
Arunachal	37.7	7.9	13.9	40.4
Pradesh	(18.6)	(7.7)	(18.6)	(55.1)
Manipur	22.9	18.6	28.4	30.1
	(17.7)	(11.6)	(24.1)	(46.5)
Meghalaya	18.6	20.1	8.8	52.4
	(16.6)	(18.2)	(6.9)	(58.2)
Mizoram	23.5	19.2	7.2	50.1

<sup>61</sup> See A Saha, http://www.unuedu.org

	(15.3)	(11.7)	(6.2)	(66.8)
Nagaland	37.3	14.8	11.7	36.1
	(15.1)	(5.1)	(23.5)	(56.3)
Tripura	5.2	14.4	3.1	77.3
	(10.3)	(12.9)	(2.5)	(74.3)
Assam	4.8	10.8	4.5	79.8
India	14.4	19.7	5.0	60.8

Moreover, in regard to women employment the State has made a commendable progress. The above statements clearly indicate the status of women in northeast India, Table-XIV shows that in the case of Tripura, the percent of women employed declined by 3.7 points. The least growth in employment occurred in Assam, which is up only by 1.5 point. The growth of employment of women in all the states except Assam and Tripura vary between 4.1 to 19.1 points in terms of growth of women employment. Arunachal Pradesh, Manipur, Mizoram and Nagaland are found to be ahead of all India average.

The better performances of Arunachal Pradesh (+13.9), Mizoram (+14.7) and Nagaland (+19.1) in providing more employment for women are ostensibly due to the higher level of media exposure of women in the respective states. Table-XV above gives the media exposure scenario by the different states of Northeastern states.

It is seen from Table – XV that due to the rapid urbanization and spreading of mass media horizontally and vertically among the womenfolk, the states in which women are widely exposed to mass media, thanks to globalization are also ahead of other states in terms of growth of women employment. For example, Nagaland has an increase of percent of women watching TV by 23.6 points in urban area and 23.9 points in rural area, has also profound increase in percent of women employment by +19.1 points. Of course, a fall in the percent of women listening radio in Nagaland is perhaps due to overwhelming penetration of TV network over the state. The same explanation seems to hold good for other states of Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh. This phenomenon highlights the fact that where globalization tends to take place as reflected in the proxy indicator of mass media exposure, the employment prospects

also improve. The notion held by many that globalization, helps expand the level of employment of women is found basis to believe.

An inquiry into the work status of women reveals some interesting insights which too are consistent with the globalization and employment nexus. Table-XVI gives the work status report of women, according to the categories of working in family farm business, employed by someone else, self employed and not worked in past 12 months etc.

Table-XVII

Percentage of total workers, main, marginal and non-workers to total population by residence and sex, based on Census 2001. 62

	Total	Percent of total population								
		Total workers. Mair		Main v	workers. Margina		al workers.		Non- workers	
		1991	2001	1991	1002	1991	2001	1991	2001	
	Persons	49.46	32.7	42.64	40.83	6.82	11.87	50.54	47.43	
	Males females		57.45	49.59	49.29	4.28	8.16	46.13	42.55	
			47.63	35.11	31.82	9.57	15.82	55.32	37.61	
:	Persons	52.22	57.22	46.57	44.94	5.65	12.27	47.78	42.78	
Urban	Males	54.92	59.52	57.29	51.74	3.63	7.79	45.08	40.48	
	Females	49.27	54.73	41.4	37.61	7.78	17.12	50.73	45.27	
	Persons	46.23	48.09	38.65	36.64	8.18	11.45	53.77	51.91	
Rural	Males	52.63	55.96	47.57	46.76	5.06	8.55	47.37	44.68	
	females	39.37	40.5	27.83	25.99	11.54	14.15	60.63	59.5	

The above table indicates the declining workforce in the state, particularly, in a state where agriculture is the main occupation of the people. The declined of main workers both in rural as well as in urban areas became an alarming trends towards the rise of unemployment in the state. The state being weak in industrial sector would face severe unemployment problem if this declining trend of main worker continues.

the lack of employment opportunities and prevalent unemployment in the state has become a handicap for the unemployed educated youth. The state government, the primary employer, has more than 45,000 people on the rolls and is bursting at the seams. There is an equal number of educated unemployed. But with no large industries and just about 3,000 small-scale units, there is nothing else to turn to. The church and non-governmental organizations have played a vital role in this," Mizoram Chief Secretary, V L Lalringa says, the orthodox Presbyterian Church, dominant in Mizoram, lays tremendous emphasis on the importance of being able to read and write, carrying on the tradition of missionaries who came to the state in the 19th century. In fact, the Church is the state's second biggest employer. Around 20,000 Mizos are currently employed in various capacities by three main church organizations in the state. 63 Literacy rates for 2001 were quite high in the Northeast region (NER) ranging from 64.3 per cent (Assam) to 88.5 per cent (Mizoram) as compared with the country's average of 65.4 per cent.<sup>64</sup> The increasing numbers of educated youth, with weak industrial Based, state-led industrialization will not be able to sustain this sector in the new liberalized environment. The State has ample potential in food processing and bamboo based industries. With increasing educated youth and gradual down sizing of the Government machinery, the young people cannot rely only in government and private sector alone to provide job. Therefore the state as well as civil society must improve the quality of education, promote self-employment and youth employment opportunities, and build their own futures.

Recently, in some positive news on the education front, the three Indian states of Kerala, Himachal Pradesh and Mizoram have told the government that they do not need any more primary school buildings and that all their children now have

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Census of India, 2001, Series-16, Provisional population table, Director of Census operations, Mizoram.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Avirook Sen, Mizoram Story of Plenty, India today, July 5, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> See Rakesh Mohan, Economic Development of the North East Region, http://www.rbidocs.rbi.org.in/sec5/51403.doc.

schools within walking distance from their homes.<sup>65</sup> In fact this had been due to the contribution of state and various Christian institutions in development and progress of education in Mizoram. However, the Mizos still have dismal figures in sphere of higher education, especially in science and technical education. Although there had been a rapid increase in quantity, particularly in primary and secondary, rather than proportionate growth between primary, secondary and higher education. There is still a lack of quality and proportionate balance in primary, secondary and higher education. Table-IX showed, the dismal disproportionate figures in the fields of Arts, Science and Technology and Higher education.

Moreover, the educational system in Mizoram needs simplification in that commercial element is becoming increasingly glaring in the running of schools in private capacity in particular. The system is becoming more and more complex leaving out the man for whom it meant.

### III.5 Brief History of Church and Health service in Mizoram

As in education, in medical facilities also the missionaries were the first to introduce the benefit of Civilization in the Lushai Hills. The churches and Missions in Mizoram have been playing an important role in promoting medical services among the Mizos. When the early missionaries made their tours in Mizoram (then Lushai Hills) they were distressed at the unrelieved suffering of the people from diseases. Malaria was prevalent everywhere; there were dropsy, dysentery, tuberculosis, diseases caused by internal parasites and hookworm and other diseases. The birth rate was very high but more than half of the children died before they reached adolescence. Modern medical facilities were almost non-existent. The Lushai Hills was one of the most backward regions among the Northeast States. Despite the great need for medical care, the protestant mission boards were initially reluctant to establish regular programmes with qualified personnel because they felt that this would divert their limited resources from their primary objective of evangelism. The pioneer missionaries were also helpless, as they were not trained medically.

<sup>65</sup> The Indian Express, June 20, 2004

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Ray, Animesh, op. cit. p.59

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Becker, Christopher, <u>History of the Catholic Missions in North East India</u>, 1890-1915, G Standler and S Karotemprel, ed., Calcutta, Firma KLM Pvt Ltd 1980, p. 298.

However, they had little elementary knowledge about first aid and medicine, treating the simple disease as best as they could. The Welsh missionaries often undertook a year's course in medicine before coming to India in programmes specifically designed for the purpose.<sup>68</sup>

Indeed, the Missions laid the foundation for medical work in Mizoram. By 1908, Dr Fraser, M D, arrived in the Lushai Hills in 1908, and established a small hospital, which became more popular than the Government hospital.<sup>69</sup> However, he could not stay for a long time as a dispute arose between him and the colonial Government on the question of slave system practice in the Lushai Hills. He left the Lushai Hills on 1912.

Gradually, however this initial reluctance was overcome so that by the time of the First World War, the Welsh mission, the first in the field was committed to a strong medical programme.<sup>70</sup>

Given the reluctance of home boards to support it in the nineteenth century, there is much material indicating the kind of arguments the missionaries used on its behalf. The basic argument used can be summed up with the Latin words "imitation prepartio"-imitating of Christ, and preparation for the preaching of the gospel. Thus for the missionaries the imitatio motive took priority over the prepartio.<sup>71</sup>

But, such reinforcement of Christian ideology was subtle and would have worked subconsciously for the most part. At the conscious level, it would seem that for many of the people, medical work validated the new religion in another way. In the traditional Mizo view, religion and disease were closely related. Illness was perceived to be caused by the displeasure of the deities; curing illness was, therefore, a religious activity.

Indeed, one of the results of the introduction of Christian medicine was the reduction of the influence of the village priests and the religion they represented.

<sup>68</sup> Downs F S, History of Christianity in India, Vol.5. op. cit.,p. 177

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Siaithanga, op. cit., p.46

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Becker, Christopher, op.cit., pp. 298-99.

<sup>71</sup> The Assam Mission of the American Baptist Missionary Union, (ABMC), Papers presented by M

C, Mason and Discussions of Jubilee Conference held in Nowgong, December 1886, p.99.

Regarding the impact of missions' medical work, Dr Crozier said that it is definitely known that many heathen are giving up their fear of evil spirit and the sacrificing custom directly through this agency (medical work). When it became evident that the treatment offered by the Missionaries was not only more effective than traditional sacrifices, but also cheaper, people took this to mean that their religious power was greater than that of the traditional priests. Hminga in his study of the early response to Christianity in Mizoram found that many of his elderly respondents mentioned as a major reason for their conversion what might be called the cost effective factor. That is to say, Christianity provided a cheaper way of dealing with the work of disease-causing spirits. When asked by a missionary in 1914 why he had become Christian, a Mizo frankly replied, "I became a Christian because I found that eight annas (fifty paise) worth of mission pills did more good to my sick relative than thirty rupees spent on sacrifices to devil." Hminga concludes that many actually became Christians because they could get physical healing without the costly sacrifices, but by taking the white man's medicine and by prayer to Christian God. 73 During Dr Fraser's time in Mizoram, it was said that people preferred to go to him rather than to Government doctors at Aizawl because he was a man of religion.<sup>74</sup>

This is true in the plain as well in the hills. People seem to have preferred to get medicine from mission for pay rather than go to the government Charitable Dispensary and get treatment and medicine free. While such evidence may simply show that the missionaries had a more sympathetic attitude than the government personnel did, it is probable that the traditional association between religion and the curing of illness accounted for some people preferring treatment at the hands of those who healed in the name of God and for some becoming converts to the new faith.

After Dr Fraser left, in 1928 Dr J. Williams arrived in Aizawl and established a hospital at Durtlang. Besides this, Dr J Williams also opened various dispensaries in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Downs, F S, <u>History of Christianity in India</u>, Vol.5, op. cit., p. 185

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> ibid, p. 269

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Lloyd, J Meiron, *On Every High Hill*, Liverpool, 1955. pp. 40-41.

<sup>75</sup> Downs, F.S, History of Christianity in North East India, Vol.5, op. cit., p.186

remote areas. He also established the first school of Nursing in Mizoram.

In the south part of Lushai Hills (now Mizoram), the Baptist mission was also active in promoting Health services among the Mizos. In the early period the lady missionaries, such as Miss Oliver, Miss Goods, etc took care of the ill and sick Mizos. Unlike in the northern part of Mizoram, a concrete hospital was established late. The first hospital in the south, Serkawn hospital was established in 1956-60.

In the face of a changing society, the darker side of changes that crept into the society is a big challenge for the state as well as the churches. Increase of Drug trafficking along the long border with Myanmar and many narcotics grown areas, led to easy availability of drugs in Mizoram. Therefore, easy access to drugs and increasing number of drug users among the Mizos become an alarming problem with intravenous drug users spreading HIV/AIDS by sharing infected needles. While the level of education is high, large numbers of students simply cannot find work. As a result, the lure of drugs is trapping many young people. The sex trade is growing to finance drug taking and HIV/AIDS prevalence is on the rise. These above problems are some of the major problems confronted by the contemporary Mizo society.

In a contemporary changing Mizo society, juvenile delinquency in Mizo society is gradually increasing. In most of the cases, poverty is self-created by breaking up of individual families, where children have not received love and care of the family. As a result, in order to meet the needs of the contemporary changing society, State, Church and Community Based Organizations (CBOs), have taken a proactive role in dissemination of information about HIV. There are several Church based organizations that proactively educate the youth about issues of HIV.<sup>77</sup> In some sites, it has been reported that the church invites specialists to educate the people.

With the alarming increasing numbers of Drug abuses, HIV/Aids, destitute, etc., various types of health services and rehabilitations centers were established. These rehabilitations and medical services have extensive programs of prevention education for drug abuse and HIV/AIDS.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Saiathanga, op.cit., pp.48-50.

In Mizoram, out of ten major hospitals, three major hospitals are run: by non-government agency with the aid of government. Some of the major hospitals are Presbyterian Church Hospital with 200 beds, Christian Hospital run by the Baptist with 100 beds, AMSHA hospital etc. Besides these there are number of rehabilitation centers run by the churches, such as Muana In, Motherless Babies Home, Destitute Children's Home Enna Home, Hlimna In, Girls Home, Baptist Church Orphanage Home, Hermon Children's Home, Blind Schools, Khawngaina In, Synod Rescue Centre, Synod Faith Home, Agape Camping Centre, Mercy Home. Hmangaina In etc.<sup>78</sup>

Until 2003, the numbers of health care centers managed by the government of Mizoram are as follows: Subsidiary Health Centers: 351; Primary Health Centers: 58; Community Health Center: 9.<sup>79</sup>

With the initiative of Mizoram Government rapid progress was made both in sphere of education and health sector. Under various schemes, projects and financial agencies, new educational and health institution have been establish and upgraded in Mizoram. Under the Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan project two Teacher Training Centre-Block Resource Centre and Cluster Resource Centre, additional 152 primary schools and 151 Middle Schools were established. Where there was no school Educational Guarantee Scheme was introduced, and in order to impart knowledge of information technology 80 selected Middle schools were provided with 10 computers each. Moreover, to improve the quality of education in Mizoram, training, seminar and workshop concerning textbook, syllabus and examinations were organized and revised by the Government of Mizoram.

In sphere of Health service, Mizoram made a tremendous progress, construction of Lunglei Hospital was completed by 2005, six bed of Intensive Care Unit was constructed in Aizawl Civil Hospital, Champhai Refferal Hospital, Saiha and Kolasib Bio-Medical Waste Management, Champhai (OPD) and Emergency Centre

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Carca Project Report, op. cit

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Lalkima, C, op.cit..pp .33-.147

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Government of Mizoram, <u>Manuscript on Mizoram Economy and The Development of Mizoram in</u> last 4 years (2003), Directorate of Information and Public Relations, Mizoram, 2003.

in Serchip and Kolasib are under construction by the Government of Mizoram.<sup>80</sup>

In fact, some states in the North East region such as Mizoram, Manipur and Nagaland have a high achievement record in Human Development Index, literacy and the status of women. As against these strengths and opportunities, there are weaknesses and threats to be sure, emanating to a large extent from the difficult terrain of the Region. With a high literacy rate, Mizoram has a weak industrial base. State-led industrialization will not be able to sustain this sector in the new liberalized environment. The State should come up with a development model for the state wherein the role of civil society, self-employment and private investment should become a critical component.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> Government of Mizoram, <u>Progress in Mizoram (Mizoram Hmalam Panin)</u>, (Mizo), Issued and Published by Directorate of Information and Public Relation, 2006

#### CHAPTER-IV

## Critical assessment of the Church role in Mizo society:

In the previous chapter, we have seen the roles and contributions of Church in various socio-economic, political and cultural aspects of the Mizos. However, critically analyzing the impact or outcome of the Church cannot be generalized only in one way. There are also some other aspects where the church does find it vulnerable in their operations, as well as having negative contributions in the society.

This chapter would largely deal with the crisis within the churches and its negative contribution it had in the society. As stated in the previous chapters, we have highlighted various activities of the Church, such as its contribution in promoting education, health service, and other humanitarian services. However, by carrying its tradition of promoting services to the society, the Church in contemporary Mizo society has lost its traditional importance and role in the society. The emergence of powerful state has taken over the role of Church on various aspects, further limited the church only in promoting non-material aspect. Further, the scarcity of funds and other resources as well as lack of skilled army within the Church has prevented its capacity to continue or take up substantial development programmes and projects. Moreover, weak organizations as well as unhealthy competition within different denominations have led to the polarization of Mizo society. Excessive importance given only in interpreting and preaching Gospel rather than practicing and interpreting the social realities has been the stumbling block for the development of Mizos.

One of the most important defects of the Church in Mizoram is its excessive concentration on theological aspects and interpreting the social concern from the context of theology rather than substantial content of socio-culture of the Mizo society. Its excessive confinement on interpreting issues, in the light of Gospel rather than addressing the socio-economic and political process in the context of present situation have resulted in diminishing the effective role of Church in Contemporary society. Infact, it missed out various contemporary issues such as human rights, minority rights, gender issues, drug abuse, participation in socio-political aspects, etc.

## IV.1 Christianity and Mizo Women

Infact, in comparison to other societies, the Mizos Women have more freedom in the society. In this respect, Christian philosophy has to some extent greatly contributed in bringing changes among the Mizo women. Christian Missionaries hold the sole responsibility in bringing changes to the life of women. Education offered women tremendous opportunity for leadership from which they were excluded for decades due to tradition. Today women began to look beyond their horizon and realized how much ability and potential they have to be leader in the church and society. Thus education brought drastic change to the life of women in a patriarchal Mizo society. Today many educated women take up good position in the society and government. However they are still yet to reach the level where they can take equal participation with men in decision-making body, inheritance of property and rights of ownership. In many areas women are also treated well but in general women are still oppressed and marginalized.

Mizo society is a free one in that both men and women take up the same work without any distinction. Both work equally hard to eke out living and the multifarious household chores performed by a typical Mizo family are tremendous. In modern days, educated Mizo woman take up office works and were seen, practically in all the government as well as non-government offices.

However, on the other side, Lalrinchhani has shown how Christianity reinforced patriarchal Values in Mizo society. The Mizos were greatly influenced by the patriarchal values of Christianity and the Church immensely validates these values. The Mizos, who are Christians, get hold on St. Paul's advice that women should keep silent, be submissive to her husband, etc.

The major concern of Mizo women today, is their extreme precarious and insecure position in marital affairs. There has been no rule or law safeguarding them in the event of divorce. In such event, there is no option available to the wife, except to leave her husband's home empty handed in the absence of any law custom or rule protecting the Mizo women.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Lalrinchhani, B, *Christianity and Women in Mizoram*, unpublished M Phil Dissertation, NEHU,1998, p.36

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lalnithanga, P, op. cit., pp. 267-69

On critically analyzing the position of Mizo women in the church and society, it is found that women are still treated as subordinate to men. Church should take the lead but when compared again, the situation in the society is better than that of the Church. In secular world, women can also be in the same position with man if only she can compete in the same examination/interview. Nevertheless, in the church, even if there are capable women, they are not given the opportunity in the high position because of the fact that they are women. The fact that the Church in Mizoram cannot ordain a Mizo woman as a Pastor despite her possessing the required qualifications reflects, affirms and further strengthened the patriarchal stand of Mizo society. Moreover, when we take a careful study of the ministry of the Church, there are many loopholes. Some of the Church leaders men/women hold on the position too long, thereby giving fewer opportunities for the participation of young generation. There are so many talks about leadership development. However, in reality, the present leaders do not want to give away the leadership position to other younger generations who are far much equipped and well informed about what is going around. These immensely hinder the growth of the Church. Even as a Church elder or as a lay preacher in the Church, the Mizo women strongly feel that they were discriminated however capable they may be by reason of being a woman. These are crucial issues, which the largest women organization in Mizoram, Mizo Hmeichhia Inzawmkhawm Pawl (MHIP) is confronting.

#### IV.2 The Church and Denominational Differences:

The denominational differences that have developed in Mizo society became the greatest stumbling block to some extend in maintaining a close-knit Mizo society. These denominational differences acted as the factor in declining the solidarity among the Mizo. This creates gaps in the close-knit homogeneous Mizo society.

The denominational differences among the churches in Mizoram have also further impacted negatively upon the Mizo society. It led to the growth of unhealthy competition among the denominations, which eventually resulted in the failure to organize the Mizo society to a larger organization. For instance, if one denomination established a school, the other would also enter that competition. This competition was mainly motivated to attract members into their denomination.

These sometimes results in conflict and condemnation among the Mizos. The Church and the Mizo society are so close that, when the Church is fragmented, the society also gets fragmented. To overcome this dangerous trend, Church Union is the only answer since Church Union is imperative for healthy Church of Christ.<sup>3</sup>

Unfortunately, most of the churches in Mizoram exist as closed religious communities, catering solely to the personal psychological needs and fancies of some of its members as a community that is primarily concerned about certain religious tradition and beliefs. Sin, Salvation, heaven, peace of mind, etc., dominates the religious language. The teaching of the Church has more concern about life after death but life before death is more important to address. The Church is hardly concern about the issues of justice, human rights and truth.

#### IV.3 Church and Education

Despite, Church-related schools and colleges existing and operating in Mizoram are the inheritors, preservers and developers of a great historic tradition of learning. However, it fails in imparting a quality education as well as higher education among the Mizos. The churches by excessive confinement on primary and high schools level, fails to impart education among the Mizos adult.

Albeit, churches in Mizoram have been credited for its contributions in the growth and development of schools among the Mizos. However, the pattern of education that a Church provides became an obstacle for the development of quality education in Mizoram. Church lack emphasized on imparting secular education and establishment of higher education in early period became the factor that led to the deteriorating condition and stagnation of higher education in Mizoram. As a result, these led to high percentage of literacy without formal education. The tribal-dominated hilly state of Mizoram, does relatively well compared with the country average in terms of literacy rate of all-India percentages, but, like the others, suffers from an unusually high percentage of school drop-outs.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> see, Awala Longkumer, Churches in Northeast India, http://www.nccindia.nic.in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> see, Rahul Goswani, *Healthcare in the Northeast India: Education and sanitation is the key*, http://www.infochangeindia.org

# IV.4 Church and contemporary socio-political and economic Development

In the face of changing socio-political issues, the responsibility of the Church in maintaining the norms and standards of morality in the society has invited a public scanner where the Church becomes vulnerable. For instance, several scholars have criticized the church approach to socio-economic development has further deteriorating effect on the socio-economic development of the Mizos, as well as accused the churches approaches and methods in banning alcohol as the causality of increasing drugs abuse among the Mizos Youth. Churches from its inception by determining the norms, values and customs of the Mizos have been a factor in destroying the Mizo culture. It fails to take appropriate steps in addressing the socio-political concern of the society. In other words, it failed to takes up measures in preventing the causes of social problems confronted by the society. Moreover, the crept corruption, declining morality, drugs abuse etc., in Mizo society became an indicator for the failure of Church in contemporary Mizo society.

As a result of planned economy, after the attainment of Union Territory in 1972, the gap between the rich and the poor has widened. In contemporary changing Mizo society, the Church should make an effort for educating and mobilizing opinion for ushering basic structural changes ensuring justice for all. The churches rather than addressing human rights, corruption, women issues, drugs abuse etc., remain a silent spectator in the society. For instance, the Church, instead of encouraging participation and liberation of women has otherwise curtailed the rights of Mizo women to the extent of issuing pamphlets asking women to quit government jobs. The main purpose was to let the Mizo women confined in household purposes. This proposal is a trend towards the curtailment on human rights. Moreover, the Church even issued pamphlets during the time of election advising their members to vote for the Church choice of candidates. This can be regarded as a step towards accentuating denominational differences and fragmentation in once close-knit Mizo society.

The growing ethnic conflict, diminishing morality, expedient politics, corruption, drug abuse, HIV/AIDS, etc., in Mizo society clearly implicit the ineffective and diminishing role of the Church in a transforming Mizo society. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Hmasawna Thar, A Daily News Paper, 16 December, 2005

Church role as agent of social transformation therefore depends on the future of its congregations, because the Church, in the Mizo society, is more people based rather than institution based.

In the sphere of socio-economic development too, the interpretation of socio-economic development in the Church perspective has been a hindrance to the development of Mizos. For instance, while the Grape & Apple Processing Industry in Mizoram has greatly helped the state in generating economic growth and employment for the youths; however, due to the little content of alcohol in it, it has been closed down because of the pressure from the Church leaders and the Central YMA.

Recently, the issues of banning alcohol and misuse of drugs became the most debated subject in Mizoram. The YMA with the support of the Church and other voluntary organizations has once again declared the year 2006 as a year against Drug addicts and alcohol. However, the YMA with its motto of fighting against misuse drugs and alcohol has acted beyond the established law. Unfortunately, it has resulted in the killing of four peoples, rape and assaults a woman, demolishing of a widow's house and torturing of people in accusation of selling liquors. The YMA has been acting not only as the sole interpreter of law, but it has also been imposing its own putative concept of justice. Surprisingly the Church leader remains merely a mute spectator and never condemned the highhanded authority of the YMA. Instead, the Church in collusion, justify the YMA's action by saying that even Jesus Christ sometimes resorted to the use of violence means. When religion is properly used it has a positive effect, and it is appreciated, but when it is misused, it damages the society as a whole. Christianity is becoming an instrument for few to justify their deeds rather than a way of life. \*\*

Indeed, for quite sometime a consensus seemed to emerge that Non-government organizations (NGOs) like the YMA and MZP had been guilty of unthinkable violation of Human Rights, the excesses perpetrated on drug addicts and drug peddlers by certain NGOs acting as guardians of public morality; the inferior

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Sangzuala Hmar, Mizoram in Talibanization process-II, http://www.e-pao.net.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The Aizawl Post, Editorial, 7 December, 2005

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Sangzoula Hmar, Mizoram in Talibinization process-II, http://www.e-pao.net.

position of Mizo women, especially within the context of customary law are the chief deteriorating concern of the Mizo society. A new trend ushered a new approach where the misused authority of the YMA has been challenged and contested. Participants discourses includes of journalists, scholars, public servants, etc., criticized the way and action of YMA on the ground that it is becoming more authoritarian and becoming a threat to democratic principles of the Mizo people. They also blamed that a total ban of alcohols was also responsible for the increasing numbers of drug abuse in Mizo society. The YMA has become the most Supreme organization in Mizoram, neither the state nor the individual or group challenge to criticize its action in the society. However, some Mizos argued that lawlessness act or action of YMA is more dangerous than banning alcohol and drug abuse. 10 The need of a contemporary society is a person or organization which respects the established law as well as act under the law. 11 This trend is gaining momentum where the Church as well as the YMA comes under the Mizo society scanner. There is need in reforming the authoritative structure of Church and YMA, as it negates the democratic principal and the rights and liberty of Mizos. There is a great danger if power of Church and YMA is not check. If this unholy alliance between state, Church and YMA continue in Mizoram it would let to the establishment of rigid state based on coercion authority, limited liberty and lawlessness.

Indeed, for quite sometime a consensus seemed to emerge, that NGOs like the YMA and MZP had been guilty of unthinkable violation of Human Rights. The most respected organization in Mizo Society, the Young Mizo Association's (YMA) lethal vigilantism against drugs and alcohol in the state has created confusion. Five men were killed, directly or indirectly during their campaign in 2005. Infact, the late arrival of Human Right organizations as well the long historical cordial relationship between the state and social organization had led the state to abdicated its power to the social organization as represented by Church and the dominant NGOs, that is

<sup>• 9</sup> see, R Vanlama, *Tunlaia Mizoramin Ruihlo kan do dan*, (Mizoram Fight Against Drugs and alcohol), The Aizawl post, 7 December, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See, Mawi, *Ruihlo do dan tur(* How to Fight Against Drugs abuse and Alcohol), The Aizawl post, 7 December, 2005.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> See, H. T. C, Lalhrinchhanna, *Mission Vengtlang versus Judiciary*, The Aizawl Post, 6 December, 2005.

YMA and Mizo Zirlai Pawl(MZP) or Mizo student Union. This had happened, it was charged, because the State patronage these NGOs without concerning whether their action or act breach the human rights of the citizens.

The unholy alliance between church, YMA and State has raised a grave concerns on further development of society. Linda Chhakchhuak wrote, Mizoram seems trapped in the grip of an unholy trinity - the Church, the NGOs and the State – stifling secular and democratic values. The unholy trinity- the church (leadership), the NGOs (CYMA, MHIP etc) and the State (politicians, bureaucrats, rich contractors-suppliers), it appears, rules supreme in Mizoram.

The Central Young Mizo Association (CYMA), though a registered NGO under the Indian Societies Act, has a dangerous underpinning philosophy that they have the medieval authority to enforce its diktats as the Mizo Hnam Dan (Tribe Law) the Mizo customary practices. They demand unquestioning obedience. For they claim to be doing this to "safeguard the society." The State which should have read them the riot act has given them free rein. This alliance if misuse could lead to an authoritative system, lawlessness society and instability. Further the present context of state-society relationship has threatened the liberty and rights of the citizens.

Hypocrisy became an accepted norm both in politics and church affairs, creating a crisis of confidence among the impressionable younger generation-their own children, who could see through their elders' acts at home. This has compounded the social situation in which mammonism, drugs, alcoholism are eating away the entrails of a once dynamic community.

The CYMA presidents and all other office bearers are invariably serving government servants, thus compromising the independence of the YMA and stunting its growth into a grassroots people's body. These vested interests evolved into real politics when the political parties unabashedly wooed YMA leaders. Since 1999 CYMA presidents have been fielded in the both Assembly and Parliamentary elections.

The current Lok Sabha Member of Parliament was a CYMA president. The YMA therefore is not an independent civil society organization. Besides being led by government servants who have actually failed to deliver the goods in this

capacity, they are heavily into partisan politics. The president of the CYMA during 2005, Lianzela, a deputy secretary told *Grassroots Options* that the CYMA would never go against the government policies nor criticize them. The government has co-opted CYMA/YMA leaders at all levels into the 40-odd government committees. This ultimately leaves the common people bereft of an independent platform to air their views.<sup>12</sup>

Indeed due to the late arrival of the idea of Human Rights in their midst (circa 1974, when the Mizoram Human Rights Committee was formed under Brig. Sailo's leadership), it has not yet taken roots among the Mizos. Instead of letting that happen, the prevailing climate, if permitted to thicken, would crush the idea in its nascence.<sup>13</sup>

Usually it is the civil society which bands together to fight against coercive powers which rob the common people the right to think and act in the way they want to and feels comfortable with. But in Mizoram, the public are finding out to their woes that there are no civil society organizations (CSOs). The YMA the largest civil society in Mizoram has been consistently guilty of violating the Human Rights of its own people.

Indeed, the church in Mizoram is also failing to impress upon the people to follow the Christian religious teaching in life. Mizo church instead of limiting itself interpreting and preaching Gospel only in context of Gospel should rather interpret in context of ongoing problems confronted by the society. The churches holistic ministry should address the problems of human life in its totality: poverty, dependency, injustice, oppression, psychological and physical needs, transcending barriers of race and denominations, respecting women equally in social, economic, political and social life.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See, Linda Chhakchhuak, Unholy Trinity rules Mizoram, www.grassrootsoptions.org

<sup>13</sup> See, Sudhir Chandra, Discussing Human Rights in Mizoram, http://www.freemedia.com

<sup>14</sup> see, Baptist News, 23 April-June, 2004

## Conclusion

Despite, the Church ineffectiveness in addressing the ongoing contemporary sociopolitical and economic problems of the Mizos, the Mizos, however, owe much of their progress and advancement in various spheres of life to the Church. The coming of the Gospel to Mizoram, one hundred years ago, actually revolutionized the entire culture and social life of the Mizos. In a contemporary changing Mizo society Churches have become important institutions in discussion and deliberation of socio-political and economic concern of the Mizos.

Before Christianity came to Mizoram, the Mizos had a narrow socio-political relationship and outlook. Their way of life was confined to the village. The economic pattern of the society was a simple one where people get food and other necessities directly from their work. The village chiefs and elders organized the socio-political and economic system of the village. Social order was maintained by coercive force. With the advent of the British administration and Christianity in Mizoram, remarkable change took place in the Mizo society. Christianity changed the entire mode of the life of the people; their social structure was transformed. The simultaneous spread of Christianity and education led to necessary structural change in the society. This had its immediate impact in the Mizo socio-political and economic way of life. The rise of new educated class led to the abolition traditional norms, values, undemocratic practices, and restructure of the Mizo society on the basis of Christian ideology. Indeed, it is the churches and its various organizations that have played tremendous roles in transforming the primitive Mizo society to modern society.

The Mizos have been enchanted to their new-found faith of Christianity with so much dedication and submission that their entire social life and thought-process been transformed and guided by the Christian Church Organizations and their sense of values has also undergone drastic change.

In the identity formation process of the Mizo people. Christianity played a major role. Through revival movements and tremendous role of churches, Christianity had deeply penetrated the cultural domain and value system of the Mizos and transformed the Mizo society. After the entire community embraced

Christianity, the new religion gradually became the defining factor of the normative structure of the society. Thus the Mizo social norm and cultural values had been determined largely by their new religion. The process of influence, however, has not a one-way street, the process of the interaction between Christianity and the Mizo cultural ethos, let Christianity itself become indigenized.

The new identity that emerged out of the interaction between modernity and the Mizo traditional culture and world view led to the development of new identity, Christianity play an integrative role on the one hand. Churches through its various programmes and projects modernized the Mizo society in a significant manner. The role of churches in providing formal education to the society was particularly consequential with regard to modernization. The spontaneous inculturation of the Gospel through the revival movements helped the people to maintain their selfhood in the face of modernity's onslaught. Moreover, various provisions of our constitution for the protection of the interest of minorities, through several Articles in the constitution it emancipate the Socio-economic, political, as well as serve as mechanism in safeguarding, protecting and preserving the interest of the minority groups. Thus constitution helps the minorities to maintains and preserve their norms, values and culture.

Indeed, it was Christianity that gave the Mizo a new society. Christianity through its ideology of brotherhood transformed the once highly organized small village system, mostly revolved around chiefs or clan system, and brought solidarity and oneness among the Mizos. But simultaneously, Christianity also brought a numbers of a denominations, such as Presbytery, Baptist, Salvation, Catholic, etc,. However, their denominational differences are so narrowly differ, that it does not pose as a big threat to the integration of Mizo society. Further, limited conflicts between difference denominations has also led to the development of healthy environment amongst difference denominations as well as limited the state intervention is religious sphere. Hence, in Mizoram, Christianity not only smoothes out the transition, but also integrates the people's tradition with modernity.

Churches, from its inception in Mizoram through its various programmes and projects, have been playing an important role in transforming the Mizo society. Church in Mizoram has not only consolidated its position as an agent in promoting social services, but also carried down from the past a great freightage of

humanitarian effort - establishing schools, hospitals, orphanage, rehabilitation centre, etc. Church, in Mizoram, by carrying forward its traditional roles became the inheritor and preserver of education, health service, culture, etc., of the Mizos. Despite Church less emphasis in promoting natural sciences and higher education in Mizoram, the presence of large number of primary and secondary educational institutions and high rate of literacy in once primitive and backward state of Mizoram is also due to the active participation and patronage of the Church in promoting education in Mizoram. Moreover, churches in Mizoram for the past hundred years have enlarged its operation and developed as a social centre that becomes a platform for addressing social and political views. Hence, modernization or westernization came from the secular education promoted by the churches. However, the lack of interest on churches to promote natural science, technical education, higher education in early phases become a major reason for stagnation of education and backwardness of Mizos in natural science. However, the sphere of education in Mizoram need a new policy and programmes to reconstruct the prevailing system of education, in fact, as the result of state as well private individual initiative, the last few years witnessed the growth of educational institutions in the state. However, the booming of educational institutions has seemed to excess the required need. The rapid growth and increased of private-run educational institutions mostly urban areas, implicit that an educational institution is being use as for commercial benefit. Moreover, the educational system in Mizoram needs simplification in that commercial element is becoming increasingly glaring in the running of schools in private capacity in particular. The system is becoming more and more complex leaving out the man for whom it meant.

Mizoram, being the state with second highest literacy rate with a weak industrial base among the states of India. Consequently, the problem of providing employment to the educated youths of the states is of greater dimension than anywhere else. In fact, Mizoram has already experienced a very heavy backlog of unemployment among the educated youths and the problem has further confounded by lack of investment in the state and the gradual down sizing of the Government machinery. Moreover, the young people of Mizoram cannot rely on private and govt. sectors alone to provide employment for the Mizoram. Therefore, there is a necessity of evolving separate planned programmes for

addressing the problem of unemployment among educated youths of India. The state as well as civil societies must empower youth to become authors of their own future, create awareness among job seekers about the employment market situation and job opportunities, motivate the job seekers to take-up self-employment ventures, assist them in obtaining necessary inputs required for setting of self-employment ventures from different sources, maintain coordination with various agencies for promotion of Self-Employment, provide necessary follow-up assistance to the Self-Employment Youth for sustaining them in their market

Infact, in a contemporary changing Mizo society, various social forces emerge in response to changes brought by the process of modernization. The society witnessed new things and challenges At this point the church in Mizoram as a social centre adjusted and interpreted new developments within the light of Christian ideal. Christianity, being a dominant religion in Mizoram, churches plays an important role in the socio-economic, culture and political administration of the state. Churches in Mizoram as an institution enjoy strong loyalty and active participation. A large volume of community-based activities is conducted regularly. As an institution, it enjoys the highest faith among adolescent and young adult women as it ensures confidentiality and provides spiritual solace and guidance. Churches in Mizoram being the most well organized plays important role in mobilizing and manipulating the interest of the people, Today, Churches are the central vehicle of social change in Mizoram

In a contemporary changing Mizo society, where individualism and self-interest have been taking its roots, the Church promotes and encourages organizational works. Church in Mizoram does not limit itself to moral and spiritual instruction only, but also campaign and educate the people on various socio-political issues affecting the society. Through its normal function, such as interpreting the Gospel, education, and social services, it gives the society a new orientation to adjust with changes brought by modernization. It also plays an important role in preventing the widening gap between the rich and the poor that resulted out of modernization. New developments such as the crept of money-

Mizo society. However, Christian ideology of fraternity and equality as a common faith in the people still serve as one of the best means of uniting force of the Mizo society. Churches in Mizoram have not only been playing important role in promoting the welfare and development of the Mizos but also seen as an institutions in upholding moral values as well as an institution in promoting equality and unity in contemporary Mizo societies. Thus, church in Mizoram can be seen as a potent factor in maintaining unity and equality in the Mizo society.

Besides its role in social emancipation, Christianity being a dominant religion, the Church in Mizoram is very active in addressing the whole aspects of Mizo society, particularly with the social, politics and culture of the Mizo society. It is very reactive and acts as a pressure group against certain state policies that does not comply with Church perspectives of development.

The new Mizo society based on the principal of Christianity came out, and replaced the traditional institutions. In fact it was the spread of education through church initiative that brought modernization and westernization in the Mizo society. The extinction of traditional institution in Mizoram has been a landmark in the Mizo history. The churches in replacement to traditional institutions produced various organizations on the pattern of Church organization to socialize the people in Christian way of life. These new institutions play an important role in maintaining the moral and enforcing the social discipline of the Mizos.

Major reason why churches in Mizoram consolidated their position in the Mizo society is mainly due to its wide functions and tremendous contribution in the Mizo society. Moreover, church in Mizoram being one of the largest organization and its cordial relationship with state help in enhancing both the capacities of state and church. These cordial relationships largely an outcome of historical process has helped in preventing fragmentation of society as well as lessens the competitive claims of social organizations. Thus this cordial relationship has foster stability and order in the state.

Churches in Mizoram also established various kinds of church based civil society organizations to address arising problems of the society. Recently, with the increasing numbers of Drugs addicts, HIV/AIDS, Destitute etc, churches established numbers of counseling centre and rehabilitation centre to look after the captioned above arising social problem of the Mizo society. The flexibility and open

approaches of Mizo churches to every aspect of Mizos concerns became an important instrument factor broadening its functions and operations. Today, the Mizos people see church as the sole institutions that guide and uphold the moral principal of the Mizos.

In Northeast India where there is frequent ethnic clash, drugs abuse, human rights violation, high rate of HIV/AIDS, etc., efforts should be taken up to solves these challenges. Firstly, advocacy for human rights protection, awareness about drug abuses, HIV/AIDS, rehabilitation, etc., must be emphasized through education among the simple-minded people, innocent, and underdeveloped Mizo people. However, often the village congregations are not properly taken care, therefore it is important that the Church take note of it seriously and concentration should be given to reach the grass root systematically. Moreover, networking and solidarity with other human rights advocates is essential to serve the challenges of human rights abuse and violations. The Church therefore needs to establish good rapport and programs link-up with other human rights organizations, institutions, agencies and committed individuals and professionals.

Albeit, the powerful civil society organizations such as Church and YMA play a very active roles in social change and social control, there is need in reformation and reconstruct the civil societies in matter of its relationship with the state and its functions. In the present context of the Mizo society, the alliance between State, Church and YMA, and the increasing power of both the Church and YMA as the result of state patronage is an alarming trends in Mizoram. The increasing power of YMA and Church has led to atrocities, lawlessness, and a negation to the democratic rights of citizens. However, recently, there was a great change where the image, identity, authority and jurisdiction of the Church as well as the YMA has been confronted and challenged. This has ushered the need to adopt a rethinking of the purpose and objectives of the social as well as religious actors in a changing contemporary Mizo society. Although, civil societies have to function not in isolation from the general administration of Government but they have to remain free from the political interference in order to uphold their motto and policies for the service of society, as regards of action of this organization over anti social elements, there had been a tendency at times, of taking the law in their hands in dealing with defaulters. Not denying the fact, no individual could take a stand against these

organizations in their respective localities. The civil society must maintain its independence/autonomy, transparency, and accountability, represent the whole society rather than some vested group and follow democratic mean in making decision making and functioning. It is believe that if the government agencies arrange to organize themselves with these voluntary organizations to take a stand together in order to fight against drug trafficking and drug addiction in Mizoram there could be either complete stoppage of such activities or reduction to the greater possible extent.

In a contemporary changing Mizo society, the Church should make a proactive role in addressing the whole aspect of society. It must broaden and enlarge its operation and encourage democratic participation. The existing theological paradigms in Mizoram need to be reform in order to meet the challenges the churches are facing today. The inadequate clerical and academic paradigm in this fast changing situation must look for a new theological paradigm that can address the various issues that the Mizos as Christians are facing in their day-to-day socio-economic and religious-cultural contexts and realities. The present theological thinkers ought to develop a pragmatic theology of empowering people, the theology of unifying force, and the theology of liberating force. In the North East in general and among the Mizos, there is also the need holistic approach with mass participation.

Despite, some elements prevailing in Mizoram, Mizoram a once infested with insurgency, today in comparison to others states of Northeast India, it remain the most stable and peaceful state. Crucial to the success of the programmes has been involvement of civil society organizations like the Church and YMA in implementation and monitoring. Wide public participation, transparency and sharing of information has helped in preventing mismanagement and corruption distribution of public goods to the society

A similar state-society partnership in promoting primary education has helped the state attain enviable levels of literacy. Serchip district recently created history by recording 100 % enrolment. The state has added other feathers to its cap. Recently, it claimed to be the first e-governance state in the North East and the first to introduce the Right to Information Act, an act likely to improve the quality of

governance.<sup>1</sup> Its capability and effectiveness have helped the state retain its legitimacy in society. Thus in marked contrasts to state-society dynamics in other states, social organizations in Mizoram, tied as they are to the state, have helped enhance the state's capability and resultant legitimacy. Thus, this has prevented state-society contestation and has reinforced the positive inter-community dynamics in the state.

The church organization is much dependent upon for upholding of morals and guiding the society to all its round development. The Mizo society remained for quite long in transitional period, and it should be the endeavour of all to uplift the people in the state economically and socially. The existence of social cohesion, peace, harmony, stability, participation and a free and fair election in Mizoram to a large extent can be credited to the contribution of the Church. This peaceful and stable environment further led to speedy progress and development of the state.

In a place like North east India where there is a problems of frequent ethnic clash,, human rights violation, high HIV/AIDS, corruption, unemployment, drugs abuse and drug trafficking, etc., the active participation of Church and state can give the answer to the people's longing for social transformation and just society.

Inspite of all these problems, Mizoram in comparison to other states of India has rapidly progress in human development. The collaboration of state and civil society in various aspects has led to more accountability and transparency of various programmes and projects of the state. Both the State and Civil society must take a concrete step not only in preventing the social problems, but try to find out the major causes that led to the rise of all the captioned above problems confronting by the contemporary Mizo society. Improvement and encouragement in technical and vocational education, proper plans, programmes, etc., is a must in a Mizo society to erase the problem of Socio-economic problem of Mizo society.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> North East Tribune (Guwahati), 11 & 28 September 2005

### GLOSSARY OF ECCLESIASTICAL TERMS

Assembly: The highest ecclesiastical body within the Presbyterian system of church organization, the assembly of the Presbyterian Church of North East India.

Association: The basic unit of Baptist ecclesiastical organization above the level of local congregation.

Baptist: The initiation rite into the Church. In northeast Baptists and several smaller protestant groups practice believers/ adult baptism while Presbyterians, Roman Catholics and other baptize infants. Since those who are baptized are counted members of the church, Baptists count only adults as members whereas the others count children as well.

Church: When used with capital "C" and when used alone the term designates the entire Christian Church. The term is also capitalized as a part of the proper name of a denomination. When it is not capitalized it refers to denominations or local congregations or building used for Christian worship

Congregation: A term used by Protestants to designate the local church, e.g. the Guwahati Baptist Church

**Denomination:** A term used by Protestants to designate an autonomous ecclesiastical body, e.g., the Presbyterian Church of North east India.

**Evangelical:** A person adhering to the distinctive doctrines and understanding of the essential nature of Christianity advocated by 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Evangelical movement with Anglo-Saxon Protestantism. They placed emphasis upon personal salvation, the necessity of conversion, the authority of the Bible, and the social regeneration based upon the sanctification of individuals. All Baptist and Presbyterian missionaries serving in Northeast India were Evangelicals. Currently the term is used to designate any conservative protestant.

**Evangelist:** The term is used by Protestants in Northeast India to designate lay mission/church workers who assist missionaries or pastors in administrative, pastoral and evangelistic work. Their function is roughly equivalent to that of catechists in the Roman Catholic Church.

Indigenization: (Acculturation) in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the term indigenization was used to mean the substitution of leaders of local origin for foreign missionaries in the administration of the Church and its institutions, the development of local sources of income to replace funds received from aboard, and the assumption of responsibilities for the missionary activities of the Church by local bodies. More recently it has come to be synonymous with acculturation, designating efforts to root Christianity in local culture.

**Pastor:** (Minister) a person responsible for religious leadership of local congregations or group of local congregations among Protestants. They are generally regarded as clergy.

**Presbytery:** A term used by Presbyterians and some other churches of the Reformed tradition for the first level of ecclesiastical organization above the local congregation. It is a body of representatives, laypersons and clergy, of the various local congregations within its jurisdiction.

Revival: A term used by Protestants to identify specific movements for renewal within the Church, e.g., the Mizo Revival of 1913. These movements usually involve meeting in which emotional singing and preaching together with personal testimony plays an important part, sometimes the meeting provide occasion for ecstatic behavior.

Synod: An ecclesiastical unit of Presbyterian churches. At one time it included all the Presbyterians churches, later the term "Assembly" was used at that level and Synod came to designate a smaller ecclesiastical unit made up of a number of Presbyteries an usually comprising a single language group, e.g., the Khasi-Jaintia Presbyterian Synod.

Mission: Used with capital "M" it refers to an organized ecclesiastical unit with responsibilities to carry out missionary work in a specific region, e.g., the American Baptist Assam Mission. When used with a lowercase "m" it refers to an over all responsibility of the Church to serve the world, e.g., through social action, education, health service etc,.

Missionary: A term popularly used to designate foreigners who come to India to do religious work under the auspices of a missionary society, congregation, order, etc., in relation to the North east India; journalists often refer to any prominent Church leaders as missionaries. More properly it should refer to any Christian workers designated to serve in a cultural context other than their own.

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